

Dr. Martin Luther's

Complete Writings,

published by

Dr. Joh. Georg Walch.

Fifteenth volume.

Reformation Writings.

Documents related to the history of the Reformation.

New revised stereotype edition.

ST. LOUIS, MO.
CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE.
1899.

Dr. Martin Luther's

Reformation Writings.

First section.

Documents related to the history of the Reformation.

A. Against the Papists.

From the years 1517 to 1524.

Published anew on behalf of the Ministry of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod
of Missouri, Ohio and other States.

St. Louis, Mo.
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Foreword.

This fifteenth volume brings together the documents against the papists from the years 1517 to 1524, which belong to the history of the Reformation. It may seem strange to some that so many atrocious papist writings have been included in an edition of Luther's works. The task of defending ourselves against this, as if this could be asserted as an accusation against our edition, is one that Luther himself has elevated us to. He has repeatedly printed even the most wretched works of his papist opponents, such as "Des Silvester Prierias Dialogue on the Violence of the Pope" and his "Replica" (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 310 and 412). Through the contrast of the papist darkness, the light of the Gospel, which Luther again put out of the lampstand for us, the great grace of God granted to us in the same, only emerges in full splendor and encourages us to praise and glory for God's bestowal of grace, which has been granted to us. In his preface to the booklet: "What was decided at the Imperial Diet of Nuremberg in 1522 to 1523 by papal sancti

ligkeit bei kaiserlicher Majestät Statthalter und Ständen halben Lutherischer Sachen gesucht, und darauf geantwortet worden worden," which Luther reissued in 1538, he says (St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 422 f.): "Our people, in my opinion, would do well to take care that this and similar books are preserved for their descendants in order to perceive the incredible and innumerable cunning of Satan.): "In my opinion, our people would do very well if they took care that this and similar books were preserved for the descendants, in order to perceive and hand down to memory the incredible and innumerable cunning of Satan, which reigns in the Roman trousers, the den of sin and ruin." (*Ibid.* Col. 426:) "Therefore, if this and similar books (as I have said) are preserved and brought down to posterity, it will be useful and salutary, not only for Germany, but also for the whole world, against this exceedingly harmful mountain of Roman Babel, which corrupts all the world (to use the words of Jeremiah). For here you see that the princes of Germany, who have finally awakened from a deep sleep, have dared to confront the pope and the Roman court (that is, the dunghill).

to the face,¹) what he could not hear, cannot hear and will not be able to hear. And they have not been moved (which is a miracle) by the splendid pretenses and arts of the Roman court, which one can read here in the message of the Roman Pontiff." ²) And the same princes, most of whom were papists, already testify in 1523,³) enlightened by Luther's teachings, that it was not possible, as the pope desired, to execute the papal sentences and the imperial mandates on Luther, "because (they say) all the estates of the German nation are so unmistakably burdened by manifold abuses of the court of Rome and of the ecclesiastical estates, and now so much informed by Luther's letters, where one should act against it in earnest or in fact, according to the content of reported judgments or mandates, that it would certainly be considered by them as if one wanted to suppress evangelical truth by tyranny and handle unchristian abuses" 2c.

After many documents have been presented to us in the first chapter of this volume, which vividly show us the ghastly evil and corruption in the Roman Church, namely the indulgences of Tetzl, which gave the next cause for the Reformation, the remaining eight chapters contain the documents, which, as already mentioned, describe the most important events of the Reformation in its beginning and progress.

1) In No. 722 of this volume.

2) No. 719 in this volume.

3) In No. 720 of this volume, § 9.

in the years 1517 to 1524. The second chapter deals with Luther's opposition to indulgences, especially through his 95 Theses; the third with the events between the papal legate Cajetan and Luther at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1518, and presents the *Acta Augustana* in full. The fourth is about Luther's negotiations with the papal nuncio Carl von Miltitz; the fifth about the Leipzig disputation, which is reported in its entirety; the sixth about the papal ban against Luther and its consequences; the seventh about Luther's standing before the emperor and the imperial estates at the Diet of Worms in 1521, his declaration of eight and his hidden stay at Wartburg Castle; the eighth, on the good and bad changes that occurred during Luther's absence in Wittenberg, especially on all the events between Carlstadt and Luther, up to Carlstadt's complete escape from Saxony; the ninth, on two imperial congresses held in Nuremberg in the years 1522 to 1524, and what consequences the latter in particular had.

Of the documents in this volume, many have been newly translated from Latin, such as Luther's disputation with Eck at Leipzig and about two hundred letters; others have been thoroughly revised from the Latin. We have only added No. 158b, a short message about the order of the Vicar General of the Augustinian Order, Gabriel Venetus, to seize Luthern and imprison him bound hand and foot.

and No. 644 instead of the "Extract of the Instruction of the Elector Friedrich for Johann Oswald, Amtmann in Eisenach, to Luther", the complete text. No. 643, a fragment in poor translation, is replaced by the complete text. On the other hand, the duplicates have been omitted, namely No. 5, p., because once again No. 10; the note b. at No. 72, because contained in No. 73; No. 225, §§ 14-19, because already No. 200; No. 585 (the Worms Edict), because contained in No. 747 (at Walch wrongly "647"); No. 590, because already St. Louis edition, Vol. XIX, 1007; Appendix, No. 98, because already in St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 560, and Appendix, No. 108, because already in No. 663. Otherwise, we have retained Walch's entire arrangement and even the numbers of the old edition. We have left the pieces that Walch placed in an incorrect position in their place, but have indicated each time where they should have been placed.

In many cases, it was necessary to correct the erroneous, often completely wrong headings of the documents in the old edition, also to add the time determinations, which are very much in disorder in Walch, partly, partly to resolve them (which did not happen in Walch), partly to indicate them more correctly. As an indication of what had to be done in this respect, we give a sample from the ninth chapter. At the beginning of this chapter, we were obliged to give a short historical overview of the three imperial diets held at Nuremberg in the years 1522 to 1524, so that the reader may feel at ease with the rather jumbled up information given by Walch.

documents. Then we had to separate four documents, namely No. 727 to 730, which do not belong in this chapter, but in the first section of the preceding eighth chapter. Furthermore, we had to change the heading of No. 743, in which Walch relocates to the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg what took place at a convention at Regensburg. We have added a time determination to the numbers 720, 722, 723, 731, 733, and 747; time determinations dissolved in No. 724, 732, 742, 756, and 758; corrected in No. 734, 735, 736, 743, 750, 751, and 754. Those dates in Walch, which are designated by a weekday in a Latin original, are almost always wrong, because he takes *feria prima* as Monday, not as Sunday.

At the beginning of the fifteenth volume Walch has a 96 pages (192 columns) long preliminary report, in which he proves the necessity, the divinity and the sufficiency of the Reformation. We consider such a proof to be completely superfluous in this place, because we are convinced that he who reads the writings contained in this volume, even just the table of contents, does not need such a proof; therefore, we have omitted it.

The preliminary report is followed by Walch's "Anzeige, woraus die in diesem Theile befindlichen Documente genommen worden". We were able to omit this as well, since we have provided this proof for every single number,

saving the reader the trouble of having to look things up.

On the other hand, we have added to the table of contents an index of the documents and letters of Luther contained in this volume, arranged in chronological order. This was prompted by Seidemann, who in his "Erläuterungen zur Reformationgeschichte," p. 61, note, says: "A new, better edition of Luther's works than the excellent Walch gave and was able to give, would be very necessary. It would have to be chronological and give the impacting documents chronologically in a special volume." Since we are now bound to the order given by Walch in the task that has become ours, we have had to limit ourselves to satisfying the certainly justified requirement made by Seidemann, at least to some extent, by a chronological register. Only the documents of the first chapter, which concern the papal indulgences, we have not included in this chronological register, because they are on the whole already arranged by Walch according to the chronological order, and can be found so, but several times with corrected dates, also in our table of contents. That we, although the letters are already

The fact that we have included some of the documents in the index, but have nevertheless made a special index of them, will certainly be welcome to many. We have indicated the locations of the documents in these two registers according to the numbers, so that we did not have to wait for the completion of the printing before preparing them. Finding the documents in this way is not difficult for the reader, since the numbers are inserted in the heads of the pages. Because we had to break the course in the chronological work, we hope that this attempt will be judged favorably.

Whoever reads the documents in this volume carefully will see very clearly how God has held His protective hand over His chosen armament, Doctor Martin Luther, through whom He has brought His holy gospel to light again against all the power of darkness, despite the resistance, raging and blustering of the pope, the emperor and many powerful princes. This must serve to greatly strengthen our faith and make us certain that God will not forsake us, if we hold fast to his holy word in faith, but will preserve us to eternal blessedness. God grant this in mercy. Amen.

St. Louis, on Reformation Day, 1899.

A. F. Hoppe.

Content

of the

The first part of the fifteenth volume of Luther's complete writings.

which contains the documents on the history of the Reformation from 1517 to 1524.

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The first section.

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439 Pope Leo X's letter to Elector Frederick of Saxony, in which he flatters him and requests that he either make Luther recant or imprison him. He reports that he had a congregation of cardinals investigate Luther's abominable teachings and condemns them in a bull, of which he sends a copy. July 8, 1520 1406

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454 Luther's report to Wenceslaus Link that the bull at Leipzig had been sullied with excrement and torn, as well as at Torgau and Döbeln in 1571.

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466 Answer to the above letter from the University of Wittenberg. 26 Oct. 1520	1584	477 Luther's report to Spalatin on the intention, to renew its appeal
467 The bishop's councilors at Zeitz write another letter to the electoral councilors, in which they again ask for advice. Nov. 5, 1520	1586	1602
468 The Electoral Councils wrote a letter to the Councils of Zeitz in which they reported that they knew nothing more about the fact that Luther had appealed the bull and intended to write against it; Melanchthon would give their representative thorough information about this. Nov. 15, 1520	1587	478 "Luther's Appeal from the Pope Leo and his unjust sacrilege to a free Christian concilium", on Nov. 17, 1520, which is to be seen as a renewal of the appeal made on Nov. 28, 1518
469 The Electoral Councils wrote to Melanchthon, asking him to help the person sent from Zeitz obtain a copy of Luther's appeal against Eck and the papal bull. Nov. 15, 1520	1588	1602
470 The Electoral Councils' reply to the Zeitz Collegiate Councils to their letter of Nov. 5, 1520, before Nov. 15,	1588.	479. Des Raths zu Wittenberg Bericht an die chur-princely governors and councilors that Luther had asked him to attach to his appeal. Request for advice for their behavior. Nov 5 1520
471 Letter from Nicolaus Hausmann to Nicolaus Tilomannus, Vicarius at Zeitz, concerning the obedience to be rendered to the bishops. July 31, 1521	1590	1608
		480: Letter from the Electoral Councilors to the learned councilors at Wittenberg, in which they request an expert opinion on the previous letter
		1609

Section Four of Chapter Six.

From the action of the two papal nuncios, Caraccioli and Aleander, who came from Rome at the same time as Eck, with Chursachsen to Cologne, against Luther. 1520.

A. Of the two nuncios' legitimation with the Elector of Saxony.

481 Leo's X. Creditiv for Marinus Caraccioli to Chursachsen. Dated Rome, June 6, 1520 1610 482. Leo's X. Creditiv for Jerome Aleander and Joh. Eck. July 17, 1520

1610

B. The same action. Request and demand to the Elector. **Column**

483. Short account of the action at Cologne between the papal envoys Caraccioli and Aleander and Elector Frederick of Saxony, concerning Luther. November 15201612

Section Five of Chapter Six.

About the burning of Luther's books.

A. How Luther's books were burned in three places.

- 484 Luther's report to Staupitz on how his books were burned in Louvain, Cologne and Mainz, but in Mainz with great danger to the burners in 1616.
- 485 Luther's judgment of his books in a letter to Spalatin, from which it can be seen that he does not care much about their demise, and instead, as living books, desires righteous preachers of the Holy Scriptures 1616.

B. How Luther, after the adversaries had burned his writings, publicly burned the Papal Bull and the Decretals together with Emser's and Eck's books at Wittenberg.

- 486 Brief History of How the Antichristic Decretals of D. Martin Luther Were Burned. 10 Dec. 1520 1616
487. D. M. Luther's writing: "Why the Pope's and his disciples' books are burned by D. M. Luther" 2c. Decemder 1520 1619

Section Six of Chapter Six.

How the German nobility, especially in Franconia, offered Luther protection and security.

A. Of the protection offered by the German nobility to Luther.

- 488 Aurifaber's report on how the nobility embraced Luther 1630
- 489 Letter from Silvester von Schaumburg to Luther, requesting him to come to him for his safety, with the promise that he would raise a hundred of the nobility and protect him through their assistance until the matter was settled. June 11, 1520 1631
- 490th Letter from Ulrich von Hütten to Luther, in which he exhorts him to steadfastness and caution against secret persecution, and also offers his assistance. June 4, 1520 1633
- 491 Two letters from Ulrich von Hütten dated 20 Jan. and 28 Feb. 1520 to Melancthon, in which he asks the same to report to Luther that Sickingen is ready to take him into protection 1635

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- 492 Franz von Sickingen's letter to Luther, in which he offers to show him support and favor according to his ability. Nov 3 1520 1636

B. How Luther behaved against this offer.

- 493 Luther's sending of the Schaumburg letter (No. 489) to Spalatin 1637
- 494 Luther's Report of this Offer to Spalatin..... 1637
495. Luther's report of it to Wenceslaus Link in 1637.
- 496 Luther's writing "To the Christian Nobility" 2c. St. Louis ed. vol. X, 266.
- 497 Luther's report to Link on the publication of this work, in which he says that it is directed against the pope and exposes all the ungodly arts and violence of the papists, and will therefore cause much anger in Rome 1638.
- 498 Luther's letter to Lang about the writing "To the Christian Nobility. He mentions that the writing does not displease the court. 18 Aug. 1520 1638

C. The first part of the book is a description of the German nobility's bitterness against the Roman See, and of Kronberg's correspondence with Luther.

- 499 Ulrich von Hutten's letter to Jodocus Jonas concerning the papists' enterprise against the Protestants and John Crotus. April 17 1521 1639
- 500: Hermann Busch's letter to Hütten about the mockery of the papists about Hutten's threats and their rage because of Luther's and Hutten's writings during the Diet of Worms. May 5, 1521 1640
- 501 Luther's report to Spalatin that he had received letters from Hütten stating his zeal against the pope, who would have followed him with dagger and poison 1642.
- 502 Luther's thoughts on Hutten's vehemence opened to Spalatin 1643
503. tzartmuths von Kronberg Christian exhortation to the four mendicant orders. The 25 Jan. 1522 1643
- 504 Hartmuth of Kronberg's letter to Pope LeoX. 1521 ... 1646
505. tzartmuths von Kronberg letter to the inhabitants of Kronberg. 1522 1652
- 506 Hartmuth von Kronberg's letter to Jakob Kobel zu Oppenheim. March 6, 1522 1660
507. "A missive, comforting to all those who suffer persecution because of the Word of God, written by D. Luther to Hartmuth von Kronberg." Mid-March 1522 1662
- 508 Hartmuth of Kronberg's Response to Luther's Missive. April 14, 1522 1672
- 509 Hartmuth of Kronberg appointment 1678
- 510 Hartmuth of Kronberg's warning against the false prophets to the inhabitants of the city of Frankfurt. March 16, 1522 1681
- 511 Hartmuth von Kronberg's letter to D. P. Meyer, pastor at Frankfurt, in which he gives him

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sharply points out that he oppresses Luther's teaching.	
June 9 1522	1683
512 D. Meyer's reply to the above letter. June 11, 1522 ...	1684
513 Kronberg's second, sharper letter to D. Meyer. 14 June 1522	1685
514 D. Meyer's complaint about Kronberg to the Frankfurt City Council. June 17, 1522	1688
515 Ulrich von Hutten's complaint about Meyer to the Frankfurt City Council. April 1, 1522	1689
516. letter of requisition from Churmainz to the council of Frankfurt to hand over their preacher, tzartmann Jbach, Luther's follower. The March 11 1522	1691
517: Some neighboring noblemen, friends of Kronberg, complain about the actions of the Frankfurt City Council against tzartmann Jbach. March 13, 1522	1692

The seventh chapter.

From Luther's standing before the emperor at the Diet of Worms, his Declaration of Eight, and Patmos, to his return to Wittenberg.

First Section.

The Emperor's correspondence with Electoral Saxony about bringing Luther to the Diet in Worms.

A. How Chursachsen had the imperial ministers request the emperor not to take any action against Luther before he was heard, and what the ministers did and answered the Elector.

518 The imperial ministers' letter to Chursachsen, in which they report that the emperor, like them, found it advisable for the Elector to bring Luthern with him to Worms. Nov. 27, 1520	1694
519 Chursachsen's letter to the imperial ministers that their letter had arrived, but not the imperial one they had mentioned. 14 Dec. 1520	1696

B. Of the Emperor's own handwritten letter to Chursachsen, in which he demands that Luther be brought to Worms with him, and what Chursachsen argued against this, and also wrote to the imperial ministers.

520 Carl V wrote to Chursachsen that the Elector should take Luther with him to Worms, where he was to be interrogated by learned men; in the meantime, Luther was not to write anything further against the Pope. Nov. 28. 1520	1697
521 Answer of the Elector of Saxony to the Emperor, in which he states important reasons why it would not be advisable to bring Luther to Worms. Dec. 20, 1520	1698

	Column
522 Chursachsen's other letter to the imperial ministers, in which the arrival of the imperial letter is reported and Luther's cause is again recommended to them. 20 Dec. 1520 1700	

C. How the emperor changed his mind and indicated to Chursachsen that Luther should stay at home, and what Chursachsen answered to this.

523 Carl V wrote to the Elector that he should leave Luthern at home if he did not want to recant before his departure, and that if he did recant, he should not take him further than Frankfurt or its environs, because he was under the Pope's ban. Dec. 17, 1520	1702
524: Prince Frederick's reply to the above letter. 28 Dec. 1520	1704
525 Luther's report of these things to Staupitz and Link ..	1705

Chapter Seven, Section Two.

How the pope sought to thwart the emperor's sincere intention in Luther's cause by repeatedly banning him, but how the papal envoys at Worms sought to thwart the emperor's sincere intention in Luther's cause.

A. Of the new Papal Bull of Condemnation against Luther, which confirms the previous one.

526 Pope Leo's X. Condemnation and Banishment bulle against Luther. Jan. 4, 1521	1704
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B. What the Papal Nuncio Aleander did at Worms against Luther at the Imperial Diet.

527 Luther's report to Wenceslaus Link before his journey to Worms, how the papal legate Aleander had let himself be heard. End of January or beginning of February 1521	1710
528: Excerpt from Aleander's long speech against Luther before the imperial estates. February 13 1521	1711
529: The Electoral Council's concerns about the bull of Eugenius IV, which Aleander referred to in his speech. Feb. 14. 1521	1714
Luther's report to Lang. March 6, 1521: Aleander is working in Worms to have an imperial edict issued against him, but so far in vain.	1716
531 Luther's report to Staupitz, Feb. 9. 1521, of the many evil but futile attempts against him at Worms.....	1716

C. Of the plans put forward for the settlement of the religious disputes at Worms, even before Luther's arrival in Worms.

532: An Anonymous Proposal to Prince Frederick that the Emperor, together with the Kings of England and Hungary, should elect arbiters over Luther's books, with whose pronouncement both the Pope and Luther would have to be satisfied	1716.
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533: The Dominican prior Johann Faber Rathschlag, given to the Elector of Saxony at the Diet of Worms in	1722.
534 Another concern raised shortly before this Imperial Diet and given to the Elector of Mainz. Nov. 2, 1520	1723

Section Three of Chapter Seven.

How the cunning plots of the papists harmed them themselves, since the imperial order, which they carried out, to hand over Luther's books to the authorities in all places and to force him to recant, not only caused the imperial estates to force the emperor to summon Luther personally to Worms and to interrogate him, but also to bring forward a large number of complaints against the Roman See to the emperor.

A. Of the demand made in writing by the emperor through Chursachsen, on the petition of the papists, that Luther recant, and how steadfastly Luther declares himself against it.

535 Luther's answer to Spalatin, who transmitted the imperial order to him: that if it were only a matter of recantation, he would not go to Worms, since he could also recant at Wittenberg; but if the emperor required him to be killed there, he would appear, so that God's word would not be in danger. March 19, 1521....	1724
536 Luther's letter to Elector Frederick concerning the revocation of several articles. (This letter does not belong to the Diet of Worms, but to the negotiations with Miltitz, and refers to No. 277 in this volume). On or after 19 Jan. 1519...	1726
537 Luther's report to Wenceslaus Link, how the Elector wrote to him, that he, Luther, could well notice, the papists have not yet got the thing where they would like it	1729

B. Council of the Estates on how to proceed with Luther.

538: Advice of the Estates on how and in what form to proceed with Luther. Approximately March 2, 1521	1729
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C. What complaints the imperial estates have brought before the Emperor against the Roman See.

539 The complaints of the Roman Empire and especially of the German nation, which were brought before the Emperor in 1521 at the Diet of Worms against the Roman See and the clergy	1730
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540. nine articles by an unnamed person, in Latin, for the benefit of the German nation, because of the complaints against the Roman court, written in	1779.

Section Four of Chapter Seven.

From the imperial citation to Luther to come to Worms in person under free, secure, imperial as well as electoral and princely escort, the papists had used all cunning to prevent Luther's personal appearance before the emperor, which was inconvenient to them; whereupon Luther also confidently began his journey.

A. What guile the papists used with the Saxons, that the Elector should demand Luther to Worms only for his person, but Frederick the Wise was too clever for them.

541 A note sent by the imperial ministers to the Saxon ministers, requesting that Prince Frederick summon Luthern to Worms on imperial escort only for himself,	1784.
542 The draft of the Elector's answer made by the Saxon councillors, in which the wise gentleman rejects the above request with concise reasons of proof, and incidentally, if the Emperor and the imperial estates wanted to demand that Luther come to Worms, he would be willing to lead him to Worms under safe conduct	1785

B. Of Luther's Citation and Free Imperial, Electoral and Princely Escort.

543 Emperor Carl V's citation to D. Martin Luther to appear at the Imperial Diet at Worms. March 6, 1521	1786
544. imperial escort letter for I). Martin Luther of March 6, 1521, and insinuated by the herald to Luther at Wittenberg on March 26, 1521	1787
545. escort letter of Elector Frederick and Duke John of Saxony, dated Worms, March 12, 1521	1789
546. escort letter of Duke George of Saxony for Luther. 8 March 1521	1790
547. escort letter of landgrave Philipp zu Hessen for Luther's return journey. April 26, 1521	1791

C. About the papal Bulla coenae domini published around this time, in which Luther was once again condemned as an arch-heretic, and by which the pope wanted to deter the emperor and the princes once again from having anything to do with Luther as an exile.

548. Leo's X. Bulla coenae domini against Luther and others. Rome, Maundy Thursday, March 28, 1521	1792
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Column	Column
549 Luther's sharp writing about this bull under the title: "Bulla coenae domini, das ist, die Bulla vom Abendfressen des allerheiligsten Herrn, des Pabsts, verdeutscht durch v. M. Luther" 2c. 1522 1792	561 Luther's further account of how the papal legate Caraccioli had urged at Worms that he should be burned, but Cochläus had offered to dispute with him if he would give up his escort 1839
D. Luther's journey to Worms, what he encountered on the way, and the cunning plots of the Archbishop of Mainz, with which he, along with other papists, wanted to hold out Luther beyond the set time of his safe conduct.	562 Ulrich von Hütten's letter to Marinus Earaccioli asking him to leave Germany because of his shameful deeds 1840
550 Luther's report of the attempts made by the Archbishop of Mainz to send him away on the way and to prevent him from coming to Worms, or at least not within the set time of the escort in 1824.	563: Some rhymes written on Joh. Cochläus at Worms ... 1844
551 Report of Myconius on the sermon Luther preached in Gotha on the way to Worms, also on the illness that affected him in Eisenach; also on his heroism 1826	C. Ulrich von Hütten's encouragement to Luther and letter to Emperor Carl and the clergy assembled at Worms.
Luther's sermon delivered at Erfurt on April 7. St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 1386.	564 Two beautiful letters of encouragement from Hutten to Luther. a. From Ebernburg April 17, 1521 1845 b. From Ebernburg the 20th of April 1521 1846
Luther's letter to Spalatin that he had been ill on the way, but that he hoped to arrive in Worms with God's help. Apr. 14, 1521 1827	565 Ulrich von Hütten's letter to Emperor Carl V, in which he emphatically presents to him the oppressions of Germany by the pope and the clergy, and urges him not to let himself be so taken in by them, but especially by Luther. To give ear. April 1, 1521 1848
554 Spalatin's Relation of Luther's Journey to Worms 1828	566 Ulrich von Hütten's letter to the clergy assembled at Worms, in which he reproaches them with great frankness for their enmity against the evangelical truth and their vicious life and exhorts them to reform 1858
555 Luther's Narrative of His Confident Answer to Spalatin 1828	D. What high chiefs and other distinguished persons of rank and deputies were at the Diet of Worms.
556 The Litany of the Germans, made around that time, which is still well papal, but nevertheless well set up for and in Luther's cause. Between March 6 and April 16, 1521 1829	567 Directory of the Princes, Bishops, Lords, Counts and Embassies who attended the Imperial Diet in Worms 1872
Section Five of Chapter Seven.	E. Von Luthers Stehen und Verhör vor dem Kaiser und der Reichsversammlung.
Of Luther's arrival in Worms and his interrogation before the emperor and the imperial assembly, also of the attempts by the papists to force Luther's safe conduct, indeed, for the Bringing life.	1. from the first audience.
A. From Luther's arrival and public entry into Worms.	568 Luther's Report of the Official of Trier, Johann von Eck, Addressing Him in the Imperial Assembly and Luther's Reply 1877
557 Letter from Veit Warbeck to Duke John of Saxony concerning Luther's arrival in Worms. April 16, 1521 1836	569. Spalatin's Report of the First Audience..... 1878
558 Spalatin's Narrative of Luther's Arrival in Worms in ... 1838	2. from the second audience.
559. Luther's own report of it 1838	570 Luther's Narrative of the Second Audience, the^abermal Address of the Official of Trier to Him, and His Reply 1879.
B. The discussion of the papists immediately after Luther's arrival, whether he should be given safe conduct, and their efforts with the emperor and other cunning attempts to get him to do so.	571 Spalatin's report of this second audience in 1880
560 Luther's Report that the Emperor's Most Privy Councillors Had Gave Him Advice to Put Luther Away, and What the Emperor Had Answered 1838	F. What the Emperor, at the instigation of the papists, communicates to the imperial estates as his resolution in Luther's matter after this public interrogation.
	572 Emperor Carl V's handwritten rescript to the princes and estates of the empire, in which he announces his resolution against Luther and his doctrines, and calls upon them to follow him in this. 19 Apr. 1521 1880

G. Of a renewed interrogation of Luther before some princes, who, after having asked for an extension of his leave, made another attempt for themselves to bring Luther to recant, but in vain. Column

573: Luther's account of the interrogation before some princes, of the conference with the deputies from Trier, and of the last private audience with the Elector at Trier..... 1882

Section Six of Chapter Seven.

Of Luther's fearless and confident courage before and at the Diet of Worms, how fervently and devoutly he prayed there, and how God again publicly honored this faithful confessor who had given Him glory by confessing the truth.

A. Of Luther's undaunted courage and devout prayer.

574 Luther's answer to Spalatin, since the Elector had asked him whether he would go to Worms if the Emperor ordered him to appear there. Dec. 21, 1520 1884

Luther's letter to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, in which he offers to go to Worms under safe escort at the Emperor's command. Jan. 25, 1521 1887

576 Luther's earnest prayer, which he made at the Diet of Worms. St. Louis Edition Vol. X, 1420.

B. What honor Luther received at Worms.

577 Spalatin's account of how Luther received such great or greater honor than one of the princes, but how Elector Frederick marveled at Luther's great courage 1890

578 Luther's Report of the Visit of the Landgrave of Hesse and His Conversation with Him in 1891

Section Seven of Chapter Seven.

About Luther's dismissal from Worms and his return journey under imperial escort and what happened on the way.

A. Of Luther's farewell, which the emperor had issued through two deputies.

579 Spalatin's report, how Luther had predicted his departure from Worms, and the emperor had given him his farewell through two deputies, the Trier official D. Johann Eck and the secretary Maximilian Transsilvanus, with the order to travel home within 21 days, but henceforth not to preach, teach and write, and what Luther had answered 1892

B. Of Luther's letters sent back to the emperor and the imperial estates at the dispatch of the imperial herald accompanying him. Column

580 Luther's letter to Emperor Carl V, sent back from Friedberg after his departure from Worms, in which he first repeats everything that happened at Worms recently, then gives concise reasons why God's Word does not submit to human judgment, furthermore thanks him for his humble escort, and finally asks the emperor not to let him be oppressed, suffer violence, and be condemned by his opponents. April 28 1521 1893

581 Luther's letter to the Electors and Estates from Friedberg, with the same content. April 28, 1521 1899

C. Luther's sermons on the way back from Worms at the request of good friends, although against the imperial order, and the students' tumult against the clergy in Erfurt.

582 Luther's report to Spalatin, how he had preached publicly on the return journey, when, at Hersfeld, at the request of the abbot, who did him immense honor, although he reminded the abbot that he could easily lose his abbey by doing so; also at Eisenach, although the pastor protested against it before a notary and witnesses 1905

583 Luther's report in the same letter of how the students in Erfurt stormed the houses of some priests at night out of displeasure that the dean of the Severistift had publicly led M. Draco away from the choir because he, along with others, had gone out to meet Luther on his arrival in Erfurt. 1906

584 A piece of a letter from Luther to Melanchthon in which he testifies to his serious displeasure with it. Around the middle of May 1521 1906

Section Eight of Chapter Seven.

About the harsh Edict of Worms, which was only drafted by the papists after Luther, like many electors and princes, had left, and was published to the great displeasure of many imperial estates, by which Luther was declared outlawed.

A. From the outgoing sharp edict itself.

585 Emperor Carl V's Edict against Luther's Books and Doctrine, His Followers, Abstainers and Successors 2c. Worms, May 8, 1521 1906

586 Emperor Carl V's order to the University of Vienna in the same year to burn Luther's books. Nov. 25, 1521 ... 1907

B. About the displeasure and displeasure that some great people have testified about this sharpness used against Luther. Column

- 587: Knight Johann von Rechenberg, Silesian Oberamtsdirector, wrote to the Elector of Saxony, inquiring whether such a decree had been made at Worms with the unanimous consent of the Estates. Aug. 31, 1521 1909
- 588 Prince Frederick of Saxony's answer that he had left Worms due to indisposition before the decisions on all matters concerning the empire had been made. 5 Sept. 1521 1911
- 589 Luther's report on this edict to Melanchthon, in which he also reports that Hartmuth von Kronberg had resigned his lucrative service to the emperor, 1911
590. Luther's instruction to the confessors about his forbidden books is found in the St. Louis edition, Vol. XIX, 808.

Chapter Seven, Section Nine.

Of the writings in which the actions at the Diet of Worms were described.

- 591 Luther's summary report to Count Albrecht zu Mansfeld of the action taken with him at Worms. May 3, 1521. . 1912
- 592 Detailed description of Luther's action before the emperor and the estates at the Diet of Worms 1521 1916
- 593 Luther's letter to Lucas Cranach about his interrogation in Worms and the forthcoming the capture. 28 Apr. 1521 1935
- 594a. Ulrich von Hutten's letter to Wilibald Pirckheimer, in which he tells what happened to Luther at Worms. May 1, 1521 1937
- 594b. extract from one of Hutten's pamphlets. April 1521 1939

Section Ten of Chapter Seven.

From Luther's Patmos or how the Elector of Saxony had Luther picked up on his return journey from Worms and brought to safety at Wartburg Castle, and what happened to Luther there.

A. How it happened with his suspension on the way and the removal to the Wartburg.

595. des Mathesius report of Luther's abolition 1940
- 596 Luther's own report of this to Spalatin 1941
- 597 Luther's statement against Melanchthon that he went to Wartburg more out of obedience to the authorities than of his own will 1941

Column

598. Luther's report of it to Amsdorf and Gerbet 1941
599. Another report to Johann Agricola, in to which he says that he is a strange prisoner who likes to sit there because God wants it that way, but with reluctance because he would like to publicly defend God's word 1941

B. About Luther's physical condition, about the very good treatment he had at the Wartburg, but also about his very painful illness.

- 600 Luther's report to Spalatin about how his host provides for him so abundantly that he may have gotten such a body ache from it that he has no rest at night; however, he thanks God for the cross that was laid on him and Spalatin for the medicine that was sent to him. 1942
- 601 A report from Luther to Melanchthon, in which he says that he is too well kept in food and drink, while he was used to living badly in the monastery, and therefore cannot pray and study properly, nor is he spared from various temptations of the flesh. If this does not change soon, he will ask doctors for advice. 1942

C. About Luther's state of mind, since he not only found the idle way of life burdensome, but Satan also attacked him with temptations.

- 602 Luther's Report of his State of Mind to Melanchthon 1942
- 603 Luther's report to Gerbel and Spalatin of the many temptations of Satan, which he in his loneliness 1942

D. What Luther dealt with in his Patmos, especially his translation of the Bible, which he started there and continued later.

- 604 Luther's report to Spalatin that he spends his time reading the Bible in the basic languages and what he intends to write 1943
- 605 Luther sends the explanation of the 68th Psalm, written in solitude, to Melanchthon with the request to share it with good friends and, if possible, to have it printed 1943.
- 606 Luther reports to John Lang that he is willing to translate the New Testament, and because he has heard that Lang is also dealing with it, he exhorts him to continue 1943
- 607 Luther's report to Spalatin that he had translated the entire New Testament in his Patmos and was now going through it with Melanchthon, for which he requested Spalatin's assistance; he was expecting the promised gems and would send them back again 1943
- 608 Luther's letter to Amsdorf concerning this translation and that of the Old Testament 1943
- 609 Luther informs Amsdorf that he and Duke John are the only ones who have the

	Column
	<p>sheets coming from the press one by one, reporting that ten thousand sheets were printed daily on three presses 1943</p> <p>610 Luther's other report to Spalatin and Wenceslaus Link of his work on the Old Testament in 1944.</p> <p>611 Luther's request to Spalatin to provide him with the actual names of the birds of prey, the wild and creeping animals, in order to be able to use them in the translation of the books of Moses 1944</p>
<p>E. How Luther cared for the University of Wittenberg and its preservation in pure teaching and in a flourishing state during his Absence.</p>	
<p>612 Luther's admonition to the Wittenberg professors not to follow the advice of the court, since they did not want to print his writings or have them disputed 1944</p> <p>613 Luther testified to his displeasure that his Wittenberg colleagues had been forbidden by the court from disputing confession. that papal law is still taught at Wittenberg, and expresses the wish that the princes would take it into their hearts to abolish the jurisdiction and censures of the pope in their lands 1944</p> <p>614 Luther's request to Spalatin that Melanchthon sometimes preach a German sermon to the common people in Wittenberg, who had a great desire for the preaching of the Gospel. 1944</p> <p>615. Luther's declaration to the Wittenbergers, like He is very happy that Wittenberg is flourishing in his absence, and he exhorts them to send messengers to other places as well, and to use their abundance to help others' lack; he himself is ready to go to another place, where God may call him; in Wittenberg he can be well relieved 1945</p>	
<p>F. How Luther's whereabouts finally came to light, which Divine Providence so cleverly did, because it was soon time for this Elijah to emerge again anyway.</p>	
<p>616: Mathesius reports how Luther sometimes walked to the nearest monasteries and visited his friends, but was not recognized, except once in Reinhardsbrunn. His secret visit to Wittenberg in 1945</p> <p>617 Luther's own account of his secret visit to Wittenberg in 1947</p> <p>618 Luther tells Spalatin that Amsdorf has written to him that a scribe of Duke John has reported to a woman in Torgau that Luther is at the Wartburg, and now the talk is almost everywhere 1947</p> <p>619 Another report to the same that Duke John now knows his whereabouts, since his host at Wartburg Castle has discovered the same to him 1947</p>	

The eighth chapter.

Of the good and bad changes that occurred during Luther's stay in his Patmos, especially in Wittenberg and Saxony, and Luther's return to Wittenberg caused by the latter. Of all events between Carlstadt and Luther, up to Carlstadt's complete escape and departure from Saxony and the subsequent transition to the Swiss.

First section.

What good changes have taken place in Wittenberg and Saxony in the meantime.

A. Of the case of the mass and the monastic vows. Column

1. how the Augustinians, at the chapter held in Wittenberg at the beginning of 1522, abolished the private or corner masses by joint resolution and declared monastic life free.
- 620 Luther's writing on the abuse of the mass. St. Louis ed. vol. XIX, 1068.
- 621 Luther's earnest reminder to Spalatin not to withhold and suppress this writing of the mass sent to him, as well as that of monastic vows and against Mainz, out of court politics, otherwise his spirit would become very bitter and irritated to write much more vehemently, because he definitely wanted his things to be printed. St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 560.
- 622 The resolutions of the Augustinian Chapter held in Wittenberg at the beginning of 1522, in which they abolished the mass in the fourth article 1948
- 623 Johann Aurifaber's report on what changes the Augustinians in Wittenberg made in monastic life during Luther's absence, how they dropped the corner masses and began to distribute the Lord's Supper in both forms; also about the commission ordered to investigate the matter of Chursachsen in 1949.
2. of the commission ordered by the Elector to investigate the beginning of the Augustinians, which again deputized some from the university for this purpose.
- 624 Report and Concerns of the Deputies Ordered by Electoral Command to Investigate the Hearings of the Augustinians and Their Opinion of the Private Mass to Elector Frederick 1952
- 3) What instructions the Elector of Saxony has given to D. Beyer and what he has answered in turn.
625. of the Elector of Saxony hereupon to D. Christian Beyer, who at that time was Professor

	Column
and mayor of Wittenberg, but later became chancellor at court, issued instructions and orders to the above deputies	1957
626 The Wittenberg Deputies' Answer to the concerns expressed to them by D. Beyer opened to them churfürstliche concern, concerning the fair	1959
 B. Of the reemergence of the marriage of priests, and Archbishop Albrecht's zeal against it; nevertheless, others have followed, and the monks have begun to leave the monasteries.	
1. by Bartholomäus Bernhardt of Feldkirch, as the first priest in the papacy, who made the beginning to enter into marriage.	
627 Luther's thoughts opened against Melanchthon on the marriage of the provost at Kemberg, and report that several had already followed in it [Aug. 1, 1521]	1965
628 Luther's Congratulations to Gerbel for Preferring Marriage to the Unmarried Life	1965
2. How Feldkirch, after Elector Albrecht of Mainz requested that the married priest be held responsible in Halle, defended himself against the Elector of Saxony as well as against everyone because of his marital status.	
629: Feldkirch's defense of his marriage. 1521	1966
630 Feldkirch's petition to the Cburfürst Friedrich, in which he defends his marital status with concise reasons based on divine and secular rights. 1521	1973
3. the subsequent abandonment of the monasteries, which Luther, through his book of monastic vows, partly caused and partly approved of, but by no means approved of the abuses that occurred.	
631 Luther's report to Spalatin on Nov. 11. 1521 how he was now willing to attack the monastic vows and deliver the young people from the hell of the celibate state	1975
632 Luther's complaint to John Lang that many monks leave the monasteries for the sake of carnal freedom	1975
633 Luther's complaint against Spalatin about this	1975

The second section of Chapter Eight.

What evil changes occurred in Luther's absence, and of the return of Luther to Wittenberg.

A. Of the so-called new prophets, who had meanwhile begun in Zwickau and had also come to Wittenberg.

	Column
1. from the Wittenberg report on this matter to the Elector, and how he behaved.	
634 Melanchthon's report to the Elector Frederick about the arrival of three men of the so-called new prophets from Zwickau and about their actions and nature, from which it can be seen that they had greatly blinded Melanchthon. 27 Dec. 1521....	1976
635 Spalatin's account of how Chursachsen had spoken out in the matter of the new prophets	1977
2. from Luther's correspondence with Melanchthon and Spalatin, the new prophets half.	
636 Luther's letter to Melanchthon from Jan. 13, 1522, in which he indicates how these spirits should be tested, and at the same time aptly asserts the infant baptism rejected by them.....	1978
637 Luther's reminder to Spalatin that he should work to prevent the Elector from staining his hands with the blood of the Zwickau prophets	1978
3. How Luther met with the new prophets after his return from Patmos, and soon discovered what children of the Spirit they were.	
638 Luther's report of this to Lang, in which he asserts, among other things, that he apparently encountered Satan among them.....	1978
639 Luther's report to Spalatin, how Nicolaus Storch, one of the new prophets, who did not attend the above meeting, had come to him in soldier's clothing, along with two others, and what he had given	1978
 B. Of the Carlstadt riots, which mainly forced Luther to return to Wittenberg.	
1. as Luther already complained in his Patmos about Carlstadt's disagreement in doctrine, but still tolerated him in order not to give the opponents any trouble.	
640 Luther's distress, shown in his Patmos against Amsdorf, over Carlstadt's contrary doctrinal opinions, stating that although he could easily be resisted, it would give the opponents an opportunity to boast as if the Wittenbergers themselves were at odds with one another, to the great annoyance of the weak in	1979.
2. Luther's decision to return to Wittenberg.	
641 Short Summarium of the First Five of the "Eight Sermons against D. Carlstadt's Innovations in Wittenberg," March 9-16, 1522, 1979.	
642 Luther writes to Spalatin that he hears worse things every day, and that it is necessary for him to return to Wittenberg as soon as possible; the Elector should not be concerned about him in	1983.

Section Three of Chapter Eight.

Of Luther's departure from his Patmos, his Second Coming, and his public appearance in Wittenberg.

A. How Luther announced his return to the court, but the Elector did not want to allow it. Column

- 643 Luther's letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he congratulates him on God's visitation of him with this cross (the riots in Wittenberg); he should not be frightened by it, but praise and thank God; but he wants to be present soon. End of February 1522 1984
- 644: Instruction of Elector Frederick for Johann Oswald, bailiff in Eisenach, to request Luther not to go to Wittenberg at all, because the pope and the emperor could easily demand his extradition. End of February 1522 1985

B. How Luther nevertheless set out and on the way freely announced his return to the court, and what means the Elector took to put himself out of suspicion and blame with the Emperor and the Imperial Regiment because of Luther's return to Wittenberg.

- 645 Luther's letter from Borna to the Elector, written with unheard-of frankness. March 5, 1522. ... 1989
646. instruction of the Elector for D. H. Schürf to Luther: that he should write a letter to the Elector, stating his reasons for having gone back to Wittenberg and testifying that this had happened without the knowledge of the Elector, and that the letter should be written in such a way that the Elector could communicate it to several gentlemen. March 7, 1522 1994
- 647 D. Schurf's reply and report thereon. March 9 1522 .. 1995
- 648 Luther's letter to the Elector, drawn up at the Elector's request. The 7 Mä^ 1522 1998
- 649th Postscript to this letter 2001
- 650: The Elector's second rescript to Schürf: There is something in Luther's letter that needs to be changed, which he has Spalatin indicate to him; he should persuade Luther to do so. March 11 1522 2002
- 651 Luther's letter to Spalatin, that the change that has taken place is not at all dear to him, but he wants to give way to the Elector's weak faith. He reports that Carlstadt is making it difficult to give in, but that Christ will force him to do so. March 13, 1522 2003

Column

- 652 Luther's previous letter to the Elector was moderated and amended by Spalatin at his command. March 12, 1522 2005
- 653 Schurf's report to the Elector, when Luther's changed form was sent, about how there was immense joy in Wittenberg over Luther's return and sermons, and how the people were already beginning to recognize the truth again. March 1522 2008
- 654: Prince Frederick of Saxony's letter to Duke John of Luther's return to Wittenberg with an enclosed copy of Luther's letter of apology and the request to have another copy taken and sent to von Planitz in Nuremberg so that he can show it at the Imperial Diet. [March 16, 1522.
- 655: Instruction of the Elector to Planitz enclosed at the same time concerning Luther's letter of apology. March 16, 1522 2010
- C. How Luther, immediately after his arrival in Wittenberg, earnestly resisted the innovations of Zwilling, Carlstadt, and other mischiefs.**
656. The "eight sermons against Carlstadt's innovations" delivered by Luther after his return to Wittenberg, March 9-16. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 5 ff.
- 657 Luther's writing "Von beider Gestalt des Sacraments zu nehmen und anderer Neuerung. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 62.
- D. How Luther announces his return to good friends, as well as his opinion of what he thinks of Carlstadt's actions, and how he enrages him greatly by his opposition; also that he is in great danger as someone who is still under ban and imperial power.**
658. Luther's writing to Nicolaus Hausmann, in which he exhorts him to stand firm against the new prophets, gives news of the evil that has broken out in Wittenberg, and indicates that he dares to control it only by means of the Word. March 17 1522 2011
- 659 Luther's letter to Gerbet in Strasbourg, in which he reports that he had to plunge himself into the midst of the emperor's and the pope's wrath because of the ruin that had been wrought in his sheepfold by his return to Wittenberg, but that he surrenders to the will of God. March 18, 1522 2013
- 660: Luther's report to Wenceslaus Link, the same Contents. March 19 1522 2015
- 661 Luther apologizes to Joh. Lang that he cannot come to Erfurt; there is no need to tempt God; he already has enough danger in Wittenberg, since he is under the spell of the Pope and the Emperor..... 2015
- 662 Luther writes to D. Joh. Heß his opinion about the unrest and innovations that have taken place. March 25, 1522 2015

	Column
663 Luther's report to Caspar Güttel that he had offended Carlstadt by rescinding his orders, and indicates what Carlstadt's errors were. March 30, 1522	2016
 Section Four of Chapter Eight.	
Of Gabriel Zwilling's conversion and improvement, as well as of the hope for Carlstadt's improvement, which soon turned around.	
 A. Zwilling's conversion, recovery and fate, and how Luther faithfully took care of him with the Elector, but in vain.	
664 Luther's Opinion on Zwilling's Change and Improvement in a Letter to Spalatin	2018
665 Luther's letter of recommendation for Zwilling to the mayor and council of Altenburg for a preacher's position. April 17, 1522	2018
666 Luther's letter to Zwilling that he should accept the Altenburg profession. April 17, 1522	2019
667 Frederick for Gabriel Zwilling, he wanted to let him come to the request of the council and the congregation of Altenburg to preach there, although the lords of the rule opposed it. May 8, 1522	2020
668 Luther's other letter to the mayor and council of Altenburg, in which he testifies to his joy that Zwilling pleases them, and lives in hope that the Elector will allow the request made on his behalf to take place. May 8, 1522	2023
669 Luther sends to Spalatin the petition of Altenburg that Gabriel Zwilling be left to them, and himself adds the request that the Elector not take the same away from there and expel him	2024
670 Luther's letter of exhortation to Zwilling, He should not boast of what he will suffer and do for the word of God, but rather walk in the fear of God and despair of his ability, let Christ do everything alone; moreover, abstain from all innovations, turn his congregation away from external things and ceremonies through the word, and lead them primarily on faith and love. May 8, 1522	2024
671. Luther's letter to Zwilling, in which he admonished him to wait calmly to see whether or not he would retain his office. May 27, 1522	2025.
672 Luther's answer to Zwilling when he told him about the that he would have had to leave Altenburg, and the Elector would have put another in his place	2026
673 Luther testifies to his displeasure with Spalatin, that Zwilling had been expelled, and reports that he had received very good praise from the people of Altenburg.	2026
 B. How Luther tried to appease the angry Carlstadt in kindness and to bring him to better thoughts, which also went quite well, and seemed to have renewed the friendship with Luther, therefore Luther carried him again with great patience.	
674 Luther's report to Spalatin, how he had asked Carlstadt on Easter Monday 1522 to stop writing against him, otherwise he would have to oppose him against his will, which he did not want to do because of the papists. From this, Carlstadt presumed highly that he would not consider a pen against him, although the Rector already had some printed sheets in his hands, who worked together with the Senate to have Carlstadt take the book back again	2027.
675 Luther's report to Spalatin that he had written to Carlstadt about a meeting and settlement with him. [Dec. 29, 1524.]	2027
676 Luther's report to Wenceslaus Link on the April 8, 1523, that he would come to Link's wedding along with others, but Carlstadt was not at home	2027
 C. How Carlstadt broke with Luther again in the beginning of 1524, had writings printed against him, and escaped to Orlamünde, cunningly drove out the priest there, took his office and income, and in addition sought to justify himself to the Elector by very impudent and presumptuous writings.	
677 Luther's steeling of the changes and incidents with Carlstadt together with his thoughts about it	2027
678 Luther's report to Spalatin that Carlstadt, after his own fashion, had not yet ceased to make trouble, but intended to have eighteen tracts printed against him, and had already made a start on some of them.	2028
679 Luther's thoughts to Spalatin about Carlstadt's departure from Wittenberg, together with a heartfelt wish that God would not give him there in a wrong way, and an exhortation to Spalatin to still pray for him; Luther, however, is concerned that he will not desist from hastening towards his downfall	2028
 D. How Luther had to travel to Jena on the prince's orders and warn the people there against the false spirits, which offended Carlstadt and led to a disputation with Luther.	
680 The so-called Acta Jenensia or Martin Reinhard's, preacher at Jena, report of the action between D. Luther and D. Carlstadt, which took place at Jena on Aug. 22, 1524; printed at the end of September	2028
681. Luther's letter to Spalatin, in which he judged about the Acta, that they are quite unfaithful	

	Column
and lies and truth are mixed together. Oct. 3, 1524	2036
682 Luther's letter to Amsdorf, the same content as the previous one, reporting that Carlstadt had sent a letter to the Orlamünde, with a strange signature, and that the preacher Reinhard had received orders to leave Jena	2037.
E. How Luther traveled from Jena also to Kahla and Orlamünde, and what repulsions he encountered in both places.	
683 Letter from the council and congregation of Orlamünde to Luther, in which they complain that he publicly declared them heretics and false spirits in the pulpit and ask him to come to them so that they can give him an account of their faith. Aug 16 1524	2037
684: Luther's Action with the Council and Community of Orlamünde. Aug. 24, 1524	2039
685] Mathesius' account of how Luther traveled to Kahla and preached a sermon there, and what he encountered in the process. [Aug. 23, 1524.	2044
F. How Carlstadt finally had to vacate the land by order of the Elector and Duke John, against which the intercession of Orlamünde did not help.	
686 Luther's report to Spalatin on how Carlstadt, after his departure, wrote two letters to Orlamünde, one to the men, the other to the women, for the reading of which the people were called together by the bells	2045.
G. How Carlstadt then went to Strasbourg and further to Basel, and Luther, when he had warned the Strasbourg people against Carlstadt, began to publicly blaspheme through writings, and also vehemently denied the true presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper.	
687 Luther's letter to Gerbet in Strasbourg to comfort him and others about the Carlstadt trades. Oct. 22, 1524	2045
688 Luther's letter of warning to the Christians of Strasbourg to beware of Carlstadt's swarms.	
rei to be well provided for. ^15 Dec. 1524.^	2047
689. the Strasbourg letters and reports to Luther about Carlstadt.	
a. Letter of the jurist Gerbel to Luther from Carlstadt's nobles against the Lord's Supper and baptism. Nov. 22, 1524	2053
b. The Strasbourg Lutheran preachers Capito, Zell, Hedio, Auhießer, Schwarz, Firn and Bucer letter to Luther. 23 Nov. 1524	2055
690 Carlstadt's Tractate, in which he vehemently denied the true presence of Christ in Holy Communion, and made Luther as black as possible	2065

Section Five of Chapter Eight.

Of the renewed hope for Larlstadt's change and settlement with Luther, for which the latter again offered his hand, and not only pleaded for him with Elector Frederick, but also, after his death, obtained permission from the new Elector John for him to come to Saxony again, and again made every effort to bring Carlstadt back on the right path, who, however, after a friendship that had lasted for a while, was unresponsive and remained obdurate, secretly exchanged letters with the insane spirits, and then escaped from Saxony forever.

A. What an effort Luther made while Frederick the Wise was still alive to bring Carlstadt back into the country, but the court shot this down. Column

691 Luther's report to Spalatin of Dec. 29. 1524 that he had written to Carlstadt, and hoped to have a meeting with him and make peace	2066
692. Luther's letter to Spalatin that he had been Carlstadt, and he sends this answer along, asking Spalatin to arrange for Carlstadt's safe conduct with the Elector in order to hold an interview with him. March 4, 1525	2066
693 Luther's report to Spalatin on how he liked the Elector's negative answer, which he wanted to send to Carlstadt	2067.

B. How Carlstadt after the death of Elector Frederick, fearing to be killed as a co-instigator of the peasant revolt, again sought help from Luther; he compassionately hid Carlstadt in his house for more than eight weeks, induced him to recant through printed writings, trusted him even this time, and obtained permission from Elector John for his return to Saxony.

694 Luther's letter to all Christians as a preface to Carlstadt's booklet, in which he apologizes for the riot. Probably late June or early July 1525	2068
695 Luther's preface to "Carlstadt's Declaration, How He Respects and Wants His Doctrine of the Reverend Sacrament and Others Respected. Probably still in July 1525	2071
696 Luther with Prince John for Carlstadt on Nov. 22, 1526, that he be allowed to live in Kemberg, because he could not stay in the villages around Wittenberg because of the malice of the peasants, and the provost in Kemberg could supervise him better	2073

C. Of Carlstadt's renewed inconsistency, new false tricks against Luther, stubborn insistence on his error, secret correspondence with Krautwald and Schwenkfeld against Luther and the Wittenbergers, and his secret escape from Saxony.

Column

- 697 Luther's report to Melanchthon that Carlstadt had already been absent from the place assigned to him for several weeks and was perhaps looking for his nest elsewhere, adding that he should always move there because he could not be brought back to his rightful place by any kind of good deed.....2073
- 698 Luther's report to Brenz on how Carlstadt, who until now had been carried in the fold, as it were, in the hope that he would get back on the right path, had become more and more hardened day by day, and how he still held to his opinion of the Lord's Supper.2074
- 699: "Luther's Answer and Refutation of Some Erroneous Arguments, Which D. Carlstadt Led Against Him to Defend and Preserve His False Opinion of the Holy Sacraments. End of November 1527, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 324.
- 700 Carlstadt's letter to the Silesians Krautwald and Schwenkfeld, in which he badly criticizes Luther's great confession of the Lord's Supper, also complains about his poverty and the poor mercy of the Wittenbergers, although they see and know that he must sell everything, and also reports that he has written a booklet about Lutheran disunity and wants to write another about their (the Sacramentarians') unity. May 17 15282074
- 701 Carlstadt's letter to Chancellor Brück, in which he accuses Luther and defends his false opinion and error about the Sacrament. Aug. 12, 15282076
- 702 Luther's report to Chancellor Brück, in which he apologizes against Carlstadt's display and at the same time warns against him. Sept. 24. 15282089

Section Six of Chapter Eight.

From other, partly after Tarlstadt's evil example, arisen ravings, errors, impetuous preachers and similar annoyances, against all of which Luther bravely Resisted.

A. Of the impetuous preacher at Oelsnitz and" others who had spread erroneous teachings.

- 703 Luther's testimony of his annoyance at such preachers who cause trouble with uncouth words and manners2092
- 704 Luther expresses his displeasure against Spalatin that the Weimar court preacher

Column

- Wolfgang Stein had married an old woman for the sake of mammon, which was a disgrace to the Gospel2092
- 705 Luther's letter to the council of Oelsnitz on account of their impetuous preacher, in which he asks that the people be turned away from him and that the mob be prevented from using violence. Dec. 4, 15232092
- 706 Luther's letter to Michael von der Straßen concerning the preacher at Oelsnitz, Wolfgang Crusius, who, in very harsh words, rejected confession and absolution, as well as papal law and the Mass without Communion. 16 Oct. 1523 2094
- 707 Luther's letter to Elector John of Saxony concerning Hans Mohr, a soldier at Coburg, who had denied the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. Jan. 16, 15282095
- 708 Luther's letter to Michael von der Straßen against the rebellious preacher at Oelsnitz. Dec. 5, 15232096

B. How D. Strauß at Eisenach and Wolfgang Stein at Weimar wanted to abolish imperial and papal law and reintroduce the Mosaic laws.

- 709 Luther's objection, written at the request of Duke John Frederick on June 18, 1524, to the controversy raised by Jakob Strauss as to whether one should judge according to the laws of Moses or those of the Emperor 2097.
- 710 Duke John Frederick's Answer to Luther about this Concern 2097

The ninth chapter.

Two imperial congresses held at Nuremberg in the years 1522 to 1524, and the consequences of the latter in particular.

First Section.

Of the former Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, which began in the fall of 1522 and continued until March 6, 1523.

A. From the imperial tender of this Imperial Diet.

- 711 Emperor Carl V's invitation to the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg. Feb. 12, 15222098

B. What the Emperor has sent to the Imperial Estates and to the Pope at their request concerning the Annals.

- 712 Emperor Carl V's answer to Count Palatine Frederick, Imperial Majesty's governor, and the estates assembled at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg, concerning the Annals. 15222101

	Column	
713 Emperor Carl V writes to Pope Hadrian VI, informing him of the request of the Imperial Estates. Oct. 31. 15222102		723 The papal legate Chieregati's reply, in which he rebukes the estates, but singles out the pope immensely, insists on the execution of the Worms edict, and accuses the estates of hemming in God's cause. 7 feb 1523 2183
714 The same document in another translation2105		
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715 Pope Hadrian VI's breve exhorting Elector Frederick to help protect the dignity of the apostolic see and the tranquil state of Christendom at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg. 5 Oct. 15222108		724 Luther's response and offer to the Elector of Saxony's request that he refrain from harsh writing. May 29, 1523 2187
716 Pope Hadrian VI's extremely punitive breve to Elector Frederick of Saxony, in which he expresses his ingratitude to the Elector, that the Princely House of Saxony has to thank Pope Gregory V for the electorship, bitterly reviles Luther and the Elector, and exhorts the Elector to repentance and return, if he does not want to receive both swords, the papal and the imperial. 1523 2110		F. Of the futile proposals made at this Diet to settle Luther's case amicably.
717: The Elector Frederick of Saxony's response to this decree. 15232124		725 Proposal to settle Luther's case amicably that came to light in July 1523 2191
		726 The same according to Aurifaber's story 2192
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718 Pope Hadrian VI's instruction for his legate at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg, in which the papal confession of the miserable decay of the Church and the supreme necessity of a Reformation is especially noteworthy. 15222125		727 The imperial regiment at Nuremberg issued a resolution ordering all bishops to investigate and punish priests who have changed anything in the mass or other church customs, as well as monks who have left the church and those who have entered into matrimony. 20 Jan. 1522 2194
719 Pope Hadrian VI's Breve to the Estates of the Holy Roman Empire Assembled at Nuremberg. Nov. 25, 1522. ..2132		728 Duke George's decree against Luther that monks and priests who adhere to Luther's cause and those who receive Holy Communion in both forms are to be imprisoned, and that the students are to be recalled from the universities where the new doctrine is being taught. 10 Feb. 1522 2196
The Imperial Estates' answer to the above papal request, in which Archduke Ferdinand as governor and the Imperial Estates thank the pope for the promise that he will keep the treaties, but at the same time ask the pope to diligently reform the complaints and abuses that they have handed over in specific points, otherwise there will be no peace and harmony. Feb. 5, 15232138		729. Mandate of Duke Henry of Brunswick, the Younger, against Luther. Jan 12, 1522 2199
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722 The secular imperial estates' gravamen, or grievances they have against the See of Rome and other ecclesiastical estates, which are handed over to the papal orator at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg. 15232146		731 Roman Imperial Majesty's mandate in Doctor Martin Luther's matters, together with the exhortation to do so every Sunday against the Turks in the pulpit. March 6, 1523 2201
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736 Pope Hadrian VI's Breve to the Council of Bamberg against M. Luther, Nov. 30. 1522, Germanized by Luther himself, with his glosses, follow-up speech and reply. 1523 ..	2223	747 "Two imperial discordant and repugnant commandments concerning Luther," with Luther's preface and postscript. After April 1524
737. Two letters from Hans von der Planitz to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, concerning the action at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg, dated Dec. 27, 1522, and Jan. 8, 1522. 1523	2232	2274
Chapter Nine, Section Two.		Section Three of Chapter Nine.
The new Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, which was to begin on December 11, 1523, was attended by the Elector of Saxony at the beginning of December, but was not opened until January 14, 1524.		The first of these was the Regensburg Arivatconvent of the papally-minded princes, bishops and estates, which took place soon after these two imperial congresses, and the constitution drawn up there.
A. From the Campeggio's Attachment at Chursachsen.		748 The papal nuncio in Germany, Campegius, as well as King Ferdinand and most of the Catholic ecclesiastical and secular princes of the Roman Empire, issued a constitution concerning the reformation of the abuses committed by the clergy in Germany. July 7, 1524
738 Breve of Pope Clement VII to the Electorate of Saxony, Dec. 7, 1523, in which he reminds the Elector to behave as befits his house. 2236		2296
739 A somewhat more extensive breve of 15 Jan. 1524 ..2238		Section Four of Chapter Nine.
740 Letter from Campeggio to the Elector Frederick of Saxony. 29 Feb. 1524		2239
B. About the passing of this Diet, and how the making of it met with great opposition, as well as about other acts that took place at this Diet.		About the death of Pope Hadrian VI at Nuremberg between the two above-mentioned imperial congresses, after he had canonized Bishop Benno of Meissen a quarter of a year before, against which action Luther had printed a document, and what qualities this Pope had.
741. farewell of the Diet of Nuremberg, Apr. 18. 1524..... 2243		749 Pabst Hadrian VI's Bull of the Canonization of St. Benno, then Bishop of Meissen. Rome, May 31, 1523..... 2310
742: Protestation of the Electors and Princes of Saxony and of the Counts and Lords against the Imperial Decree at Nuremberg. April 20, 1524		2260
C. How enraged the emperor was by the papists' decision to leave, and by the letter of complaint and very sharp edict he sent to the estates.		750 Luther's writing "against the new idol and old devil, who is to be exalted in Meissen". Late April or early May 1524.... 2323
743 Action on the Roman Catholic religion at a convention in Regensburg by the imperial governor and several Catholic estates. July 6, 1524		2263
		751 A letter from Battus Parmensis to Hieronymus Saulius, in which Hadrian is accused not only of atrocious avarice, but also of shameful and sodomitic fornication. 13 Jan. 1524 2340
		752 Speech by Conrad Vegerius on the death of Hadrian VI in the presence of the Cardinals in Rome in 1523 2345

1522 publicirten Beschluss (siehe oben das 727. Document.), von den Bischöfen zu Merseburg und Meißen vorgenommenen Visitation in den churfürstlichen Landen.	
A. About the visitation of Bishop Adolph at Merseburg, but especially about the dispute between this bishop and the parish priests at Schönbach And Book.	Column
753 Two letters from Johann Stumpf, pastor of Schönbach, to Adolph, bishop of Merseburg, dated 1522, in which he proves that it is not heresy to serve Holy Communion in two different forms, and further requests the bishop's protection against his enemies and a safe conduct.	2354
754 Answer given by the pastors of Schönbach and Buch to the castle of Colditz. After 25 Aug. 1523	2356
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Reformation Writings.

First part: Historical documents.

A. Against the Papists.

The first chapter.

The historical documents in the first chapter, such as papal bulls, letters of indulgence and butter, indulgence instructions and the like, show how religion was turned into a trade in the papacy. The entire papal indulgence system is presented to us according to its origin and progress, especially Tetzel's indulgences, which gave rise to the Reformation.

The first section.

On the origin and progress of papal indulgences.

A. The pope has driven out money by tendering the Jubilee and letters of indulgence for churches, monasteries, hospitals 2c.

1. Bull of Pope Boniface VIII, Anno 1300, in which he decrees that every hundred years there should be a Jubilee Year, in which Christians who come to Rome and perform certain devotions there should be granted a general remission of all sins by the Roman Pontiff.

From cherubim bullar. rrmZu. toru. l. aä aun. l300 no. 7, p. 178.

Translated into German.

Bonifacius, the bishop, to the constant memory of the cause.

It is already known from reliable stories of ancient ancestors that those who visit the venerable main church of St. Peter, the most distinguished among the apostles, in the city of Rome,

great indulgences and forgiveness of sins. Therefore, We, who by virtue of our office have the salvation of all and every man very much at heart, and who gladly take care to promote it, consider all such and similar decrees of indulgences and indulgences in general and in particular to be approved, good, and right, and also approve and confirm them by virtue of our apostolic sovereignty and authority; indeed, we hereby wish to have them renewed and protected, administered, and fortified by the present Manifesto.

So that the more devoutly and diligently their main churches in Rome are visited by the faithful of Christ, the more gloriously and more highly the blessed apostles Peter and Paul may be venerated; and so that these faithful themselves, in view of and on account of such diligent attendance, may feel themselves filled with and gifted with an all the richer impartation of such spiritual gifts of grace:

Thus, in and out of perfect confident trust, we want to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the very same of His holy apostles high merits and reputation,

On the advice of our brethren, and by virtue of our perfect apostolic authority, to all those who in this one thousand and three hundred years, begun on the recently passed feast of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ; likewise, who in future times, whenever another hundred years have passed, reverently come and attend the above-mentioned two main churches, have done true penance and confession, or will still do true penance and confession, both in the present jubilee year, as well as in each such year, as often as it will follow again after a hundred years, not only in a complete and abundant, but even in a most perfect and exuberant measure, indulgence and forgiveness of all their sins are entitled to and grant. They also hereby really grant them, and decree, set and resolve that those who wish to partake of such indulgences granted by us, if they are Roman residents, shall attend these two main churches at least 30 days after each other, or even one after the other, and only once on the same day; but if they should be foreigners or persons of jurisdiction, they shall likewise attend these two main churches for 15 days in the above manner. However, the more often and the more devoutly he visits these churches, the more he will earn and also the more powerful indulgences he will obtain. Given at Rome in the Vatican, 22 Feb. of Our Papal Dignity in the 6th year.

2nd Bull of Pope Clement VI, Anno 1330, in which he recalls the Jubilee Year after every fifty years.

From the eorxus juris cunonieï öxtruvaZ. eomm. lid. V., tit. 9th, 6ux>. 2.

Translated into German.

Clement the Sixth, the Archbishop of Tarragona and his auxiliary bishops.
The only begotten Son of God considered the body of the Virgin Mary worthy to descend from the bosom of His heavenly Father and to enter into it, where He united our essential and mortal nature with His divinity, in unity of person, in an ineffable and to us completely hidden way, which had its subsistence in the divine one, but did not absorb and accept the latter into its unity, so that in this way he might redeem the fallen human race and in its place fully reconcile the enraged father. For since the time had come

God sent His Son, born of a woman and made subject to the law, to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive the adoption of children. For he was made unto us of God unto wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption; and entered not by goats' and calves' blood, but by his own blood once into the holy place, and found an everlasting redemption. As he did not redeem us with perishable silver and gold, but with his precious blood, as an innocent and unblemished lamb, which he poured out on the altar of the cross, although he knew of no sin, not drop by drop, which would have been enough to redeem the entire human race, because of the exact union with the independent word, but frequently and stream by stream, so that from the sole of the foot to the head, nothing healthy was to be found in him. What a glorious treasure he has acquired for the struggling church! Which the pious Father in heaven is willing to give to his children, so that this bloodshed, which was done out of merciful love, would not be in vain, futile and superfluous, and so that we poor people would have an infinite treasure, through which we could be made partakers of God's lost grace, love and friendship again, if only we would make use of it. Finally, he entrusted this treasure to Blessed Petro, who holds the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and to his ordinary successors as governors on earth, so that it would not be kept in a sweat sheet, as it were, or remain hidden in the field, but would be made known through them to the faithful in a salutary way, and, for peculiar and reasonable reasons, be graciously applied to the truly penitent and confessing, both in general and, in particular, as they may deem good, to the complete and partial remission of the temporal punishment deserved for sin. As is well known, the merits of the blessed Mother of God and of all the saints contribute much to the increase of this treasure; and there is not the least reason to fear that it will ever be diminished or exhausted, partly because Christ's merit is infinite, and partly because the merits of the elect and saints become so much greater the more their number increases. Which, our predecessor, Pope Boniface the Eighth, of blessed memory, contemplated in godly contemplation, and carefully considered what great reverence and esteem should be paid to the most glorious among men and the most distinguished in the world.

The apostles are to be blamed for the fact that the light of the gospel has dawned in Rome and the Christian religion has been introduced, that they have begotten the church of Christ through the word of the gospel, that they have shepherded the Lord's flock, that they have shone forth with their faith to others, that they are to be regarded as pillars of the church, and that they have a special privilege before the other apostles because of the power of faith in our Savior Himself; He entrusted the keys of the kingdom of heaven to one of them, the foremost of all the apostles, as a faithful steward; to the other, as a skillful and efficient teacher, he entrusted the most distinguished teaching office in the church: In order that their memory might be renewed the more diligently, that they might be venerated the more zealously, devoutly and humbly by all believing Christians, and that their grace and protection might be assured the more undoubtedly, he wished to open such an inexhaustible treasure to encourage the faithful in their devotion and to reward them for it, and, after the counsel of his brethren, concluded that all who, in the year of the birth of our Lord 1300, and every 100 years thereafter, approached the main churches of the said apostles in Rome with reverence, and, if they were Roman citizens, visited them 30 days, but if they were foreigners or judicial persons, 15 days one after the other, or alternately one after the other, at least once during the day, but not differently from penitents and confessors, should obtain and receive complete and perfect remission of all their sins. But after we have perceived that according to the law of Moses, which the Lord came not to abolish but to fulfill spiritually, the fiftieth year was a year of reverence or remission, and those days on which the debts were remitted were solemnly observed; likewise that the fiftieth number is to be held strange and especially high, because in the Old Testament on the fiftieth day the law was given, and in the New the Holy Spirit, by whom we obtain forgiveness of sins, was visibly poured out upon the apostles, and that in this number still lie several and exceeding great mysteries of the holy divine Scriptures: We, who are very much inclined to listen to the groaning of the Roman nation, which belongs to us, and which is humbly before us, by means of the special messengers appointed for this purpose, just as it was done in former times by Moses and Aaron, and we have to ask for the sake of the entire Christian people, and to break out in the words: "Lord, open your treasure to them, and let them draw living water from it, as from a well," gladly and willingly;

not that they may cease to murmur in the manner of the obdurate and hardened Jewish people, but rather that zeal and devotion in religion may grow and increase among this noble and valuable nation and among all the faithful, that faith may appear in its full splendor, that hope may flourish and blossom, and that love may become all the more ardent; besides heartily wishing that quite a few may be granted this indulgence. Considering, however, that the fewest bring their age, because of the shortness of human life, to a hundred years, according to the counsel of our brethren, it has been deemed good to set said indulgence, for the above-mentioned and other legitimate and well-founded reasons, to the fiftieth year, and to decree, according to the aforesaid counsel of our brethren and our complete apostolic authority, that all the faithful who, as truly penitent and confessing, will live the next 1350th year, and thereafter every 50 years, be granted the indulgence. year, and every 50 years thereafter, the said churches of the Apostles Peter and Paul and the Papal Palace, where Constantine, of glorious memory, having received Holy Baptism from the blessed Pope Sylvestro, as revealed to him by God through these Apostles, and having been freed from leprosy, in honor of Christ our Savior, and Pope Sylvestro himself is said to have consecrated it with special ceremonies and newly invented chrism, on the walls of which a crucifix, painted and all the more highly esteemed, was first presented to the eyes of the entire Roman people, and in honor of whom, for these and other certain and reasonable reasons, so that this temple may receive a higher adornment from the privilege of more said indulgences, and devout Christians may deserve from the Savior Himself, who proved Himself wonderful, great and mighty in often-named apostles, to obtain rich indulgences by their merits and intercession, we are to visit for devotion in the aforesaid manner, to receive complete and utter remission of all their sins. Thus, and in such a way that those who wish to obtain such indulgences shall be obliged to attend the aforementioned main churches and papal palace for at least 30 days if they are Roman citizens, or 15 days if they are foreigners or sovereigns. Also make this decree that those who wish to obtain such indulgences shall be present there, and after they have made the journey, are hindered for justifiable reasons from coming to Rome in the same year, or on the way, or before the aforementioned number of days have elapsed, they shall confuse the temporal with the eternal in the aforementioned city, where they shall do true penance.

and confess their sin, shall be granted this indulgence. Nevertheless, we declare all and every indulgences which have been decreed and granted by us or by our predecessors in the papal dignity, both in the city mentioned above and in other churches, to be valid; we approve, confirm and renew them by virtue of our apostolic authority, and we also want to protect them by the present writing. Accordingly, no one shall dare to violate this written ordinance 2c. 2c. But if anyone should attempt to do so, let him know that he will infallibly incur the wrath and disgrace of Almighty God and of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Avignon, January 27, 1349, in the first year of our papal dignity. Accordingly, we command you, our brethren, by our apostolic authority, that if you, in all your cities and episcopal sees, make our letter known and understandable to your spiritual and temporal, high and low subjects, you may endeavor that, with the help of God, they may prepare and enable themselves to deserve this indulgence and be worthy of it. Incidentally, since the present letter, for the sake of the very different ways and other existing legal obstacles, can hardly be delivered to all and everyone among you, it is our will that through you, as archbishops, our own handwritten letter should be sent to you, its auxiliary bishops, in copy and sealed, to which we have herewith accorded complete faith. Given 2c. 2c.

3rd Bull of Pope Paul II, Anno 1470, in which he reduces the time of recurrence of the Jubilee Year to twenty-five years.

From Cherubim bullar. insZu. tom. I., arm. 1470 no. 7, p. 385.
Translated into German.

Paul, the bishop, a servant of the servants of God,
for the constant remembrance of the cause.

The ineffable providence of the Most High (who, for the redemption of men and the reconciliation of their nature, condemned to eternal death because of Adam's transgression, has clothed His only begotten Son in the garment of our mortality, and, having preached the sacred doctrine of the Gospel, has given Him the power to redeem mankind) has made His Son the Son of God.

The Lord, who has borne and given a holy example of his life and deeds on earth, crucified him and let him die, equips us through praiseworthy discipleship so that, since we, without special merits, are the governors of our Savior on earth, we make every effort to protect the Lord's host, which, according to his decree, has been entrusted to our care, concern and watchfulness, and which the deceitful and deceptive enemy is always trying to draw away from the path of righteousness, to make them pleasing and pleasant to our Creator, who does not want the death of sinners but their conversion, and to present them diligently in good works, so that we may escape the severe justice and well-deserved divine vengeance and punishment on the last dreadful day of judgment, when the final account will be demanded of us. It is therefore incumbent upon us to direct our minds and thoughts by vigilant care so that we may, under the gracious assistance of the Most High, so usefully provide for the salvation of all believing souls of Christ, and so salutary promote it by all kinds of spiritual gifts of grace, that one may be able to defend oneself against the cunning attempts of the enemy with a proven remedy, and the believers themselves may carry away the reward of eternal blessedness by the grace of the Most High.

Since long ago, when it was known from credible stories of the ancients that great indulgences and forgiveness of sins had been granted to those who had come to Rome to the venerable churches of the most distinguished among the apostles, Pope Boniface VIII, of blessed memory, our predecessor, as he sought the salvation of all believers with earnestness, and was only concerned that, because through the blessed originators of Christian doctrine, Peter and Paul, true worship had been established in the holy Roman and universal Church, and the Gospel of Christ had dawned in Rome, that these most distinguished of the apostles, as shepherds of the Lord's host and as strong pillars of this church, are held in special esteem and reverence, and that this our predecessor may himself open to the faithful an incomparable treasure of blessedness, he concluded, according to the counsel of his brethren: that all those who in the 1300. year after the birth of Christ, and so on every 100 years at this time, would come to Rome to the main churches of these apostles in reverence, and the same, if they are Roman citizens, at least 30 days, but if they are foreigners, or persons of authority, 15 days in succession, or one after the other, the day at least once, as truly penitent.

and confessors personally should obtain and receive as it has actually been observed.

the most perfect indulgence of all their sins.

Pope Nicolaus the Fifth, of blessed memory, also

Afterwards, however, our predecessor, Pope our predecessor, who, after the example of these Clement the Sixth, of blessed memory, moved by forefathers, considered the more-mentioned Bull of foreseen and some other causes, reduced the Clementine Indulgences valid and approved, renewed aforementioned indulgence to the fiftieth year after and confirmed it with the approval of his brethren at mature consideration, and decided by virtue of that time and of ours, and by virtue of the perfect apostolic sovereignty that all believers of Christ would apostolic power, and by virtue of perfect apostolic devoutly visit the aforementioned main churches and authority, renewed, confirmed, protected by his indult the Lateran every fifty years, as often as was formerly and made public, decided and decreed that all the decreed, and should be granted the same indulgence faithful of Christ who did true penance and confessed for their sins.

their sins, if according to the regulation contained in the

Also subsequently, our predecessor, Pope our predecessor, Pope our predecessor Clementis, in the then Gregory XI, of blessed memory, demanded that the still future 1450th year after the birth of our Lord, shall Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary Majoris, together be punished. The letter, which is often referred to, with the aforementioned main churches and the reads more extensively: "If, according to the regulation Lateran, should be emblazoned with the contained in the papal bull of our predecessor aforementioned privilege granted for indulgences, Clementis, in the then still future 1450th year after the and therefore carefully drafted the conclusion, and by birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, they visited the virtue of the aforementioned apostolic majesty made aforementioned main churches and temples, they the decree, that whoever of the Christian faithful has should obtain a complete remission of all their sins.

a desire to obtain such an indulgence as has been Thus we, who by the mercy of the Most High, expressed in the indult of this Clementis, should and according to His gracious prudence, have governed must visit the B[eată] Mariă Majoris Church, as well the Catholic and universal Church during the past as the above-mentioned main churches and the years, and who, after wise deliberation, have justly Lateran.

considered that the weak condition of human life,

And Urbanus the Sixth, whom we call with due which is inclined to sin and transgression, is running obedience, having well considered that human age so fast, as was thought before, that the human age was growing shorter and shorter, and wished that the would be very short, and we would be subject to many vast majority of people might be granted this pestilences and deadly diseases because of our sins; indulgence, yet because of the brevity of human life, Also that the Turks and unbelievers would constantly very few reach the age of fifty, In order that the have to issue severe persecutions against the faithful, devotion of the people may increase more and more, and that the whole of Christendom, which had been the light of faith may shine and love may become greatly oppressed in past times, would still have to more fervent, for these and other important reasons, suffer many and no less injustices, miserable according to the advice of his brothers, the above-accidents and damages, and that many other plagues mentioned fiftieth year has been reduced to the 33rd and tribulations would so greatly prevail against the year. And according to the advice of his brothers and members of Christ, and would commonly cause such by virtue of the perfect apostolic power, he made the and other adverse fates, that very few would deserve statute that all the faithful who do true penance and to be granted such indulgences; Not less also well confess their sins, if in the 1390th year after the birth considered that it is nothing new or unusual, after the of our Lord, and so on every 33 years, they visit the times change, to reduce the statutes of these said main churches, the Lateran and the Church of predecessors to a shorter time, primarily because of the Blessed Mary Majoris in Rome, in the prescribed the blessedness of believing souls, which we seek with manner, should receive this same indulgence and all our heart and diligently provide for it according to forgiveness of sins.

the grace bestowed upon us by the Lord; for the

Finally, after our predecessor, Martinus the Fifth, impetus of the aforementioned and some other Roman bishop of blessed memory, considered this important causes, this 33rd year, according to the reduction made by Urbano, confirmed it, and ordered counsel of our venerable Father, we have decided to that it should be followed in the 33rd year, it should reduce the statutes of these predecessors to a shorter also be put into effect at the beginning of that year.

time. We have, in accordance with the advice of our venerable brethren and by virtue of our complete authority, reduced this 33rd year from the 25th year; we also order and establish, by virtue of such prestige, approval and power, that in the future the Jubilee year (namely, the complete redemption year) and the

The Holy Mass of the Holy Apostles (the "Holy Reconciliation of the Human Race") with all and any of the above indulgences after 25 years should be held and solemnly celebrated with thanksgiving and inward pleasure by all believers in Christ. For we give and grant, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and in the reputation of these apostles, to these believers of both sexes, who in the 1475th year of the Lord, from the holy evening before the feast of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ of the 1474th year, until that time again reckoned, the indulgences of the Holy Spirit. The apostles will be the first ones to give the most complete indulgence of all their sins to these believers of both sexes, who will devoutly visit the main churches and the other churches, according to the decree of these predecessors, every twenty-five years from the holy evening before the feast of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ in the year 1474 until then.

Accordingly, all and every believer who seeks to attain to the knowledge of the revealed truth may well take heed of it, and weigh in the balance of their hearts with a like guide the burden of their sins, and how hardly they have indebted themselves to the holy Savior and incurred divine disfavor. They should also go through the register of their debts again, and remember that the course of this transitory time is gradually drawing to a close, and the inexorable law: You must die, applies to everyone without exception, which puts everyone in one class without distinction of persons and status, and that we have no reason to raise the honor of this world with vain praise, because as soon as one is born, the day of death is also announced, and because one must drag oneself through the unnoticed and uncertain course of this life with mortality until the very last day, because of the impermanence of the passing time. The terrible day of judgment shall also be diligently before their eyes, on which we shall give an account of all that we have done while alive, whether good or evil, and without the effect and benefit of an appeal or demand each shall receive his own reward, namely either the reward of eternal bliss or the punishment of eternal death and damnation, which the other death will never be able to shorten or alleviate. And since this is finally the case, and mortal men have nothing that they can worthily repay the Giver of all gifts (because they have nothing good in them that has not been graciously bestowed upon them by God), they should make an effort to escape this harmful death and damnation and atone for their sins through these and other meritorious works,

so that at least by these means and by the granting of such indulgences and indulgences, by which we invite all Christians, as it were with a given assurance, to eternal salvation, and by the merits and intercession of the saints to come to eternal blessedness, we may attain worthiness. Also, all who profess the Catholic faith should receive and accept with special joy the paternal admonitions and ordinances of salvation, and the rich grace of indulgences aimed at the preparation for eternal glory, which we, its unworthy stewards, as governors of JESUS CHRIST, distribute from the treasure entrusted to the holy Roman Church; so that we may snatch their souls from the power of the infernal enemy, give them to the immortal God, our Creator, as we sincerely wish, and we may attain the enjoyment of heavenly bliss together with them, amen. Accordingly, no 2c.

Given in Rome at St. Peter's, in the year after the birth of the Lord 1470, April 19, in the sixth year of our papal dignity.

4 Pope Sixtus IV's Confirmation Bull, in which he confirms the bull of his predecessor Paul II, and forbids all other pilgrimages and indulgences during the Jubilee Year.

From the eorpU8 juri8 Canonici, cxtravaZ. coinin. lib. V., tit. 9. cap. 4.

Translated into German.

Sixtus the Fourth.

Just as a diligent and vigilant shepherd makes every effort to ensure that the sheep entrusted to his care are safe from the attacks and dangerous pursuits of wild animals, and that they are placed in a good and blessed condition through constant growth and multiplication: So we also, who according to the will of the Most High have to take care of the whole flock of the Lord, have the most heartfelt desire, and tirelessly think of ways and means, how all believing members of Christ, whom the rejected enemy of the human race has drawn away from the true way of righteousness by his devilish intrigues and cunning, may have their heavy burden of sin removed and be reconciled again with their heavenly Father, so that they may enjoy the glorious reward of eternal life through the unchaste and unpolluted world.

We hope that the eternal salvation of the people will be seriously promoted by our efforts, which are based on the general benefit, and also by the acceptance and acceptance of grace, and that both our and our blessed predecessors' salutary decrees will be vigorously applied to them. If our predecessor, Pope Paul the Other, of blessed memory, for the reasonable reasons then mentioned, was moved to reduce the Jubilee Year to a shorter period by a wise decree, according to the advice and with the approval of our venerable brethren who were alive at that time and among whom we also found ourselves, and to bring it to the 25th year, by virtue of his apostolic authority. He also decreed that the aforementioned Jubilee should be celebrated every 25 years, and that the same should begin in the next year of the Lord 1474, namely from the holy evening before the birth of the Lord Christ, and that it should be concluded in 1475 at that time; also that all and every believer of both sexes who visited the main churches of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, the Lateran and the holy St. Mary Majoris Church in the Vatican, should be able to celebrate the Jubilee. Mary Majoris Church in the worthy city at the appointed time, should obtain all and every kind of indulgence and remission of their sins, which this pope and his predecessors had granted to those who devoutly visited said principal churches and places of worship in that year: We, who, after it has pleased the Lord to reclaim the said predecessor from temporality, have been elevated by the divine government of grace to the highest apostolic dignity, confirm, with the consent of our brethren, first by this, then also by our other letters, this predecessor Paul's decree, will and conclusion, together with all that is contained in this letter of his. We also resolve and decree that the said Jubilee Year, with the plenary indulgence and forgiveness of sins, shall last the future year from Christmas Eve until then, as is more extensively contained in all the aforementioned letters, which we have observed according to their content just as if it had been expressly told in the present one. However, because afterwards both we and our predecessor Paul, in order to promote the salvation of believing souls, at the request and entreaty of many princes and other believers in Christ and God-fearing per

In view of the fact that the Churches, monasteries and holy places have deemed it good to grant various kinds of perfect indulgence and remission of sins to some churches, monasteries and holy places, for which reason the pilgrimage of whole peoples to the said main churches and places of worship might be denied, or the approaching Jubilee Year itself might have to be shortened, or even discontinued, to the not inconsiderable detriment of poor souls: We, who by virtue of our pastoral office are bound to see to the growth of all the faithful and their blessedness, and by appropriate means are glad to prevent that, because of other letters of indulgence hitherto frequently granted by us, or by Paul, or by other of our predecessors, this sacred work and the proclamation of indulgences should be suspended, this sacred work and the year of indulgences and pardons, or that the faithful themselves be deprived of this high benefit, all and any complete liberties, indulgences and pardons, which either under the title of a jubilee year, or confusing one vow with the other, or being unknowingly stolen therefrom and from them, or property extorted by malicious usury or in any other illicit manner, or to formally remit them, and to deputize confessors with authority, even in cases reserved by the apostolic see, from us and that see, or by virtue of their authority to all churches, monasteries, hospitals, and holy orders, universities, Fraternities, both permanently and for a certain time, in life or in death, in whatever manner and in whatever circumstances it may have happened, as it may be, have been granted and may be granted in the future, by virtue of the apostolic authority and power through present letters, as long as it is pleasing to us and to this See. And we want them to be suspended and revoked as long as it pleases us and the said See, and in the meantime we do not want anyone to do anything about it, but in such a way that the indulgences granted for the said main churches and places of worship in Rome shall retain their full force. As we also hereby seriously forbid that other letters of indulgence, apart from these, be distributed to the public or to private parties, and that the indulgence merchants extort money with them. Yes, we also want and command that all indulgence merchants and indulgence preachers be forbidden such indulgence sermons and indulgence stuff by virtue of the present indult, under threat of public punishment and penalty, with which they shall be regarded in time. Accordingly, no one shall take the liberty to offend this written suspension, prohibition, order and will of ours, or to act contrary to it in a bold manner. But if anyone should do so

who shall know that by so doing he will incur the disgrace of Almighty God and of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Tivoli, in the year after the birth of Christ 1473, August 28, in the third year of our papal dignity.

5. several letters of indulgence, which show that the popes also granted indulgences outside the time of the Jubilee, either themselves or through others.

- a. The Cardinals of Avignon letter of indulgence for the church at Untergreislau not far from Weissenfels. 1331.

From the "innocent news and continued collection of old and new theological things," 1709, p. 201.

To all the sons of the Holy Mother, the Church, to whom the present letter will reach, we offer by God's grace William, Archbishop of Antivari, Alamannus in Suana, John of Verben, Laurentius of Arianna, Jacobus of Sagona, Wilhelmus of Bethlehem, Peter of Montimat, Wilhelmus of Acerne, Paulus of Alba, Benedictus of Candien, John of Servien, Bonifacius of Salatan, and Salmannus of Worms, bishops, constant salvation in the Lord.

The Holy Mother, who cares for the salvation of souls, is in the habit of encouraging the devotion of the faithful by some spiritual gifts, namely forgiveness and indulgences, so that they may pay due honor to the service of God and the Holy Church, that the more often and devoutly the Christian people gather there to implore the grace of the Savior unceasingly, the more they may become worthy to obtain forgiveness of their sins and the glory of the eternal kingdom. Because we want the parish church in Untergreislau, Naumburg district, to be visited with due honor and to be diligently honored by all believers in Christ: we remit to all truly penitent and penitent who come to the said church on all feasts of its patron saint and on the consecration (or on the church feast day) of the same church, as well as on other feasts mentioned below, for example Christmas, New Year's Day, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the invention and exaltation of the cross, on all and every feasts of the Holy Virgin Mary, St. Michael the Archangel, the Nativity and Beheading of St. John the Baptist, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and all other holy feasts.

Apostles and Evangelists; also Saints Stephen, Lawrence, Vincent, Pancrat and George the Less; Saints Martin, Nicolai, Gregory, August, Ambrose and Jerome; St. Mary Magdalene, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, St. Cecilia, St. Lucia, St. Agatha, St. Agnetis, St. Anne, the Mother of Mary, the 11,000 virgins, in memory of all the saints and souls, and through the octaves of such feasts, who have such octaves, as well as all Sundays, come for devotion, prayer or pilgrimage, or who at masses, when the bell rings, will say Hail Mary three times with bent knees; likewise who will lend a helping hand for the construction, lights, church decoration or other necessities of such a church; or who in their wills or otherwise will donate, bequeath or bequeath and have donated by others gold, silver, clothes or other gifts of love to the said church; or who will attend the masses of the priest and his sermons and contribute something out of love; or who will transform the churchyard of the said church with prayers for the souls of all deceased believers: as often as they do the aforesaid things or any of them in devotion, we shall all (I say), by the grace of Almighty God and trusting in the power of St. Peter and St. Paul, his apostles, graciously grant them in the Lord a 40-day indulgence from the penances imposed on them, if only the will and consent of the bishop of the district is given. In witness whereof we have caused this letter to be printed with our seal. Done Avignon the 18th of December Anno 1331, and of the papacy Pabst Johannis XXII. in the 16th year. 1)

We Henry, by the grace of God Bishop of Naumburg, consider all the indulgences mentioned above from the most venerable fathers, the above-mentioned archbishops and bishops, to be good and right, and confirm them by our episcopal power; and, by the grace of Almighty God and in reliance on the intercession of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, graciously grant 40 days' indulgence in the Lord from the penances imposed on them to all those who are truly penitent and confessed and who devoutly attend the above-mentioned church on the feasts named in the above-mentioned letter, or who will do a work contained in such letter. Done Zeitz, Anno 1332 2) the 7th of March.

1) In the old edition of Walch: "in the 6th year"; but John XXII became pope in 1316 and died in 1331.

2) It will read 1332 instead of "1331" in the old edition, since this letter of confirmation must be later than the previous writing.

b. Letter of indulgence for the parish church at Bernstadt in Upper Lusatia, dated Anno 1339.

From the "innocent news," 1728, p. 3.

To all who will see the present Brref, Martinus, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Amelinian Bishop, Bonus, by the same grace Calunensian Bishop, Arnoldus, by this grace Figeran Bishop, and Thomas, by this same grace Hemnensian Bishop, wish constant salvation in the Lord.

Since, as the apostle says, we all stand before the judgment seat of Christ and will receive what we have done in life, whether good or evil, we must prepare for our last day by works of mercy, and sow on earth in view of the eternal, so that when the Lord distributes the reward, we may gather multiplied fruit for it; because he who sows sparingly will also reap sparingly, and he who sows bountifully will also reap eternal life bountifully. If then on the part of the most beloved man Conrad Albrecht, from the city of Bernstadt, Meissen diocese, it has been humbly requested from us, that we may grant all those who make a pilgrimage to the church of St. Urbank,....the Virgin of this diocese: we also, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God, and in the prestige and authority of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, remit to all truly penitent and penitent persons, of both sexes, who visit said church on its feast days or other solemn times of the holy Virgin Mary, the Nativity of the Lord, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Resurrection, the Ascension, Pentecost, the Trinity and the Consecration of the Church, the Holy Cross, the Holy Angels, John the Baptist, the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and the other Apostles, Evangelists and Holy Martyrs, Stephani, ...as well as the holy church teachers, Hieronymi, and other teachers and holy confessors, Nicolai and Martini; not less the blessed Mary Magdalene, Agnetis, Lucia, Catharina, Margaretha and Elisabeth; likewise on the feast of all saints, and through their Octavas; on the feast of all souls and on all Sundays; also those who follow the Venerabile, when it is carried to the sick; or who, at the sound of the bells, devoutly pray three Hail Marys; or who, for the building, lights, ornaments, and other things necessary to the said church, will offer a helping hand, to each one of you (thus) mercifully in the Lord 40 days of the penances imposed upon them, provided the ordinary bishop thereof is satisfied therewith. In confirmation of this

We have preserved the present letter with our seal attached to it. Given at Rome in our palaces, in the year of our Lord 1339, on the seventh Roman numeral of interest, the papal dignity of the Lord Benedicti, Pope, the 12th day of the month of Martii, in the fifth year of the same.

And we Withigo, by the grace of God the Bishop of the Churches of Meissen, consider the said indulgence of the venerable fathers in Christ to be valid and approved, and confirm the same by virtue of the authority ... in the name of the Lord, add also for us 40 days of indulgence and a carenam, for those who will find themselves willing and ready for the said feast days and the above-mentioned good works.

And we John, by the grace of God Bishop of the Churches of Meissen, also confirm the letter of indulgence of the venerable Fathers in Christ, in the name of God by our attached seal, also add 40 days of indulgence together with a carena, for all who will come to the above.

c. Letter of indulgence for the church at Lommatsch, from Anno 1359.¹

From the "innocent news" 1722 n. 169

To all the holy Mother, the Church, sons to whom this present letter will come, we wish by divine permission Raphael in Arcadia, Angelus in Calamia, Franciscus in Lapsaco, Lazarus in Botrosta, Guido in Sosopoli, Bertholdus in Hadrian, Maternus in Casana, Lucas in Salubrica, Richardus in Bisacio, Peter in Valona, Peter in Calia, Richardus in Thermopolis, and Richardus in Pistoria, constant salvation in the Lord.

The brilliance of the divine light, which illuminates the world with its ineffable clarity, makes the godly desires of those who hope in its most gracious majesty enjoy its peculiar grace especially when their devout humility is assisted by the merits and prayers of the saints.

Since we desire that the parish church of St. Wenceslas in Lommatsch, Meissen District, be visited with due honor and diligently venerated by believers in Christ, we, and each one of us, want all truly penitent and penitent who go to said church on all feasts of its patron and on all subsequent feasts, namely Christmas, New Year's Day, Epiphany, Char Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, Pentecost, and the Feast of the Holy Trinity, to be able to attend the church of St. Wenceslas in Lommatsch with due honor.

¹ In Walch: "1339". In the years 1352-1362 Innocenz VI was pope. Pope.

The saints of the Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi, the invention and elevation of the cross, St. Michael the Archangel, the birth and beheading of St. John the Baptist, all the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Peter and Paul, apostles and evangelists, the four teachers of the churches, the feast of all the saints and the commemoration of souls. Peter and Paul, apostles and evangelists, the four teachers of the churches, on the feast of all the saints and the memorial of the souls, and on the said church consecration, the saints Stephani, Laurentii, Martini, Severi, Severini and Gregorii; the saints Catharina, Barbara, Elisabeth and Lucia, and through all octaves of all feasts that have octaves, and on all Sundays and Sabbaths of the whole year, come for devotion, prayer and pilgrimage, and who come for building, lights, books, chalices, clothes or other things, chalices, clothes, or other ornaments of said church, or attend mass, sermons, matins, vespers, and other services, or go into said church with devout invocation to God, or walk around its churchyard, or say Hail Mary three times with bent knees at the evening chimes and the striking of the bell, or follow the body of Christ or the holy oil when they are carried to the sick, or give or bequeath gold, silver, or something of their property to said church, or have others give or bequeath the same, or who will also devoutly pray to God for the venerable Father and Lord, the Bishop of Meissen, who confirms this letter: as often as, when or where they shall do the like or any of the like, by the grace of Almighty God, and trusting in the power of St. Peter and St. Paul, His apostles, they hereby graciously grant 40 days' indulgence in the Lord from the penances imposed upon them, if only the bishop's consent and approval shall be given thereto. In witness whereof we have affixed our seal to this letter. Given Anno 1359, the 1st of March, in the XII. Indiction, and of the Pabbacy of our Lord Pabst Innocentii VI in the 7th year.

d. Letter of indulgence for the church at Memleben, 1359.

From the "innocent news," 1712, p. 783.

Brother Albertus of Bycheligen, by the grace of God Bishop of the Church of Ippus, of the Most Reverend Lord Gerlach, Archbishop of Mainz, Vicarius in spiritual matters, to all to whom this letter is addressed, constant salvation in the Lord. We, who gladly urge all believers in Christ to the works of godliness on a

and God-pleasing manner, hereby, out of heartfelt trust in the mercy of Almighty God and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as in the gracious benevolence of blessed Martini, by virtue of the authority granted to us, grant to all truly penitent and confessing persons who make their charitable contribution to the Dominical parish church and others in Memleben, who will make a pilgrimage to the said church on each of the main feasts, namely the Nativity, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the Glorious Virgin Mary, the consecration of the church, to all the saints and to all the souls, eight days in succession, to keep their devotion and to perform their prayers; not less also those who will go around the churchyard and pray three paternosters for all the deceased saints; who, when the Venerable and the holy chalice are carried to the sick, will devoutly pray, as well as those who, at the ringing of the evening bells, out of reverence for the glorious Virgin Mary, will pray the Hail Mary three times on their knees with devotion, as often as they are not present, mercifully in the Lord for 40 days of indulgence and forgiveness of sins, together with a carena. Above this, by virtue of the present letter, in the name of the Lord, we transfer the feast of the consecration of the church, so far celebrated in the week of St. Martin, to the next Sunday after the feast of St. Martin, where it will be held at all times in the future. Given in the year of the Lord 1359 on the day of the Ascension of Christ, with attached seal.

e. Letter of indulgence granted to the new hospital at Halle in Saxony, Anno 1381.

From the "innocent news," 1728, p. 319.

We Albrecht, of the Order of the Fratrum Minorum, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of the Ebeonensian Churches, announce that in the year of the Lord 1381, by order of the venerable in Christ Father and Lord, Lord Peter, Archbishop of Magdeburg, we have erected a new hospital in the city of Halle, together with the Fratribus of the Order of Predicants, a church and graveyard together with two altars, under the gracious assistance of the Holy Spirit, and hereby grant to all those who visit said church, graveyard and altars, as often as they wish, for the sake of devotion, pilgrimage or prayer, or alms from the property given to them by God for the poor who are there,

They shall offer them, if only they are truly penitent, sorrowful for their sins, and confess the same; but especially to those who, on the feasts dedicated to the patrons of the church and altars, as well as on the feasts of the Resurrection of Christ, the Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and others; on the four feasts of the most blessed Virgin (Mary), on St. Crucis, on All Saints, on the Feast of the Nativity of Christ, the Apparition, and by their octaves, in firm reliance on the mercy of Almighty God, and on the merits of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and the patrons of above-mentioned churches and altars, 80 days' indulgence, two carenas, from the penances imposed on them, mercifully in the Lord; which indulgence shall henceforth apply at all times. Given in the year of the Lord, as above, on the 6th day before the Feast of the Circumcision of the Lord immediately, with our seal attached for the confirmation of the above.

f. Indulgence for the renovated Sonnenfeld Monastery, Anno 1384.

From the "innocent news," 1728, p. 494.

We, Brother John, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Ebrancio, Pontifical Governor of the Venerable in Christ Father and Lord, Mr. Erhard, Bishop of Würzburg, announce by the present that in the year of the Lord 1384, on the evening before the feast of St. Laurentii the Martyr, we consecrated a small altar in the choir of Sonnenfeld, near the town called Hofstädt, diocese of Würzburg. Laurentii the Martyr, we consecrated a small altar in the choir of the Sonnenfeld Monastery, near the town called Hofstädt, Würzburg Diocese, in honor of St. Andrew the Apostle, St. Erhard the Bishop and the Confessors, as well as the Blessed Virgin Otilia and ... have placed indulgences on said altar, as we mercifully grant 40 days of remission of mortal sins and one year of remission of sins of weakness from the penances imposed on them to those who, for the sake of devotion, make a pilgrimage there on the days of the dedication of this monastery, as well as the aforementioned altar and the patrons thereof, repentant and confessing. Given in the nunnery Sonnenfeld, of the Cistercian Order, Würzburg diocese, in the year of the Lord 1384, on the evening before St. Laurentii the Martyr, under our attached seal.

The letter was written on the day of St. Lawrence the Martyr.

g. Pabst Bonifacius IX's letter of indulgence for the Hospital Martini at Nordhausen, Anno 1391, 1) together with Pabst Alexander V's bull for an altar portatile, so the founder of this monastery was allowed 1409.

From the "innocent news," 1720, p. 875.

Bonifacius Bishop, servant of the servants of God. Greetings and apostolic blessings to all believers in Christ who will read this letter!

Although he, from whose grace it comes that he is served worthily and praiseworthy by his faithful, out of the abundance of his goodness, which surpasses the merits of the supplicants, also repays the desires of those who serve him rightly much more than they deserve, we, who gladly want to prepare a people pleasing to the Lord and eager for all good works, entice the faithful with all kinds of gifts, namely indulgences and pardons, to please him all the more, so that they may thereby become all the more skilled in divine grace.

Because we then desire that one altar of the Holy Spirit, another of all the saints; likewise others St. Matthiä, St. Johannis the Baptist, St. Andreä, St. Laurentii; and another St. Mariä, St. Annä, St. Elisabeth, St. Bonifacii, St. Vincentii and his companions, who are in the hospital of the poor St. Martini, outside the walls of the city of Nordhausen, Mainz district, which, as it is said, have been built anew, are visited with due honor and the poor of Christ are duly entertained in said hospital; that also the believers in Christ gather the sooner for devotion to said altars and lend their hand to the maintenance of said poor the more willingly, the more they see that they enjoy there abundantly the gift of heavenly grace: so we want, out of the almighty God's grace and of the holy Sts. Peter and Paul, his apostles, authority and trust in it, to all truly penitent and confessed, who at Christmas, New Year, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension and Corpus Christi feast of our Lord Jesus Christ, also Pentecost; likewise on pem feasts of the Nativity, Annunciation, Purification and Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Nativity of John the Baptist, and of the said Apostles Peter and Paul, and the consecration of the same altars, and celebration of all the saints, and by theirs of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension and Corpus Christi, also the Nativity and Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Nativity of St. John, and of the Apostles Peter

1) Walch by mistake: "1301".

and St. Paul's feasts, and then for the six days immediately following the feast of Pentecost, devoutly visit the aforesaid altars annually and lend their hands for such maintenance: each such feast and holiday 2 years and so many quadragens; but those octaves and the aforesaid 6 days, when they shall visit the altars and lend their hands, have 100 days of the penances imposed upon them graciously remitted herewith; but so that this shall not continue after 10 years. We also want that if otherwise those who visit the said altars, or give their hand for their construction and maintenance of the poor in the said hospital, or otherwise any indulgence has already been given and granted by us for perpetuity or for a certain time not yet expired, this present letter shall neither apply nor mean anything. Given in Rome at St. Peter's the 3rd of June [1391] of our papacy in the 3rd year.

The lead seal Instead of Benencasa
Pabst's Bonifacii IX. Franciscus.

Pope Alexander V. Bull for an altar por tatile, so the founder of the aforementioned hospital has been allowed Anno 1409.

On parchment documents.

Alexander Bishop, servant of the servants of God, the beloved son Simon, surnamed Segemonde, citizen of the city of Nordhausen, Mainz district, greeting and apostolic blessing!

The honest devotional zeal that you bear towards us and the Roman Church justly deserves that we graciously grant your request, especially the one that we see going out of fervent devotion, as much as we can with God. Therefore, out of affection for your devout petition that you may have an altar of worship with proper awe and veneration, in order to have mass and all other services held on it in your or your household's presence in appropriate and Christian places, by your own or other appropriate priests: we permit your devotion by this letter. It shall therefore not be lawful for any man to break this leaf of our permission, or to oppose it. And if anyone dares to do so, let him know that he will fall into the disfavor of Almighty God and of St. Peter and St. Paul, his apostles. Given in Bologna (Bononia) the 10th of April [1409] of our Papacy in the 1st year.

(The lead seal Umsonst ausgefertigt
Pabst Alex. V.) Joh. de Crivellie.

h. Letter of indulgence for the Church of All Saints at Mühlhausen, from Anno 1423.

From the "innocent news," 1728, p. 841.

To all believers in Christ and to the Holy Mother, the Church, Sons, who are reading our letter or will hear about it, salvation in Him who gives true salvation to all.

We, Brother Heinrich, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of the Adriatic Churches, in pontifical ordinances Vicarius of the Most Reverend in Christ the Father and of our Lord, Lord Conrad, Archbishop of the Holy See of Mainz, publicly announce by the present letter that we have regained the God's Acre and the Church of All Saints in Mulhouse, and that we have consecrated the high altar in the choir of said church in honor of the Holy Cross, the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Blessed Apostle Bartholomew, the Blessed Sebastian the Martyr, the Blessed Augustine the Confessor, and the Blessed Virgins Catharina and Barbara, with all due and customary ceremonies, and as much as he permits, to whom it is due that the faithful serve him worthily and commendably in perfect holiness, and whose merits far exceed our request; who, therefore, also repays those who righteously adhere to him much more than they may desire and deserve. Nevertheless, since we want to present a people pleasing to the Lord, to attract believers in Christ by some charming gifts and by the remission of sins, so that they may become pleasing to him and therefore more capable of divine grace: We therefore grant to all those who do true penance, recognize and confess their sins, and lend a helping hand to the said church and its building, lights, chalice books, ornaments, or to all other godly works or services; or on all feast days, namely the Nativity, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Passion of Christ, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the feast days of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of all the Apostles, of all the Saints, also on the memorial day of all believing souls, on the feasts of the patrons of the church and on the feast of the consecration of the church, which will henceforth be celebrated annually on the Sunday following St. Bartholomew's Day, the day of the Apostles, and throughout the said feasts, the Octavas will gather for devotion or prayer, or visit the churchyard and the altar; or hold a meeting and pray five paternosters and as many Hail Marys for all the faithful departed; or pay homage to the Venerable and to the holy oil when it is too late.

or who faithfully attend the masses, early sermons, vespers, or other holy funerals and burials of the deceased, in order to ask the Lord for the grace of reconciliation; or who, when all the bells are rung in the evening, pray three Hail Marys on their knees out of reverence for the Blessed Virgin Mary: if and as often as they will devoutly perform one of the above-mentioned pieces, trusting in the mercy of the Almighty God and in the grace of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, by virtue of the power communicated to us, of the penances imposed upon them 40 days' remission of the penalties and one carenam, mercifully in the Lord. In confirmation of all that has been said before, we have caused this letter to be kept with our seal attached. Given and done in the year of the Lord 1423, on the Sunday of Lent, on which the Judica is sung in the Church of God.

(L. S.)

i. Pope Martinus V's letter of indulgence for the church of St. Mary at Geithen, together with the bishop of Merseburg's confirmation and a letter of indulgence. 1422.

From the "innocent news," 1714, p. 22.

Martin Bishop, a servant of the servants of God, wishes salvation and apostolic blessing to all believers of Christ who will see present letter.

When we devoutly contemplate the very high and glorious merits with which the Queen of Heaven, the glorious Virgin and Mother of God, is resplendent in the starry abode as a shining morning star; if we also consider in our soul that she, as a mother of mercy, a mother of love and grace, a kind comforter of the human race, a diligent and vigilant intercessor, intercedes with the King whom she begot for the salvation of the faithful who are pressed by the burden of sin: In our opinion, it is fitting, indeed we consider it a duty, that we honor and adorn the churches dedicated to her and other saints by graciously granting forgiveness and indulgences. Thus, we want that the parish church of our dear women outside the walls of the city of Geithen, in the Merseburg area, be given due honor.

and that Christ's faithful prefer to gather for the sake of devotion, so that they may be all the more abundantly filled with the gift of heavenly grace: we graciously, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and in the reputation of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, remit to all truly penitent and penitent who will devoutly visit this church annually on the feast of the Visitation of Blessed Mary, two years and as many quadragenas of the penalties imposed upon them. We also wish to enclose that this letter shall be of no force or validity with the faithful who visit said church, or lend a helping hand for its building and repair, or otherwise give godly alms there, if another indulgence should have been given to them by us for perpetuity or for a certain time not yet elapsed. Given at Rome at St. Peter's the 2nd of December [1422], 1) in the 5th year of our papal government.

(Seal.) Martin the Fifth, Pope.

Pro B. et pistorio
R. de. Valentin.

To all and every believer in Christ to whom our present letter will reach, Nicolaus, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Merseburg, wishes constant salvation in the Lord. You will perhaps know that we have truly sealed the letter of the most holy Father in Christ and of our Lord, Martin, by the grace of God the Fifth, Pope, according to the custom of the Roman court, with his leaden bull and attached red and blue cords (cordulis), quite unharmed, not obliterated, not scraped, nor in one piece suspect, but without all fault and suspicion, received, seen, read, and carefully examined with due reverence, the following contents: Martin 2c., as above. Having respectfully received this letter, as is proper, and having perused, read, and diligently examined the same, we hold this apostolic letter, by virtue of unferior ordinary power, approved, justified, approved, and affirmed, as much as is in us, by virtue of said power, by present. And because the Blessed Virgin Mary, as we have learned from credible and true news, was ordained in the said parish church of the town of Geithen in our territory, by divine power, the Holy Virgin Mary has been ordained in the parish church of the town of Geithen.

1) Inserted by us. The year 1422 is the fifth of the pope Martin V.

We think it is right and just that the faithful should be encouraged to visit more eagerly the places where such miracles take place, since the Mother herself cannot be praised and honored enough by the orphans. So that this angelic queen may consider those who serve her worthy to be a pious intercessor and helper for her at the last judgment, at which each one will be rewarded according to his works, be it good or evil, but we seek to spread the glorification of this God-bearer and redeemer of the lost world: By virtue of our aforesaid ordinary power, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as in the power of Blessed Lawrence, our most glorious martyr-patron, we give to all the truly penitent, contrite and confessing, who every year on the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary devoutly visited said parish church outside the walls of the town of Geithen, or otherwise gave alms for its building, mercifully in the Lord 40 days of indulgence from the penitential penalties imposed on them, which shall apply permanently in the future. To confirm all the above, we have had the present letter affirmed with our greater seal. However, we want this letter of ours to remain with the said parish church and not to be taken out of the city of Geithen by profiteers or other people, in which case we deprive it of all force. Given and done at Merseburg in the year 1423 after the birth of Christ, on the first Roman numeral of interest, on the middle week, the 24th of the month of March, or on the holy evening before the Annunciation of the blessed Mary.

[Letter of indulgence from Bishop Nicolaus of Merseburg. 1415.]

¹⁾ Nicolaus, by God's grace Bishop of Merseburg, wishes to all and everyone in our city and area everywhere ordained laymen, priests, their vicariis and churchwardens salvation, constant grace and the peace of the Lord. We

¹⁾ The following letter of indulgence, as the date indicates, is to be placed earlier than the two preceding documents. This letter speaks of miraculous deeds and signs, which, "as they say", were performed by the God-bearer. In the previous letter it is said that this is based on "credible and true news". Here an indulgence is granted that is to be valid for only one year, but there an indulgence "that is to be valid permanently in the future".

hope to show obedience to God when we stimulate the minds of people of both sexes to offer their alms for the name of Christ and the praiseworthy Virgin Mary. Since we have been told by reliable persons that the leaders of Our Lady's Church outside the walls of the town of Geithen in our area have begun to build a new choir for the praise, glory and honor of the Mother of God, and have had a wall built on a few cubits, but without a charitable contribution from the faithful we would not be able to complete such a building, and because we have a special esteem for this church because of the public reputation that has rung out before us from the various miracles and signs that have taken place there through this praiseworthy God-bearer, as they say: We also grant the special grace and honor of indulgences to this church. Therefore we exhort you, laymen, priests, your vicars and ecclesiastics, appointed and unappointed chaplains, to whom the present letter will reach, in the Lord, and command you, with the forgiveness of your sins, that when the rulers of the said church have come to you with our present letter, you receive them graciously, that you accept them without forcing them to give any gift, and that you may be faithful and emphatically supportive of the church entrusted to you, so that they may contribute their share to the alms, and that you may merit eternal joy through these and other good works that you and they will have done. For we, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God, and by the command of His holy apostles Peter and Paul, give to all and every truly penitent, confessing, and contrite, who have given their alms to the said church, or its building, or for the increase of the worship in the said church, 40 days of the penance imposed upon them; but the year immediately following, reckoned from now on, shall no longer apply. Given in Merseburg in the year of the Lord 1415 on the day of St. Andrew the Apostle, with our seal attached.

k. Letter of indulgence for a chapel at Hofstedt near Coburg, Anno 1442.

From the "innocent news," 1728, p. 1015.

Hermann, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Accon, of the Most Reverend in Christ Father and Lord, Lord Theodorici,

of the Holy See of Mainz, Archbishop, of the city and diocese of Würzburg, in pontifical and sacramental matters and in all cases concerning the conscience, (conveys) constant salvation in the Lord. The splendor of the glory of the Father, who illuminates the world with his ineffable light, and the sincere prayer of the faithful, who place their trust in his gracious majesty, is considered especially gracious and inclined when their humble devotion is supported by the meritorious intercession of the saints. Since we now wish that the choir of the chapel in the city of Hofstedt, Würzburg diocese, which was built in honor of St. Mauriti, Laurentii, Christophori, Clementis, Nicolai, Mariä Magdalenä, Annä and the 11,000 virgins, whose relics we have enclosed in the choir altar, and in honor of St. Pauli the Apostle, Urbani and the 11,000 virgins, the 14 Helpers and Panthaleonum, whose relics we have kept in a safe place on the altar on the right hand side outside the choir, like the above, sanctified and consecrated by us, and to be kept in due honor with the first-mentioned altars of the saints in the choir, may be visited often, and the believers in Christ may all the more gladly turn to this church for devotion: we grant to all who do true penance, recognize and confess their sins, and on the feast days of the aforementioned patrons and on the day of the consecration of said choir, namely the next Sunday before the Virgin Mary's Assumption, will reverently visit the aforementioned chapel for the sake of devotion, trusting in the mercy of the Almighty God, and in the merits and power of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, for each altar especially 40 days of criminal sins and one year of sins of weakness, together with a carena indulgence from the penances imposed on them, mercifully in the Lord. Which indulgence we also grant to all those who celebrate the said chapel on Sundays throughout the year and on the most noble feast days, namely the Nativity, the Circumcision of the Lord, the Epiphany, Green Thursday, Charlemagne, Easter, the Ascension of the Lord, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, and on all feasts of the blessed Virgin (Mary) and St. Crucis, as well as on all feast days of the Apostles and Evangelists, St. John the Baptist and all the Saints, will devoutly attend the Octavas, whenever it may be, and pray three Hail Marys at the evening bell out of reverence for the most blessed Virgin Mary, or will keep a threefold company around the graveyard of the church, trusting in the power of St. Peter and St. Paul and said Lord of Mainz.

and make a gift. For the clear confirmation of this, we have had this letter kept with our attached seal. Given and done in the year after the Incarnation of the Lord 1442, on the Day of All Saints.

I. Pabst's Nicolaus V letter of indulgence, which he gave to the chapel at Ziegenhain Anno 1453¹).

From the "innocent news," 1731, p. 681.

Nicolaus, the bishop, a servant of the servants of God, wishes salvation and apostolic blessing to all believers in Christ who will read this letter. Although, according to the Prophet, one should glorify the Lord in his saints, it is fitting that one should praise especially in the one through whom eternal salvation has appeared to the human race, namely in the highly praised blessed Mary, the constant Virgin and Christ-bearer, praise and glorify God all the more gloriously, and the faithful in Christ, the chapels founded in His honor, worship Him all the more devoutly, the more this sanctified Virgin, who became a mother of our Savior, deserves to be highly honored before other saints in heaven and to be duly exalted above the angelic choirs. If, as we have heard, because of very many, even innumerable miraculous works, which the great and merciful God performs daily in praise and honor of the exalted Mother, namely the aforementioned Virgin Mary, in the faithful of Christ, when they devoutly call upon her in their needs, there is a great and popular pilgrimage of the faithful of Christ to the chapel of said Our Lady in Ziegenhain, Naumburg diocese, for the sake of devotion and to obtain remission of their sins, but we want that such devotion may blessedly increase from time to time, and that the faithful themselves may all the more gladly gather to invoke this glorious Virgin and to visit the said place for the sake of devotion, so that they may therefore see themselves all the more abundantly filled with the heavenly gift of grace: we graciously grant, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and in the power of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, to all truly penitent and penitent persons who, on the feast of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, devoutly make a pilgrimage to the said chapel every year, and help in its construction and increase of the divine service.

1) In the old edition of Walch: 1454. But in the text it says 1453, and the latter is the seventh of Nicolaus V.

We have decided that those who will offer a helping hand, seven years and as many quadragenas of the fines imposed on them, but in such a way that after 20 years the present letter shall no longer be valid. We wish to add, however, that if for those who otherwise go on pilgrimage to the said chapel and offer a helping hand for the building and increase of the divine service, or otherwise give godly alms there, another bull of indulgence, which is to last permanently or for a certain time, perhaps not yet expired, had been issued by us, our present letter shall no longer be of any force and emphasis. Given at Rome at St. Peter's in the year after the birth of the Lord 1453, July 21, in the seventh year of our papal dignity.

(l. 8.)

Marcellus.

This letter of indulgence, together with the following and another letter of indulgence issued by Pope Paul II to this chapel in 1466, which has the same content as the one mentioned above, can still be seen in the original at the church in Ziegenhain, which lies near Jena; under this there is still a seal, on which Peter and Paul are written, with the inscription: SPASPE probably: 8.8. Uktru8f. A foreign hand has added outside: Nicolaus Pabst, the Fifth, mercifully grants indulgence for 7 years and as many quadragenas from the penances imposed on them.

m. Letter of indulgence from the Bishop of Naumburg for the chapel at Ziegenhain, Anno 1426.

From the "innocent news," 1731, p. 688.

John, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Naumburg, wishes all and every believer in Christ, who will see or hear about this letter, salvation in Him who is the true power and the true salvation of all. The more she, as the Mother of God, deserves to be placed high above all the saints in heaven, the more pleasing it is to God, who rejoices in His saints when they are glorified, to pay homage to the blessed Mary, the constant Virgin. Therefore, as we wish that the chapel in the village of Ziegenhain, located in our diocese, which is named after the highly praised Virgin Mary, the comforter of all the abandoned, and has her as patroness, be visited often and much with due honor: we grant to all truly penitent and confessing persons who make a pilgrimage to the said chapel for the sake of devotion, perform their devotions there, serve at the masses, if any are to be read, and offer their sacrifices; also, under the ringing of the evening bells, with bended knees, three times the Ave Maria.

and will give their other alms for the building, ornaments, lights and other necessary things, in whatever way it may be done, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and in the power of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, if and as often as they have done the things mentioned above, or one of the things mentioned above, 40 days' remission of the penances imposed on them, mercifully in the Lord; The apostolic bulls of indulgence, which have been granted by countless previous lords, archbishops and bishops to the said chapel, and which should still be granted in the future, are, as far as we are concerned, approved and valid in our diocese. Given in the year of our Lord 1425, the 28th day of October, with our seal attached to the present letter below.

(l. 8.)

n. Copy of a letter of indulgence issued under the papal government of Eugenii IV. [1431-1447].

This copy was first published by the Hamburg pastor M Nie. Hardkopf in 1617 in Latin and German. It is also found in both languages in the "Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen", 1726, p. 187.

Dearest brothers in Christ! You have no doubt that God can do whatever He wills in heaven and on earth, so now we announce to you and know that God, through His marvelous omnipotence, sent a box, made by the disciples of the apostles from imperishable wood, full of God's glorious wonders, from Jerusalem to Africam, especially to the city of Carthaginem, from there to Hispalin, and again from there to Toledo in Asturiis to the holy church of St. Salvatoris. Salvatoris, in the place called Ovetum. In the opened chest, many more boxes of gold, silver and ivory were found, in which, when they were opened with great reverence, fear and trembling by holy men, they immediately saw several reports, information and registers about the inserted sanctuary. There they found Christ's palm, a jar full of Christ's blood, placed about to the side of an image that the Christians had made in Christ's image, and the old stubborn Jews had hung on a wood and opened its sides with a spear, from which water and blood flowed to strengthen the faith of Christ's suffering all the more. There they found of the right cross of the Lord, of the thorns

the crown of the Lord, the tomb of the Lord, the robe of the Lord, the swaddling clothes in which the Lord lay wrapped in the manger, the bread of the Lord's supper, the bread with which the Lord fed 5,000 people, the manna which God rained on the children of Israel, the earth of the Mount of Olives on which the Lord stood when he was about to ascend to heaven and when he raised Lazarus; of the tomb of Lazari himself, of the milk of the mother of the Lord, of her hair and clothes; one of the thirty pieces of silver for which the Lord of Judah is sold; the mantle given by the Queen of Heaven (Mary) to St. Alphonso, Archbishop of Toledo; of the mantle of the prophet Elijah; the garment of St. Tyrso the Martyr, the hand of St. St. Stephen, the first martyr, the right slipper of St. Peter the Apostle, the forehead of St. John the Baptist and his hair; the bones of the holy innocent (children), limbs from the fingers of the three holy boys Ananiä, Azariä and Misael; the hair with which Mary Magdalene dried the feet of the Lord; the stone with which Christ's tomb was sealed, the olive branch which the Lord had in his hand at the Palm Festival; of the rock of Mount Sinai, on which Moses fasted; of the rod, so that Moses might divide the Red Sea for the children of Israel; the basket of Peter and Andrew, a piece of roasted fish and honey, and many other bodies of the holy martyrs and bones of the prophets, confessors and virgins, the number of which is known to God alone. Besides the above-mentioned box, there are the bodies of the holy martyrs and martyrs' daughters, Eulogii and Lucretiä, and St. Eulalia and the virgin Emerentia, St. Pelagii and St. Vincentii, martyrs and abbots, St. Pope Juliani, and the body of King Casti, who founded and endowed the church. There is shown a cross made by the angels; there is one of the six stone water jars in which the Lord made water into wine.

But whoever is called by God to visit, by divine inspiration, such precious and glorious jewels of the holy martyrs, he shall know that the third part of his sins shall be remitted to him by the bishop of the place or his authorized representative, by apostolic power granted to the bishop and his own (by the pope); but with imposition of due satisfaction and penalties.

The brethren of the same church also have a plenary indulgence to be granted by the pope to any man who desires it, for a thousand and four hundred years, six quarters and a half. Yes, also

The present pope, Eugenius IV, and other Roman popes, by their apostolic letters of bull, wish to give true penance and confession to all those who attend the above-mentioned church, and to offer a helping hand for the further edification of the church, on the day which will come before the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross of Christ, in addition to the preceding and following fifteen days, perfect forgiveness of all their sins, and especially in the last hour, indulgence herewith for eternity.

†

So the red cross is talking:

The devils depart from me swiftly, Even fever, pestilence and great wind, I am a protection in all danger, In childish distress even so hard.

o. Pope Boniface IX's letter of indulgence for the Church of Our Lady in Dresden.

1398. 1)

From the "innocent news," 1714, p. 375.

Bonifacius Bishop, a servant of the servants of God, wishes salvation and apostolic blessing to all believers in Christ who will receive this letter. If we devoutly contemplate the great glory of the merits with which the Queen of Heaven, the Virgin, who is a praiseworthy God-bearer, is resplendent in the sky as a shining morning star; if we also consider in our hearts that she, as a mother of mercy, grace and piety, a kind comforter of the human race, a diligent and vigilant intercessor, intercedes with the King whom she begot for the salvation of the faithful who are pressed by the burden of sins: In our opinion, it is proper, indeed we consider it a duty, that we should entice the faithful to the constant veneration and perpetual remembrance of this Virgin, as it were by gifts, and stimulate them by indulgences and forgiveness of sins, so that they may thereby become more capable of divine grace. Since we have heard that this venerable Virgin has performed many miracles in the Chapel of the Holy Cross by divine power, and in this

1) The date of this document in the old edition of Walch "1458" is in any case incorrect. Bonifacius IX was pope from 1389 to 1404. The tenth year of his pontificate was 1398: we have also put this in the text below. The error will have arisen by reading the Latin number MCCCXCVIII.

In addition, in honor and out of reverence for the highly praised Virgin, a chant in two choirs of this praiseworthy Virgin, which begins: *Salve Regina misericordiae*, is to be solemnly and devoutly sung by the clergy of said city every day, namely at evening time, and that at this singing a large number of people from this city are present with devotion: We want the faithful in Christ to gather all the more gladly for the sake of devotion at this singing, so that they may be filled all the more abundantly with the heavenly gift, and, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God, and by the command of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, we mercifully grant an indulgence of 40 days from the penances imposed on them to all truly penitent and confessing persons who visit this chapel at the time of the devotional singing; which is to be understood from each day in which they will visit this chapel and be present at the singing, as mentioned above. We also intend that if any other indulgence should be given by us to the believers in Christ who will attend this absolution, either in perpetuity or for a certain time not yet elapsed, the present letter shall be of no force or effect. Given at Rome by St. Peter, April 30 [1398] in the 10th year of our papal reign.

We Caspar, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Meissen, consider the indulgence copied to be valid, accept it, ratify and confirm it presently, and mercifully grant for us in the Lord another 40 days' indulgence from the penances imposed on them to all truly penitent and confessing persons who have complied with the above. Our seal is attached herewith to confirm the letter. In the year of our Lord 1398, July 5.

(4., 8.) Johann von Pempelvorde.

p. Letter of indulgence from 1470.

This letter of indulgence has been printed twice by Walch by mistake, which Walch has already noted, namely here and sub No. 10. We leave it out here.

q. Letter of indulgence for the church at Weickershahn, 1470.

From the "innocent news," 1711, p. 935.

Guilielmus of Ochen, Philip of Albano, Richardus to St. Eusebio, Angelus 1) to St.

1) Here and in the following, in the old edition of Walch, there is always a pleonastic "and" between the names of persons and places. We have omitted this.

Cross in Jerusalem, Bartholomew to St. Clement, Jacobus to St. Chrysogono, Oliverius to St. Marcellino and St. Petro, Rodericus to St. Nicolai in the Tullian Prison, Franciscus to St. Eustachio, Franciscus to St. Maria Nova, by divine mercy of the Holy Roman Church bishops, priests and deacons, cardinals of Rouen, Boulogne, Coutance, Rennes, Ravenna, Pavia, Naples, vice-chancellors of Siena and Mantua, all and everyone constant salvation in the Lord.

Considering reverently and attentively the sublime and excellent merits by which the glorious Virgin Mary gives off her radiance like a bright morning star, and finding that she, as the Mother of mercy and source of all godliness, pleads diligently with her Son, whom she bore, for those who are hard-pressed with sins, we deem it just and right that we grant a rich indulgence to the churches consecrated in her honor. We therefore wish that the church of our Lady in Weickershahn, Merseburg diocese, be visited by the faithful with due reverence, and that the faithful themselves gather in the same devotion all the more willingly and gladly, the more abundantly they will see themselves filled and refreshed with the heavenly gifts of grace; and out of heartfelt trust in the mercy of Almighty God, and in the majesty and power of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, grant to all and everyone truly penitent and confessing, the said church on the feast of the Annunciation, Ascension, Nativity and Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, The Cardinals of the Holy See; we the aforesaid Cardinals, and each one of us in particular, for each such day, out of mercy in the Lord, for 100 days' indulgence from the penalties imposed upon them, which shall last the present and future time. For the authentication and testimony of all and each of the aforesaid bishops, we have executed the present letter, and have caused the same to be kept with our attached seal. Given at Rome in our ordinary palace, in the year following the birth of the Lord 1470, January 1, of the papal dignity of our Lord Paul, by divine providence of Pabst the Other, in the sixth year.

r. Letter of indulgence from the church at Pfafroda in Meissen, issued in 1480.

From the "innocent news," 1712, p. 688.

Guilielmus at Ostia, Oliverius at Albano, Marcus at Preneste, bishops; Stephen at St. Mary in Transsiberinis, John at St. Cecilia, John at St. Marcello, Jerome at St. Sergio and Bacho, Gabriel at St. Chrsogono, priests; and Franciscus at St. Eustachio, and Raphael to St. Georgio, Diaconi, by divine mercy of the Holy Roman Church Cardinals, to all and every believer in Christ who will read or hear of this letter, constant salvation in the Lord. The more we encourage the minds of the faithful to devotion, the more salutary we also provide for their souls' blessedness. We therefore wish that the Parochial Church in Pfafenroda, Meissen diocese, for which, as we have heard, Caspar de Schonenberg, beloved to us in Christ, in said diocese, bears a special respect, be visited with due honor, always held in high esteem by the believers in Christ, and properly maintained in its adornment and construction, and handled, as well as duly provided with missals, chalices, lights and other church ornaments, not less the service therein be more frequently performed; and that the Christian faithful themselves prefer to assemble there for worship, or to lend a hand for its construction and other aforementioned things, so that they may see themselves all the more richly filled with the heavenly gift of grace: and out of heartfelt trust in the mercy of Almighty God and the high authority of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, grant to all and every believer of both sexes who do true penance, confess their sins, and visit the said church on the second day of Pentecost and the eighth day of the Feast of Corpus Christi, also on the feast of the consecration of the church from the first evening until the next inclusive every year with devotion, and give assistance to the building and other works mentioned before; We, the said Cardinals, and each of us in authority, for each of the feast days mentioned, on which they will do this, graciously grant the Lord a 100-day remission of the penances imposed on them, so that the same shall be valid at all times in the future. To certify and attest all that has been said, we have had the present letter drawn up and sealed with our Cardinal seals. Given at Rome in our palaces, in the year following the birth of the Lord 1480, on the thirteenth of the Roman Kalends (indictione), on the twelfth day of the month of May.

Month of April [1480], of the Pontificate of Lord Sixti, Pope IV, in the ninth year.

And we John, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Meissen. lish See, Bishop of Meissen, consider the aforementioned most reverend fathers' letter of indulgence in Christ to be valid, accept it in the aforementioned ordinary form by virtue of our sovereignty and power, confirm and affirm it also by present letters, and nevertheless graciously grant, on our behalf, to all and every penitent and confessing faithful of both sexes who comply with the above, as often as they will do so, a 40-day indulgence from the penances imposed on them, so that the present one shall be permanently valid in the future. Given in our castle Stolpen, in the year of the Lord 1480, on Friday, July 12. [From the Pfafenrod original, which is preserved in the Schönberg archives, this letter has been communicated

Johannes Frider. Gauhe, Past. Ober-Neu-Schönb.]

s. A letter of indulgence for the church St. Kiliani at Westhausen, from Anno 1500.

From the "innocent news," 1720, p. 183.

Oliverius of Salina, and John of Portua, George of Alba (Aube), and Jerome of Penestre, bishops; Ludovicus John of the title of the Four Crowned, Dominicus of the title of St. Clement, John Anthony of the title of St. Nerei and Archilei, Bernardinus of the title of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, Raymundus of the title of St. Vitalis, John of the title of St. Priscæ, and Wilhelmus of the title of St. Pudencianæ, Cardinal Priests by the Grace of God of the Holy Roman Church; Franciscus to St. Eustachii, Raphael to St. Georgii of the Golden Curtain (Veli), John to St. Maria in Dompinca, Fridericus to St. Theodore, Julianus to St. Cosma and Damiani, Cardinaldiaconi, to all and every believer in Christ who will read this letter, constant salvation in the Lord.

Among other churches of the saints, those consecrated to the honor of St. Kilian the Martyr deserve to be venerated more solemnly, because the fighter of Christ for his name's confession fought in fervent love in the Lord, endured suffering, and gloriously completed martyrdom, triumphing with other saints in heaven.

Because we then request that the parish church of said Saint Kilian the Martyr, in Westhausen, Würzburg district, be visited with proper honor and diligently venerated by the faithful and properly maintained and protected in buildings and shelter, and also properly provided with books, chalices, lights and other church decorations, The more they find the gift of divine grace there in abundance, the more willingly they will offer their hands for its preservation and other things we have said above: We, the above-mentioned Cardinals, and each one of them, by the grace of Almighty God and trusting in the power of St. Peter and St. Paul, his Apostles, want all and every believer in Christ, of both sexes, to do true penance and confession, and to celebrate the said Chapel at Christmas and Easter of our Lord Jesus Christ, likewise on the feast of the said St. Martyr Ciliano, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and on the consecration of this church, from the first to the second vespers, and to lend a helping hand to the above, for all and each of the said feasts and days, when they do so, 100 days of the penances imposed upon them are hereby graciously remitted in the Lord, to apply from now on to all future times. In witness whereof we have caused this letter of ours to be executed, and have caused our seal to be affixed thereto. Given in Rome in our houses, Anno 1500, the 7th of July, of the Papal Government of the Most Holy in Christ the Father and of our Lord, Lord Alexandri, by Divine Providence Pope VI, in the 8th year.

A. Binenperger.

To all and every believer in Christ who will read our present letter, salvation in the Lord, by the grace of God, Bishop of Wuerzburg and Duke of Oriental Franconia. We have seen and found the letter of indulgence of the most reverend in Christ fathers and lords cardinals and bishops, which is sealed with their true oblong seals, which, as you can see here, are attached to it, to which our letter is also attached, completely and unharmed, nowhere crossed out, or otherwise suspicious in any place, but completely without any defect, injury or suspicion. Therefore, we, the same Cardinals, for the following of all and every believer in Christ, of both sexes, who are quite penitent, repentant and confessed, and who devoutly visit the parish church of St. Kilian the Martyr at Westhausen, of our Würzburg district, on the feasts and days contained in said apostolic letter, and which

If they do so often, by the grace of Almighty God, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, His apostles, and of the holy martyrs Kiliani, Colonati and Totuani, patrons of our Wuerzburg churches, and by virtue of their merits, and by virtue of their authority and trust therein, we graciously grant a 40-day indulgence from the penances imposed on them in the Lord, so that it may remain so now and at all future times. In witness whereof we have caused to be affixed to this letter the seal of our Vicariate, which we require for this purpose. Given in our city of Würzburg, Anno 1500, on the day of St. Augustine, bishop and martyr. Joh. Hickerich,

Procurator Fisci, wrote it.

t. Memlebian letter of indulgence. 1503.

From the "Innocent news," 1712, p. 923.

We John, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of the Sidonian Churches, Professor of the Holy Scriptures, of our in Christ blessed Prince and Lord, Lord Bertholdi, by the grace of God, Archipräsulis of the Holy See of Mainz, in spiritual matters Vicarius General, know beforehand, by the grace of God the Holy Spirit, which is always with us and cooperates with us, that the Parochial Church of the Parish of Memleben has been rebuilt with ordinary and due solemnities and provided and preserved with a graveyard. We hereby publicly declare and confess to all and every believer in Christ who, for the sake of devotion, with true contrition and sadness over their sins, visit said church on the feast days of the Nativity and Circumcision of Christ, the Three Kings, Palm Day, Green Thursday, Easter, the Ascension of the Lord, Pentecost, the Feast of the Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi and the Day of All Saints, as well as the memorial days of other saints of the true Church, St. Michael the Archangel, and others. etc, or on any feast day of the blessed Mother of God and on the church consecration feast, which is celebrated annually on St. Martin's Sunday for eight days. Also those who, for the salvation of the departed souls of the faithful, pray around the churchyard five paternosters and as many Hail Marys, and when the church bell is rung in the evening, say the angelic greeting three times with devotion and bent knees, or follow the Venerable when it is carried to the sick; not less those who, for the preservation of the divine service and increase of the church ornaments, are helpful to the church.

The Holy Spirit shall grant them an indulgence in the Lord for eleven days, out of heartfelt trust in the grace of the Almighty God and in the majesty of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and shall also remit a fast from the penitential exercises imposed on them. This was done in the year of the Lord 1503, June 26, under our attached seal.

u. Letter of indulgence granted by Pope Leo X to the large parish church of St. Mary in Gdansk in 1516.

From Schelwig's "Prüfung des Pabstthums," p. 419.

Leo, the bishop, a servant of the servants of God, wishes salvation and apostolic blessing to all believers in Christ who will read this letter. In devoutly contemplating the excellent merits of the unspeakably praised Virgin and Mother of God, Mary, we deem it just and right that we grant a rich indulgence to the churches sanctified in her name, and honor her with an indulgence and a bull of grace. Now we have already at other times granted indulgences to all and every believer in Christ of both sexes, where they have done true penance, confessed their sins, or presented themselves for confession, and to the parish church of St. Mary in the city of Gdansk. St. Mary's of the city of Gdansk, Vladislav diocese, belonging to the beloved son, Mauritio Ferber, the superior of this church and of the disputes occurring in the papal palace, Notario, our acquaintance, on all feast days, the Visitation, the Ascension, the Nativity, the Purification and the Annunciation of St. Mary, from the first evening until the setting of the sun on the aforementioned feast days, The saints, who would devoutly make a pilgrimage every year, and also offer a helping hand for its construction, preservation, handling and safekeeping, would be mercifully granted a remission of 50 years and so many quadragenas from the penances imposed on them, as is more extensively contained in our bull issued on this matter. In order that the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary may be kept and celebrated with equal importance, we wish to have the above-mentioned Bull, with all and every clause contained therein, extended and enlarged to this feast as well. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, in the year after the birth of the Lord 1516, April 14, in the fourth year of our papal dignity.

v. The diploma of indulgence, with which Pope Leo X adorned the Church of Trier, especially in the presentation of Christ's skirt. 1515.¹)

Leo, bishop, servant of Christ's servants, to all believers in Christ who will see this letter, salvation (greeting) and apostolic blessing!

Our Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in order to reconcile the human race, which was condemned to eternal death by our first father's transgression, to the heavenly Father, wanted to descend from the high heavenly seat on the earth of this world, to take on flesh from the virgin body, and finally to suffer temporal death voluntarily on the altar of the cross, in order to lay down the burden of sin. Therefore we, who, though by insufficient merits, administer his place by his holy providence on earth, following his footsteps, provoke the sheep of his flock, so commanded to our care, to sincerity, devotion and holy works of love by spiritual gifts, namely indulgences and forgiveness of sins, so that they may thereby attain the fruit of the suffering of Jesus and the salvation desired by all, and become worthy to come to the joy of eternal blessedness.

Since (as we have heard from the venerable brother of ours, Richard, Archbishop of Trier, through his ambassadors dispatched to us and to the apostolic see to take the oath of allegiance) the church of Trier first received the faith under St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, before all the churches in Germany and France, from the teachers Eucharion, Valerio and Materno, and received the supreme see over all the churches lying beyond the Alpine mountains because of its venerable antiquity; Also, in the following time, by the blessed Helena, Constantine Magni's mother (who consecrated her royal house, which she had in Trier, magnificently built and endowed, and with various relics (after she herself, the blessed Helena, came back from Jerusalem, after the invention of the holy cross and nails of the Lord, with the consent and favor of the most holy Pope Silvester),

1) The old edition of Walch has the date "1511", which is incorrect. Leo X was installed as pope on April 1, 1513, therefore this document, which is dated January 26, is to be placed in the year 1515. Cf. 1^o601118 X. iLsMstn, edited by Cardinal Hergenröther, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1884, tasooulj xriini, x. 3.

namely the unsewn skirt of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one of the nails with which the same our Savior was crucified, likewise with the head of St. Cornelius the Pope and Martyr, and other holy relics. Cornelius the Pope and Martyr, and other holy relics, and was made so famous by said Constantino and other emperors' gifts, that it was considered and deserved to be called the other Rome and a ruler of the lands, and among all the churches of Germany and Gaul (France) the first; but alas! Afterwards, since it stood firm in defense of the Roman Church and the Catholic faith, it suffered the terrible persecution of the tyrants for a long time, and was finally brought to ruin by Attila, the Huns, Greeks, Wends, Norsemen and other enemies of the faith, devastated and devastated, also deprived of gold, silver and precious jewels and jewels (iocalibus et clenodiis), and brought to such poverty that they can be maintained and maintained in their buildings, ceremonies, services after dignities impossible: We, who desire that the said church of Trier be diligently attended with due honor, and (as its reputation and the unseamed skirt and nail of our Lord's most venerable devotion, and of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and St. Corneli, bishop of Rome, should be) that the church of St. Peter should be maintained in its buildings, ceremonies, and services according to dignity. Corneli, bishop and martyr, whose and many other saints' relics are known to rest there, require merit) be well provided and adorned with befitting and splendid buildings, quantity of clergy, variety of ceremonies and other necessities belonging to the divine service, and the congregation of the Christian faithful, whose assistance the said church at Trier needs at such time, the more willingly, for the sake of devotion, approach it and the sooner extend their hand to the said things, the more abundantly they find the grace extended, out of the very same almighty God's grace and the most holy Peter's and Paul's, his apostles', power, and in trusting in it decided, all and everyone of both sexes to be justly penitent and confessed, or who intend to repent and confess, the said church at Trier and the relics kept there every seven years, if the Palladium at Aaken, of the episcopal district of Liège, so every seventh year on the 7th day of July. of the month of July and is celebrated 14 days in succession, from the 7th day of the same month of July and the 14 days in succession.

We are pleased to inform you that we will visit you once in the next few days and extend our hands to you for the above, to grant you complete indulgence and forgiveness of your sins, which we hereby grant.

But those who on one day of the feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption, and on the day of the consecration (or Kirchmeß) of such a church of Trier, and on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday in the great week (Marterwoche) every year [will do so], to them we grant 100 years and so many quadragens of indulgence. But those who visit the said church every day and offer their hands; likewise those who will attend the singing of the mass, the brotherhood of the faithful, established under the name of said relics, in the very church of Trier every day, likewise the annual days and commemorations of the deceased brothers of said brotherhood, which are solemnly celebrated every four seasons (Quatember), and will extend their hands in the same way, to them we grant 1 year and 1 quadragen of indulgence in the Lord, from the penances imposed on them. And that the believers in Christ, who come to the church at Trier in time to obtain such indulgences, become the more skillful for it (we want) that said Richard, the time archbishop in Trier, and said son's chapter of the Trier church, as many in the same church are common (secular) clergy, or also all, also the mendicant order monks, as much as seem good or enough to him; and the same believers in Christ, who come to the said church in Trier to obtain this indulgence, after diligently hearing their confession, from all and every sentence of excommunication, suspension and interdict, and what church sentences are more; also from excommunication and punishments, which are inflicted by law or by men, on whatever occasion and for whatever cause, in which they might have been imprisoned at the time; likewise of all sins, transgressions, and vices or crimes, however grave and great they may be, and otherwise belonging to the apostolic see alone (except in cases of infringement of the liberty of the church, heresy, insurrection, or conspiracy against the person or state of the Roman Pontiff, or the very see); forging apostolic letters, petitions and commissions, invading, plundering, taking countries and lakes directly or indirectly subject to the said Roman Church, tampering with the person of a bishop or prelate, forbidding things that have fallen to the Roman court, bringing weapons or other forbidden things to the infidels), absolving them and imposing sanctions for the sins committed.

1) In Walch's old edition, "Passadium ^or perhaps Palladium."

The church may be converted into a penitential church, likewise all vows for the work and benefit of the said church and its construction, and the reported relics ornamentation, and have the power to order freely and without hindrance.

And that the offerings, revenues and alms, and everything else given by the said faithful in the said 7 years and otherwise, to obtain this indulgence, to the said church at Trier of the time, shall be used for the building and adornment of the church at Trier and the said relics, and to no other use, we command by virtue of this; We also order and expressly testify that this present letter does not include or include under any revocation (or withdrawal), inhibition or restriction of any indulgence, even the plenary indulgence, which we and the said See have also omitted for the building of the cathedral church of the very same Prince of the Apostles in the city, with some points of annulment, also other stronger and more powerful means of inhibition (or articles) hitherto and according to time, but shall be entirely exempted therefrom, and if it should often appear to have been included and enclosed thereunder, shall at all times be restored to its former state and to such a state as it was before, and shall be completely replenished and exempted, and shall be respected therefor, without any apostolic statute and order, or anything else contrary thereto, ever being able to or being intended to do anything against it, from now on, at all future times. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, A. C. 1515, the 26th of January, in the 2nd year of our papacy.

[This letter of indulgence was communicated by the said Prince Richard, as Metropolitan Archbishop, and made known through the subordinate districts of Metz, Tulle and Verdun; as is evident from the letter which I find written to Hugo Hajardi. For thus he writes:]

Venerable in Christ Father, dearest friend! Our most holy Pope Leo X, on account of the most holy unsewn skirt of our Lord Jesus Christ and other holy relics, which are kept in our Church of Trier, of praise, glory and veneration, has given and made known to our Church, through our district and country, a total indulgence 2c. Therefore, we ask him, 1) to kindly hear, accept and handle the ambassadors (whom the apostolic commissarii, and the venerable, strict, our faithful and dear ones, the provost, dean and chapter of said church, send through your districts for the same indulgence proclamation).

so that they may proclaim the indulgences themselves, the contents of the apostolic letters, all the more easily, erect the cross at the proper places for the end, and carry out everything else that is required for the matter without hindrance. In this, your paternity will not only show God a pleasing and the supreme pope a pleasant work, but also me a special favor.

Eilenberg letter of indulgence. 1518. 2)

Raphael of Ostia, Bernardinus of Salina, Dominicus, but afterwards also Franciscus at Preneste, bishops; Peter of the title of St. Eusebii, Adrianus of the title of St. Sabinä, Scaramutia of the title of St. Cpriaci in Thermis, and Ferdinandus of the title of St. Pancratii, presbyters; 3) Alexander St. Eustachii, Marcus [of] St. Mary novae, Amaneus of St. Nicolai in the Tullian dungeon, and Sigismundus St. Mary novae, by God's grace of the Holy Roman Church' Cardinaldiaconi, to all and every believer in Christ who will read this open letter, constant salvation in the Lord.

The more often we move the minds of the faithful to works of love, the better we counsel the salvation of their souls. Because we then desire that the parish church of St. Nicolai in Eilenberg, 4) Magdeburg district, be visited with due honor. Nicolai in Eilenberg, 4) Magdeburg district, be attended with due honor and be diligently honored by the faithful and duly improved, preserved and maintained in its construction and buildings, also with books, chalices, lights, church decorations, The more they see that they enjoy the gift of heavenly grace there more abundantly, the more willingly the Christian faithful will go there and lend a helping hand for the renewal, preservation, maintenance and care of the same: Thus we, the Cardinals, each one of us for himself, have received from our beloved in Christ M. Hermann Rabs, of the Order of Friars Preachers, and Provincial of the Land of Saxony, according to the use of such Order, which in this case has fallen to us.

2) Walch did not specify the source from which this writing flowed.

3) In Walch's old edition: "Pbit." which we have resolved by "Presbyter."

4) In the old edition of Walch it says here: "Eulenberg", but it will probably mean the town of Eilenburg, which is in Prussian Saxony.

1) "him" and the immediately following "he" are the person addressed, not the third.

The Holy See, by the grace of Almighty God and in reliance on the authority of St. Peter and St. Paul, His Apostles, has decided to grant the petition of the Holy Father, and has decreed that all and every believer in Christ, of both sexes, who do true penance and confession, shall attend the said church on all the holy evenings of St. Anne and the feast of the same saint, including the three days immediately following the feast of St. Anne, from the first to the second Vespers, shall devoutly attend the said church every year. Anne, and the feast itself of the same saint, as well as on the three days immediately following the feast of the same saint Anna, from the first to the second vespers included, devoutly visit the said church yearly and lend a helping hand to the aforesaid things, for each of the said feast and days, when they will do so, 100 days of the penances imposed on them by this present letter, which shall henceforth be perpetual. In witness whereof we have caused this letter to be executed and our seal to be affixed thereto. A. D. 1518, the 25th of the month of May, of the Pabbacy but of our most holy in Christ Father and Lord Leonis, by divine providence of the X, in the 6th year.

B. The pope has exorcised money by pretending to pay the Turk tax.

6 Pabst's complete indulgence against the Turks, written out by Nicolaus V. 1453.

From Lüttig's Oerm. äiplomat. saera, pars I, p. 338. Translated into German.

Nicolaus V. for future remembrance of the cause.

Long ago a very fierce enemy and very cruel persecutor of the church of Christ arose, namely Mahomet, the child of the devil, the child of perdition, the child of death, who at the same time wants to devour the souls together with the bodies, with his father, the devil, thirsting for Christian blood, a very fierce and bloodthirsty enemy of the redemption made by our Saviour Christ Jesus, who is to be taken for that great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and on his heads seven crowns, which John saw in Revelation; who with his tail drew the third part of the stars and threw them on the earth, taking over almost all the Orient, together with Egypt and Africa, and forced to imitate his ungodliness by taking the holy city

Jerusalem was desecrated, the holy places were torn down, and the believers of Christ were scolded, scourged, imprisoned and tortured with the most humiliating ways of death. Nevertheless, Divine Providence has preserved the church of those believers who are pleasing to Him in His most hidden judgment, and has not allowed the enemy to play the master over them until this day.

Recently, however, another Mahomet arose in our times, a follower of that godlessness who burns with the heat of an all too great thirst to shed Christian blood, who, raging against the name of Christ, like a wild, raging beast, forgetting all humanity, when he could rage against our head with nothing but empty words, against its members, that is, against its believers, to spit out, pour out and spit out his rage and nonsense, as if the stomach wanted to throw up. He has recently taken control of the city of Constantinople, which was defeated by the Christians in a hard siege and war, desecrated all the temples and holy places there, and trampled underfoot the relics of the saints, the holy images of our Lord Jesus Christ and of His most glorious Mother and of the life-giving Cross, after they had been thrown to the earth, devastated, destroyed, covered with shame and disgrace, and defiled with dung and impure matter for mockery and ridicule. This true harbinger of the Antichrist, and as it were the other Sennacherib, boasts in his strength and the multitude of his people, that with his power he can assert the whole Occident and wipe out the Christian name from the earth, completely furious and mad, as if he could exceed God's power. Therefore we, who are the, though unworthy, governors of the one to whom Christ entrusted his church; for he promised that the gates of hell should not overpower it; and to whom he gave the command that he should strengthen the weak brethren by his conversion, saying: "I have prayed for you, Peter, that your faith may not cease, and when you are converted one day, strengthen your brethren, for the present, that the service of our ministry may be required by the church. Therefore, with our venerable Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, we have deemed it good to advise and consent to the matter as follows.

First and foremost, we admonish all Christian princes, they may be emperors, kings, queens, princes, or other secular rulers; ver-

By virtue of the confession made in holy baptism, and by virtue of the oath they have taken, they decree and command that they may, to the best of their ability, truly contribute to the defense of the Christian religion and faith as the islands of their dignities. They have taken the isles of their dignities, that they may truly and unceasingly do their part in defense of the Christian religion and faith with good and blood, according to their ability, as those who will receive the eternal reward from Him whose cause they lead, both in this present life and in the life to come; because we believe at present that everyone is concerned with the necessity of welfare, it being such a necessary thing from which no one can lawfully withdraw. We likewise admonish, demand, remind and command the other lords, or communities, or whatever other lords they may have, in virtue of the faith which they have once professed, that they may bravely and persistently contribute their share to the defense of religion and faith with all their strength and with all their power, than those who will have that protector who in one night by his angel killed 185,000 in the army of Sennacherib, and who otherwise in great dangers did not leave his church and did not allow his enemies to boast of their godlessness. To all, however, of whatever rank, dignity and order they may be, who are personally present in such great distress to the church and the faith, and who will remain six months from the beginning of the present February, they may be clergy or laity, or they may possess ecclesiastical or secular dignities, we, by authority of Almighty God and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and also by authority of the power conferred upon us from above, grant complete remission and pardon of all their sins, such as were granted by our forefathers to those who journeyed to the Holy Land for help, and such as were also granted by them and ourselves in the Jubilee Year of Christendom.

He adds that also those should share in the indulgence who, since they themselves cannot go to the field, would provide a soldier in their place, as well as the monasteries of monks and nuns who would provide one man for every ten who lived in the monastery for the whole half year, should enjoy this benefit. So he writes about the acceptance of the Krennzeichen:

By apostolic power we command that as many as have committed themselves to the holy work announced beforehand shall put the salutary sign of the life-giving cross on their garments and carry on their shoulders the memory of him through whose suffering they were redeemed from eternal damnation, and follow the one whom,

since he started on the way to our salvation, his dominion was on his shoulder, and who, reminding us to follow in his footsteps, says: Whoever wants to follow me, deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me.

But since, in order to bring this about, it is necessary to spend almost innumerable sums of money in order to provide what is necessary for the cause, since this is a work of faith and of the entire Christian religion, to which all, no one excepted, are obligated according to the requirements of welfare: We decree and decree in particular that all benefits and revenues of our apostolic chamber, of all and every benefice, whether large or small, whether archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or other benefice, and by whatever name they may be called, which belong to us, shall be kept exposed to this holy work, whole, intact, and without any abridgement.

And further down it says:

Moreover, the venerable Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, our brothers, for which they offered themselves voluntarily and out of a free spirit, will pay a whole tithe of the common revenues of the chapel, as well as of all churches and their benefices, for such a holy and good work, entirely and without any deduction. And because it is contrary to the law, to which the head of the church is committed for the love of Christ, that one of the lower degree or order should arbitrarily withdraw, but it is indeed proper that all, whether prelates or people of lower order, should submit to this burden: We wish, and by this present decree we establish, that the tenth part of the income of all offices of the Roman Court, they may have whatever names they wish, even those held by the Vice-Chancellor, Chamberlain and Majorem poenitentiarum, of the Holy Roman Church Cardinals, to which these same Cardinals voluntarily offered themselves, be paid in full for such a sacred work. Which, in order that it may be taken into account by all of the lower order, we will and decree that all who embezzle and do not pay the reported tithes in full shall be subjected to banishment and the removal of their offices.

And because all this, as a small part, would not be sufficient for such a great cause, if the prelates and other clergy of the churches, who are scattered throughout Christendom, did not give their help and contribution, we, with the advice and consent of our brothers, the venerable Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, set up a new church,

the tenth part of all benefits, according to the true value, of all ecclesiastical benefactors in the whole world, of patriarchates, archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys and all other benefactors, they may have names as they like, either large or small, ecclesiastical, free or not free, regularium and not regularium, whatever their rank, order and nature, without any exception, by authority of our apostolic power, for such a holy work.

Which, in order that it may be carried out all the more forcefully, we want to subject to excommunication those who contradict, disobey, or withhold.

After a few interjections, he forbids not to supply the enemy with provisions and arrows, and he threatens such false Christians with severe punishments. Finally, he adds:

But because we see that it is especially necessary for the execution of this holy work that kings and princes, and whatever rulers possess in Christendom, may have and keep peace, we decree by the power of Almighty God that general peace be kept in the whole of Christendom: So that by the prelates of the churches the unpeaceful may be brought to peace; or, if peace could not take place at all, only the standstill (*treugae*) may be observed without interruption; and, if some do not know how to keep the peace, the individual persons may be enjoined by banishment, but the communities may be enjoined to observe it by an interdict. No one for this reason 2c. Given at Rome in 1453, the last of September, in the 7th year of our papal dignity.

7. an old letter of indulgence from the first papal commissary of general indulgences, Marinus de Fregeno, dated 1457.

From Löscher's Reformation Acts, Vol. I, p. 361.

Translated into German.

To all and everyone who reads this letter, we, Marinus de Fregeno, experienced in canon law, Subdiaconus in the Diocese of Parmen, and by the Most Holy Father in Christ and our Lord, Lord Calixtus, according to the providence of God, the third Roman Pontiff of that name, for the sale of the indulgence granted by this most holy Father and Pontiff for the defense of the Christian faith against the Turks in Norway, Gothland and Lithuania, as well as in the provinces and regions of the Holy Roman Empire.

I, the appointed commissioner of the bishoprics of Middelburg and Lemberg, as well as in the cities and towns belonging to the bishoprics of Bamberg and Münster, declare and know that Sophia von Emenckin, as she confirms in her conscientious statement, has contributed to the aforementioned blessed business of defending the true Christian faith, and has given her indulgence at the designated place in accordance with the ordinance. Accordingly, any secular or ordained priest whom she shall choose as confessor shall, by virtue of apostolic sovereignty, have the power and authority to absolve her from all sins and such cases as the Roman See has reserved for itself, as well as from all ecclesiastical censure, if he has first directed her to salutary penance according to the nature of her transgressions, and to do that which a sinner should reasonably observe, but to grant her, on her deathbed, a complete remission of all her sins, which she will repent of and confess, and that, as such is expressed in the Papal Manifesto which we have at hand, this shall be done in life under this formula: Our Lord Jesus Christ be gracious to you, and count you worthy to be absolved from your sins; and I, according to the papal authority given me in this piece, absolve you from all public punishment of banishment, suspension and interdict, no less also from all your sins recognized, known and forgotten. In the last hour of death, however, the confessor may add the words: And I also remit to you all the punishment that you would have to endure in purgatory because of your sin, and hereby grant you a plenary indulgence, which the Church is accustomed to grant only to those who undertake a crusade to Rome in the great year of jubilee, or to the Holy Land marked with a cross, in order to conquer it again, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, amen. The aforesaid confessor shall also be at liberty to change any and all vows made into other works of godliness, depending on what seems to be beneficial and profitable for the souls, with the exception of the vow to go by sea to the holy land, as well as the vow of constant chastity, the monastic vow, and whatever else is vowed to the apostles Peter, Paul, and James. So that this may be fully believed and no one may doubt it, we have issued the present letter of indulgence and had it sealed with our seal. Given in the year of Christ 1457, the fifth of November.

8. another indulgence letter sold by Marinus de Fregeno Anno 1458 to Annen von Czorba, prioress, and fourteen nuns.

From Kapp's "Nachlese nützlicher Reformationurkunden," Theil III, p. 66.

To all and everyone who will see the present letter, we, Marinus de Fregeno, scholar of canon law, Sub-Diaconus of the Diocese of Parma, by the Most Holy Father in Christ and our Lord, Lord Calixto the Third, Roman Pontiff, by divine providence, for the granting of the indulgence given by our most holy Pontiff for the defense of the Christian religion against the Turks, in the kingdoms and principalities of Norway, Gothland and Lithuania, as well as in the provinces and bishoprics of Middelburg 1) and Lemberg, and also in the Bamberg and Münster bishoprics, towns and villages, and to know that the devout and God-fearing Lady Anna of Czorba, Prioress, for herself, and Anna Belerin, Elisabeth von Ossenbrig, Catharina Mussebach, Margaretha von Wissenbach, Catharina Grist, Barbara Heldorfs, Gertrud Heldorfs, Elisabeth Gladis, Margaretha Dorothea Heldorfs, Catharina Gresindorf, Margaretha Stromans, Margaretha Posern, Margaretha Nemans, as they confirmed in their conscientious testimony, contributed to the intended work of defending the true faith.

The rest is in all respects the same as the previous letter of indulgence.

9. Reimar Kock's account of an accident encountered by Marinus. 1463.

From Kock's Lübeck Chronicle in Löscher's Reformation Acts, vol. I, p. 400.

Translated from Low German into High German.

In this very year (1463), around Martinmas, the Pope's legate, Marinus, came back from Sweden, where he had been trading with his indulgences for three years, and had made a lot of money and property.

1) In the old edition of Walch: "Magdeburg", but also here as in the previous writing Ä16<161burA6N86ui will have to be read, what the old translator has rendered there by "Middelburg".

without what the king had received for his share. Although this legate sent his goods by ship to Lübeck, he still had four thousand two hundred and forty florins with him in a bag, which he used to keep in his own safekeeping so that he would not be without food. It happened, however, when the holy legate was driving from Wismar to Lübeck, that the bag, in which the holy money was, fell off the wagon not far from Grevesmühlen, without the legate knowing anything about it. A poor woman found this bag, carried it home, and brought it to her husband. They were poor people, and were pleased to become rich so soon; they paid their debts, bought clothes, and provided themselves with food, far better and differently than before. But when it became known that the legate had lost the sacred money, the neighbors immediately became suspicious of these poor people, because their previous poverty was known to everyone. And they did not deny it when they were approached about it, they said freely how they had come by the money. Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg did not delay long, but sent for the money and, as a lord of the land, sent for the money. When the legate learned that the prince had received the money, he traveled to the prince in good hope and requested that the money be returned to him because it belonged to the holy pope and he wanted to pay warriors against the Turks with it. The prince answered the legate: for what reason could he ask him for money, since he had not handed over any money to him? The legate needed 2) many good and bad words, but the prince gave nothing for it, and the legate got nothing back.

10 A letter of indulgence from Heinrich Sletstater, a Dominican, subaltern of the General Indulgence Commissarius Rudolph, Bishop of Breslau, dated Anno 1470.

From Löscher's Reformation Acts, Vol. I, p. 363.

Translated into German.

Let it be known to all and sundry, and especially to the confessor who is to be notified by the present letter, that because the devout son in Christ, Caspar Seywath, for himself . . .

2) In Löscher: "beukede" instead of: "brukede".

to the so holy and godly work of defending the true Catholic religion against the faithless heretics and their followers, according to the nature of his fortune and according to the requirement of confession, he therefore, by virtue of the authority of the Holy Apostolic See and of our most holy Lord, Mr. Paul, by the divine providence of the second Roman Pontiff of that name, and according to the mandate of their holiness, the most reverend Father in Christ and Mr. Rudolph, Bishop of Breslau, his legate hereunto authorized, the grace to choose for himself a suitable confessor, who, either in life or at his end, may absolve him from all spiritual punishments and sins, they may be as great as they please, even in such cases as the apostolic see has specially reserved for itself, and grant and confer upon him plenary indulgence according to the formula below; but without interruption of restitution and pardon, if restitution or pardon should be granted to anyone.

The form of the indulgence either in life or in the hour of death shall be this: Have mercy on you 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve thee; and I, by virtue of his authority and that of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and also of the holy apostolic see, in this matter granted to thee and entrusted to me, absolve thee from the bonds of banishment, suspension, and interdict imposed by men, or founded in law in general; no less from all your crimes, sins and transgressions, even in such cases as the Apostolic See has specially reserved to itself; and grant you plenary indulgence and pardon of the same; and as far as the power of the keys entrusted to the Church extends, I remit to you the punishment which you should justly have endured for it in Purgatory, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. For the confirmation of which Magister Heinrich Sletstater, of the Order of Preachers, by virtue of the general authority communicated from above by said Lord Legate to all Commissariis and Confessors deputized and to be appointed in the matter concerning this Crusade, has deemed it good to issue the present Letter of Indulgence, sealed with his seal. Given in the year of our Lord 1470, the 5th of February.

11. Johann Nixstein's, Minoriterordens de observantia, letter of indulgence, which he granted under Sixtus IV Duke Wilhelm of Saxony and his wife Catharina, April 21, 1482.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Theil III, p. 73.

Translated into German.

Hereby it is manly made known that the most noble Prince and Lord, Lord Wilhelm, Duke of Saxony 2c., with his wife, the Highborn Duchess and Lady, Catharina, who both profess the Roman Church, have made their due contribution to the Crusades decreed and to be instituted by our most holy Pope Sixto, according to the prudence of God the Fourth of that name, against the Turks, as renounced enemies of the Cross of Christ and of the faith founded upon it. Therefore, by virtue of papal sovereignty, he is hereby granted the authority to choose a suitable man, be he an auxiliary bishop or a lay priest, as confessor for himself and his spouse, who will absolve them after hearing confession, and by premeditated apostolic authority and power from all her sins and transgressions committed, be they as great and as important as they may be, even if they are of such a nature that the apostolic see should be consulted about them; likewise from every penalty, and from all kinds and degrees of excommunication, which are expressly named in ecclesiastical law, are also founded in other statutes, and which the Roman See has reserved to itself to administer, not more than once; but from those which the papal see has not reserved to itself, as often as it shall require, or shall ask for, to be counted loose; besides proclaiming, giving and granting them, once in life and in the last hour of death, plenary indulgence of all their sins, without regard to all those cases which the said pope or his predecessors, according to the 1480, 4 Nov. Nov, issued in 1480, Nov. For greater certainty and confirmation of this matter, I, Brother Johann Nixstein, of the so-called Order of Friars Minor de observantia, and Subcommissary appointed for the work of the Holy Crusades by virtue of apostolic sovereignty and authority, have had this letter of indulgence issued and kept with my usual seal. Given in the year after Christ's birth 1482, April 21.

Formula of absolution.

The Lord have mercy on you 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ, according to his heartfelt mercy, absolve you, release you and set you free; and I, by the power and authority of him and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and also of our most holy pope, which have been given to me and communicated to you for your good, grant you a plenary indulgence for the penalty of banishment of which you have been guilty, and hereby receive you back into the communion of the church, of the sacraments entrusted to it, and of all the faithful members thereof; I also absolve you, by virtue of this power, from all and any crimes, faults, and sins, however grave, great, and terrible they may be, and even if they were such transgressions that the apostolic see would have to be consulted by right. For this reason, by virtue of the authority given to me, I grant you complete indulgence, and forgive you the same in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, amen.

By the way, I reserve the right, if I have to absolve you in mortal weakness with this clause, if you should come back from this illness and recover, to then give you complete indulgence and forgiveness of your sins according to this authority of mine.

The pope has driven out money through milk and butter letters.

12 Letter of butter issued to the Würtembergers by Pope Nicolaus V.

From Crusius annul. Kuevie. purs III, lilr. 7, eap. 7, p. 387.
Translated into German.

Nicolaus, the bishop, a servant of all servants of God, for the constant remembrance of the cause, a successor decreed by God of Him who has the keys of the kingdom of heaven, Roman pope, who received from God the power to bind and loose; who, as much as there is in him, gladly and willingly provides for the benefit and indemnity of all believing Christians, and restrains and restrains the severity of the law with apostolic gentleness.

The Lord is willing to mitigate, as it seems good and salutary to each according to the circumstances of the place, the time and the person in the Lord. Our beloved sons, the noble Counts of Würtemberg, in their name and in the name of their descendants of both sexes and of their subjects, have recently sent us a letter of request to the effect that they, together with their ancestors, are for the most part still in possession of their property: that they, along with their ancestors, for the most part still remember people, because of a lack of oil, oil trees and fish, according to the example of the neighboring countries, which have received the privilege and permission from the papal see, as it is believed, may eat milk food during the forty-day fast and also on other fast days, and have been accustomed to do so up to now, and have made use of it at such times up to this hour. Since, however, as was stated in the petition, the counts, count's children and their subjects are concerned about this, since they would not receive permission from the apostolic see, they have humbly requested that we, in accordance with our apostolic love and kindness, consider this point and take care of it for them. Accordingly, in consideration of such reasonable and humble request, we absolve and absolve the aforementioned Counts, their children and subjects all together, not only those presently living, but also their descendants, together with their ancestors, from all transgressions and trespasses of which they have since been guilty in every way, by our apostolic authority and power, and hereby declare them free and absolved from the same; We also grant them, notwithstanding any other mutual ordinances, by present letters, by virtue of our authority, for want of oil and fish, as long as the feast days prescribed by the church last, to eat milk food and to help themselves to it without propriety according to their pleasure. Therefore, let no one undertake to offend this indulgence and privilege granted to us in writing, or to oppose it boldly: but if anyone should take the liberty of attempting this, let him know that he will thereby incur the displeasure and wrath of Almighty God and of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1448, June 18, of our papal dignity in the following year.

13. Spenlins, Doctor of Medicine and Theology, and Provost of St. Mary's in the town of Herrnberg, objects to this Papal Indult.

From Crusius uurml. Kuevie., Mr8 III, Iil>. 7, eup. 7.

This man claimed in the writing contrary to the above indulgence letter: "the pope would have been deceived by false news, considering that 1. in the Würtembergerland there was neither a lack of rivers nor water ditches, which could provide fish in abundance on the prescribed fast days. 2) There would be no shortage of olive oil there, if it were brought there every year during Lent; the cities in Württemberg as well as in the surrounding neighborhood would be provided with it themselves, and in these regions there would also be nut tree oil, poppy seed oil, 1) linseed oil and turnip oil, not to mention other types. Thus it is also without reason that these noble lords, the Counts of Württemberg, together with their children and subjects, have been using milk foods for the forty-day Lent since time immemorial". With this he provoked the pope to anger against himself and brought it about that he was led captive to Conftanz and would even have been deprived of his office, if he had not revoked his opinion.

14. the papal bull of Anno 1490, in which it is allowed to eat butter and dairy.

From the "innocent news", 1713, p. 723. This bull was given by Innocenz VIII to the Elector Frederick of Saxony for the construction of the bridge over the Elbe and the chapel near Torgau.

Innocentius, bishop, a servant of the servants of God, his greeting and papal benediction to his dear sons, the noble men, Frederick, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and John, brothers, dukes of Saxony. If we, not sufficiently meritorious, are placed by divine providence in the holy city of St. Peter's, are gladly inclined to those things 2) by which your and your subjects' and

of other believers in Christ who wander to your lands and dominions may be blessed with usefulness and health of the body and purity of conscience: So then, for your sake, we have received a request that in Saxony and other principalities and lands subject to your temporal government and protection, the cold half of the land, olive trees do not grow, therefore oil in the fast and other times, We, ready to promote your and the aforementioned subjects' harmlessness and usability, and that of others who migrate to your princedoms, are inclined to your diligent request, You, the aforementioned your subjects and others, also those who go to the lands and dominions, you, and also others of yours, subject to such principality, for twenty years only, from this date on, that in the fast and other times and days, in which dairy products, by right of ancient custom, are forbidden, you may eat, and you may eat butter and other dairy products freely and fairly and without any burden to your conscience, by papal authority, here at present, by the gift of special grace, we permit. And so, after you have confessed that near the city of Torgau, Meissen diocese, where you commonly reside and keep your farm, situated under your temporal government, to which a large number of the people, also of the nobles, both of the horsemen and pedestrians with wagons and horses must daily come by necessity, a large water, called the Elbe, flows; On which water, especially near the so-called city, there is no bridge, so that the people, horsemen and pedestrians, who desire to come to the same city, are urged to cross in ships, and often because of the water and storms, especially in winter time, the people who approach the above-mentioned city in large numbers, not without great danger to their lives, and often in many days may not get across, therefore it is useful, for the safety of the people, also for the sake of your umbrella. Therefore, it is useful for the safety of the people, and also for the protection of your principality, that a stone bridge be built over the same water, which bridge may not be completed in a short time and at little cost, so that 3) for the sake of cold, snow and storms, construction on such bridge may not take place except in a short time of the year, so that it may be fortified.

1) "Poppy seed" put by us instead of "Mag seed" in the old edition.

2) Here we have erased "we".

3) Here we have deleted "such". The meaning is: because cold 2c. half only a short time in the year can be built on it.

and remain strong. Have also the will, out of mild devotion, to have a chapel built at the same bridge for the increase of divine service and for the bliss of the souls of the believers in Christ who wander there: That all and any persons, spiritual and secular, of both sexes, or bold, who want to use such milk works, shall pay the twentieth part of one Rhenish guilder every year for the next ten years for the building of the same bridge and chapel; After that, when the same ten years are over, for the other ten years, excluding the fourth part, which is to be used for the building of the church of the Prince of the Apostles Peter and Paul in Rome, but the above for the completion of the aforementioned bridge and chapel; and when these are completed, in the same and in the parish church of the same city, abstention, and not to be turned into any other use, are to be paid. In the foregoing authority we establish and ordain it without hindrance of papal and in provincial and synodal councils commonly and especially set constitution and order, and all others who might be contrary to it, as they would be; therefore it is quite lawful for no man to disturb this writing of our will granting, statute and order, or to come contrary to it unlawfully. But if any man should fail to do so, let him know that he shall come into the disfavor of Almighty God, and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Rome at St. Peter's, baptizing the Incarnation of Christ four hundred and ninety years, Quinta Calend. Augusti [July 28], in the sixth year of our papacy.

Meanwhile, as indicated here before, this freedom and grace shall be renewed with proclamation each of the twenty years with you and subsequent officials and councillors: Our request is that you, the magistrate, have the Latin and German copies of the bull, together with this document of ours, written in your office book, and that you, the council, have them written in your city book, unforgotten, so that new copies may be written on them every year and that there will be no lack of them; Also you, bailiff, let our heirs, in and around your care, decided and not decided, know that the copies of the mentioned liberty and grace, together with this our writing, are posted with you, which they want to use with theirs, that they have to find them and act according to them. Date ut supra.

15 The Electoral Proclamation referring to this bull. 1491?)

From ellronio DorZav. in Mencke, tönn II scriptoruni reruli OorManieuum, n. 572, and in the "innocent news," 1713, p. 719.

Frederick, by the Grace of God Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire and Elector 2c, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen.

Dear faithful! You and men in our and other surrounding countries, who are in the habit of hiking and building roads, are unaware of the noticeably large need for a bridge over the Elbe here in Torgau, over which many people, both local and foreign, are required annually and daily, for the sake of their need, to travel unmeantime, on horseback, 2) on foot and on wagons, on every occasion, which up to now had to be done by ship, and often due to water and thunderstorms, also especially in winter time with great danger and heaviness, when people, belongings and goods often may not get over, to harmful delay 3) and misdeeds: And as in former times with the highborn prince, Mr. Friedrichen, at that time Elector, Duke of Saxony 2c., our dear lord and ancestor, blessed and laudable memory, there at Torgau over the Elbe a wooden bridge of no small cost was erected: so it did not remain standing for long, but by great ice journey broke again and went down. If we now, for the benefit of ourselves, our lands, people, other inhabitants, also foreign and wandering people, are inclined, out of princely consideration, to erect a permanent stone bridge across the Elbe at Torgau with divine help, we can nevertheless consider that this is difficult to accomplish without the common support and presentation of ours and many other devout Christian people. So that ours and others, through honest and sincere causes, will be moved and willing to do so; for considering that tree oil is difficult to obtain in these lands, that the local oil is very repugnant and harmful to many people because of their nature and complexion, or weakness, and that it also gives birth to illness in many people, during the holy fasts and on the required feast days.

1) The old edition of Walch has in the caption: "of the same year", thus 1490; but the text says: "anno Vor 1400 im Ein und neunzigsten Jahre".

2) In the old edition of Walch: "Paths".

3) "Samptniß" in the old edition resolved by us by "Säumniß".

For years, if one avoids using butter and dairy according to Christian order and commandments, and obediently, without the special permission of the supreme spiritual power, does not pass over this, although with difficulty: By our most holy father, Pope Innocentio the Eighth, we have obtained such freedom and grace for all our people, spiritual and secular, male and female, as well as those who are subject to our protection and who may wander or come to the same, to be granted for twenty years from now: As, whichever of such people in each of the same years shall pay and give for itself the twentieth part of a Rhenish florin for the building of the said bridge and a chapel thereat, it shall and may freely eat and use the fasting and all the feast days of the same year, butter and dairy, with such papal permission, without sin and burdening of the conscience, according to the papal bull, which says so; We hereby send you a true transcript or copy of the papal bull, in Latin and German, requesting that you publicly proclaim it in all parish churches, through the pastors in the cities and villages of the care, to all in the pulpits, after the proclamation has been made, such transcript or copy, together with the copies of this our writing, on the church door in your town, where everyone has access to read it, and then have a tightly fastened and well-enclosed box placed in the parish church, in which every person may put money for himself; for this purpose three keys are to be made, one of which is to be held by the priest, the other by the magistrate, and you, the council, the third; not to exclude any part behind the other, for every month you three parties will open the box with the three keys; you, bailiff, take the fallen money counted and recorded to you, how often it is needed between here and Easter, and in the Easter week the fallen money is all brought to us against Torgau, or whoever is ordered to approach and build the bridge, [over]answers without restraint; You are also to direct, manage and carry out all this, as indicated and expressed before, for the next twenty years, especially with the new proclamation of the bull and others, without any delay and behavior, so that the construction of the bridge is not delayed, find yourselves sincere and diligent in this, and let this be done by your subsequent officials and councillors, also unchanged, in actual command and management, with avoidance of any delay.

We are sure that you will not be punished in any other way. We leave this to you without any doubt, and it is our entire intention to do so. Given at Torgau on Wednesdays, Vigilia Epiphaniä [Jan. 5] anno Oni. 1400 in the one and ninetieth year 2c.

16: The Elector Frederick and Duke John, brothers, sent a letter to the von Einsiedel that the bull granted to them by Pope Innocent VIII had been renewed by Pope Julius II, with the order to publicize it and to keep it in force. 1513.

From Ootlia äixüomatia in Löscher's Reformation Acts, Vol. I, p. 98. In Walch, this document is already placed here with an incorrect title, while it should have been placed under No. 26 of this section. There Walch has corrected his error.

By the Grace of God Frederick, Elector 2c., and John, Brothers, Dukes of Saxony 2c.

Dear faithful, since it has not been disclosed that we have previously acquired from Pope Innocentio the Eighth, for movable and frugal causes, such freedom and grace for twenty years for all of our people, spiritual and secular, male and female, also those who are subject to our protection and umbrella, and who would like to migrate or come to the same, that every man, who gives the twentieth part of a Rhenish florin for the building of the bridge at Torgau over the Elbe, and a chapel thereon, may happily and safely eat and use the fasting days and all the fasting days of the same year butter and milk works, without sin or burdening of the conscience; As the bulla given about it indicates and says. Since the same twenty years have now "appeared, the building of the bridge and chapel at Torgau, which was undertaken for the praise and common benefit of God, has not been completely accomplished with stones; we have also come to know that many people use milk works during special vacations, in disobedience to the Christian Church, according to the old usage, to the detriment of their consciences and salvation, to the extent that tree oil is difficult to obtain in these lands: Therefore, we have first of all to praise God, so that no one may disobey in the use of dairy, for the common good and all our subjects and relatives, by our most holy father, Mr. Julio II., now reigning pope, that his holiness be renewed to all our people, spiritual and secular, male and female.

The following shall be paid for by us: 1) the children of our family, also those who are subject to our protection and umbrella, and who may come and wander to the same, shall again pay a twentieth part of a florin Rhenish, and, for the completion of the marriage bridge and chapel, shall be taxed and deposited for them, that 1) shall and may eat and use the fasting days and all fasting days throughout the year, butter and dairy, on such papal bower, without sin and burdening of the conscience, purely and happily, according to the papal bull, of which we send you a true copy. However, if anyone has enjoyed and used butter and dairy products in the past year, he may cleanse his conscience with the deposit of the twentieth part of a Rhenish florin, as for another year, so that this will not be a burden to him. Therefore, our request to you is that you publicly proclaim the copy of the bull in all parish churches, through the pastors in villages belonging to you, in the pulpits, and after the proclamation has taken place, have such copies of the indult, and of this letter of ours, posted on the churches, so that everyone has free access to read them, and order that locked boxes with two keys, of which the priest keeps one and you the other, be placed in the parish churches at the same ends, in which each one puts the money as mentioned above, as it was used in the past, and that it be kept in a safe place until we order it to be removed. In addition, remind the priests that they and the confessors should take care that they do not absolve anyone from confession who has used the indult and has not put it in, and order all of this with diligence as we provide; this is done to please us, and to be recognized in grace. Date at Weimar, on Sunday Laetare Anno Domini 1513.

17 Letter of butter issued by Pope Innocent VIII, at the request of Duke Albrecht of Saxony, for the benefit of the Freiberg Cathedral, which burned down in 1484, for a period of 20 years. 1491.

From Andreas Möller's "Freiberg, tksatr. ollronio." part. II. p. 131.

Translated into German.

Bishop Innocentius, the servant of the servants of God, for the constant remembrance of the cause.

According to the office of servitude that we have assumed, we direct, among other things, our office-

1) To "that", as can be seen from the previous rescript, is to be added: "man".

We are also constantly concerned about how we may promote the reconstruction of churches that have been miserably destroyed by misfortune and have become funeral pyres, and how we may also assist and help persons who are faithful to us and zealous in religion in their need, as we deem it good and salutary in the Lord for the damage suffered by the churches and the burdensome circumstances of such persons. The request recently made to us in the matter of our beloved son, the noble Lord Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, was to the effect that the said Duke Albrecht, after the praiseworthy example of his forefathers, should fight with all his might against the faithless rage and the ungodly undertakings of the heretics in Bohemia, who rage against the believers in Christ without ceasing. He has not only made every effort to curb their raging fury with force and power, as he still continues to do every day, but he has also built up the former parish church, which is still in use today, but also the former parish church of the Holy Virgin Mary in the city of Freiberg, Meissen diocese, has been designated by apostolic sovereignty as a cathedral church, and it is dined at one table with a dean, twelve canonicis and just as many perpetual vicarii or caplains, who live together, who live together, dine at one table, and officiate in the aforementioned church day and night, so that, when the said city is entrusted to such faithful, zealous, honest and learned men, they may fortify and establish the faithful in the unity of the church and in the power of the true faith by word and example, and counter and resist the deceitful wiles and errors of these heretics, and also faithfully instruct and teach them, so that they may all the sooner abandon their errors and confess the universal truth. And although our beloved sons, the dean and caplains of the first-mentioned church, which has recently been miserably reduced to ashes, are thinking with all diligence and care about its reconstruction, so that, if it remains under the ashes and the canonicis and caplains have to look at it with their backs, the wicked cunning and malice of the reported heretics will not become even more fierce and powerful: Nevertheless, the income of this church is so poor and small that it cannot possibly be rebuilt and restored to its former condition, but rather the honest assistance of the Christian faithful is most necessary. Since, according to the aforementioned request, this country is very cold and the aforementioned city is situated on the Bohemian mountains, the citizens and inhabitants of this city

of the city and many other subjects of this duke, also those who have him as their patron, work diligently in the mines on the Bohemian mountains and barren oers, which are indeed outside the duke's land, but nevertheless border directly on it, where one could not have sufficient food, if it were not brought from other places, and yet with their supply because of much snow often great danger arises, that therefore many miners and other poor people, especially during the great Lent, would have to suffer indescribable shortages; not less also other subjects of this duke live in very cold places, where no oil trees grow, and consequently no olive oil is to be had, where it is not brought there from remote countries with great effort and expense; Nevertheless, if the duke, his subjects and those under his protection were allowed to enjoy such butter and dairy products during Lent and also on other days on which it is forbidden to eat butter and dairy products, provided they contribute from their wealth to the reconstruction of the church mentioned, it could indeed be hoped that this church building could be carried out and completed in a short time: So on the part of the said Lord Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, Margrave of Meissen and Landgrave in Thuringia, we have been humbly requested that, according to our apostolic grace, we would provide counsel in the above circumstances in due time. Accordingly, we, who gladly give all possible support to the reconstruction of the torn down churches, first want to exempt Duke Albrecht from all church censures and punishments of banishment and exclusion from the communion of the church and the Lord's Supper, which either the right or a certain person, on whatever occasion, may have done, or a certain person, on whatever occasion or in whatever matter it may have occurred, if he should be involved in any way, only so that the present letter may have its force and force, absolve him and consider him absolved: Therefore we, who are inclined to hear such supplications, by virtue of our apostolic power, by the present indult, decree and order that the said Duke Albrecht, and all and every of his subjects, and others under his protection, whether ecclesiastical or secular of either sex, who are in such mines and elsewhere, and others who come to such places, shall, during Lent and other days mentioned, receive butter and milk food for the next twenty days.

However, those who want to use such food, as long as the said twenty years last, shall be obliged to contribute annually the twentieth part of one Rhenish florin for the reconstruction of the above-mentioned church, of which the fourth part is to be sent to Rome for the construction of St. Peter's Church. And if in the meantime the church itself has been repaired, then the said contribution shall be used for the preservation of this and other parish churches of the city, and not for other things, and always the fourth part of it shall be given for St. Peter's Church, as reported, regardless of the apostolic and in provincial and synodal councils drawn up general or special decrees and conclusions, also other such statutes contrary to these. Therefore, no one shall dare to offend this written absolution, order, ordinance and will of ours, or to oppose it in a thoughtless and audacious manner. But if anyone should dare to do so, let him know that he will thereby fall into the disgrace of Almighty God and of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, in the year after the birth of Christ 1491, July 10, in the seventh year of our papal dignity.

18 Pope Innocence VIII, June 14, 1492, publicized confirmation of his aforementioned Butter letter.

From Andreas Möller's "Freiberg" 2c. I. c. Translated into German.

Pope Innocentius the Eighth.

After we have been told by our beloved son, the noble man Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, how he, after the example of his predecessors, has continued to resist with all diligence and zeal the faithless rage and ungodly undertakings of the heretics in Bohemia, who rage and rage without ceasing against the faithful members of Christ, with all diligence and zeal, bravely and undauntedly, and not only by external means of coercion and force to put a stop to their senseless rage, but also to destroy the former parish church of St. Mary of the city of Freiberg, Meissen. Maria of the city of Freiberg, Meissen diocese, which is under his secular rule, into a cathedral church, and appointed a dean, twelve canonicos and twelve vicarios perpetuos.

or chaplains, who were to live together in common, and the godly intention was conducted in such a way that, if the said city were provided with righteous, pious, well-mannered and learned men, the faithful might be fortified in the unity of the Christian church and might be able to resist the devious wiles of the first-mentioned heretics. And even though the cathedral dean, the cathedral chapter and the clergy of this church, which was miserably consumed by the fire and turned into a funeral pyre, were diligently striving for its reconstruction and were working on it, so that it would not perish after the misfortune that had come upon it and that the cunning malice and the fury of said heretics against the believing Christians would become so much greater, after the reported canonici and clergy had been forced to look at such a church with their backs because of the fire they had suffered; However, the income and the incomes of this church were far too small and insufficient for it to be rebuilt and restored to its former state; rather, the unanimous will and the generous contribution of godly and faithful Christians were highly necessary; Since it is also included in the story that the country is very cold, the city of Freiberg lies on the Bohemian mountains, and both the inhabitants of the same, as well as other subjects of this duke, and those who live under his protection, work diligently in the mines on the Bohemian mountains and desolate oersterns, which, although outside the lands of said duke, but still directly about the same, where the necessary foodstuffs would not be sufficiently available, unless they were brought from other places, and yet in their supply, because of much snow, there would often be a not insignificant danger that many would be plagued with too great famine during the forty-day fast, and others would live in too cold mountains, where no oil trees would grow, nor would olive oil be found, unless it were brought there from distant lands, and that at great expense: so that we might better promote the building of said church, we decreed last year by our other letter of indulgence, by virtue of apostolic majesty, that said Duke Albrecht and all his subjects, also all who are under his protection, of both sexes, no less others who come to these places, may freely eat butter and milk food on the forty days and other fast days mentioned, until the next twenty years, without doubt of conscience; but in such a way that those who

We are obliged to pay the twentieth part of a Rhenish guilder annually for twenty years for the building and renewal of the said church, of which we have intended to dedicate the fourth part for the building of the main church of the most noble of the apostles; and if in the meantime the church itself comes to a stand, the money is to be used for the protection and preservation of this and other parochial churches of the said city, without breaking off the fourth part, as is contained in this letter with more. However, because, as the letter recently sent to us by our beloved son, the noble man, Georgen, eldest prince of this Duke Albrecht, at the time when said letter was handed over, the aforementioned Duke did not take up arms against these heretics, nor did he wage war against them, although, as a devout Christian, he always had in mind and was willing to repulse them, as he could have done; also in the said district oil is beaten from various kinds of legumes and seeds, which the faithful can enjoy; but nothing of this was mentioned in the letter referred to, and therefore it is claimed by some, 1) as if this letter had been secretly executed: Our will, which we gladly wish to prevent that this letter may not be accused of a vitii surreptionis, and are inclined to hear Duke George's humble request in this matter, is that the statute and ordinance and oft-stated letter, with all and every clause contained therein, have had and still have their validity, and that they have had and shall still have their full force and weight, and in virtue thereof the above-mentioned persons and subjects of the counts, barons and noblemen, as the said duke's vassals, even if they are subjects from other fiefs of foreign dominion, as well as the above-mentioned arrivals, may eat butter, cheese and other dairy products on the days in question; And this shall be valid in all and after all, just as if in this letter what Duke Albrecht had in mind and intended to repel the above-mentioned heretics to the best of his ability, and that in the country mentioned oil be struck from some kinds of legumes and seeds, which the faithful may make use of,

1) This probably refers to the writing reported in the next number, which may have caused the pope to confirm his bull. The Bishop of Meissen had also opposed the Bull. (Löschner, Ref.-Acten, Vol. I, p. 100.) Cf. the following No. 20.

The letter would have been written in explicit words, and other intended subjects in this letter would have been mentioned by name. Notwithstanding the apostolic statutes and all other ordinances contrary thereto 2c. Given at Rome at Peter under the Fisherman's Ring, June 14, in the eighth year of our papal dignity.

19. Johann von Breitenbach's, *Prof. jur. canon.* at Leipzig, expert opinion against the Papal Butter letters.

About the beginning of 1492. 1)

Breitenbach's writing, in which he gives his opinion, is found in the Pauline Library in Leipzig and is printed in Kapp's "Nachlese nützlicher Reformationurkunden", Theil III, p. 81. The title reads: "Gutachten Johannis von Breitenbach, beider Rechte Doctor, auf der berühmten Academie zu Leipzig, Merseburgischer Diöces, ordentliche Lehrers des Kirchenrecht: ob diejenigen, so nach dem Inhalt der apostolischen, durch den gegenwärtigen Herrn Pabst Innocentium VIII. Innocentium VIII, for the reconstruction of the cathedral church of St. Mary in the city of Freiberg, Meissen diocese, may eat butter and other dairy products during the Great Fast and also on other days on which it is forbidden to eat butter and other dairy products, without any scruples of conscience" in quarto. Without year. It is noteworthy that the author, a strict papist, brings proof from canon law that the power of the pope to "grant graces" is very limited.

Translated into German.

The *factum* is this:

The Most Holy Father in Christ and our Lord, Mr. Innocentius VIII, according to the providence of God, the present reigning pope, for certain reasons, has permitted and given freedom to the most noble prince and lord, Lord Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, together with all and every one of his subjects, and others who are under his protection, whether spiritual or secular, male or female, that if they give the twentieth part of a Rhenish gold guilder annually for the reconstruction of the cathedral church of St. Mary, the city of Freiberg, and the diocese of Meissen, they shall then pay the Lent of one year for the reconstruction of the cathedral church of St. Mary, the city of Freiberg, and the diocese of Meissen. Marien, the city of Freiberg, Meißnischer Diöces, they could then enjoy such butter and milk dishes freely for twenty years during Lent, as well as on other days on which butter eating and other milk dishes are forbidden, without any doubt in their conscience; as such is contained and expressed more extensively in the apostolic letters issued about this, the content of which from word to word is as follows:

1) Because of this time determination compare our note to the previous writing.

Innocentius, the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, for the constant remembrance of the cause. According to the office we have taken 2c.

See the 17th document.

According to this, some have doubts whether the said Duke and his subjects, who according to the Apostolic Letters contribute their share, could and may freely eat butter and other dairy products on the said days without any scruples of conscience?

And since many Clerici and Laici have asked me to open up and explain what my opinion is on this doubtful point of law, I therefore, for the sake of the welfare of the illustrious republic of my fatherland, which I live to serve and am bound to obey, will, according to the L. veluti ff. de justitia et jure, and according to the L. postliminii, § filius quoque ff. de captivitate, also for the benefit of my masters of both rights, and especially of the canon law, I will briefly indicate what seems to me in the first-mentioned doubtful puncto juris.

Having previously invoked the most glorious name of Christ, our Lord, God, Creator and Redeemer, and of His holy and always unharmed Mother, the Virgin Mary, and having well seen and carefully examined what is contained in the narrative of the above-mentioned Facti: then, as it seems to me at first sight, one must answer with yes, namely that the obedient Duke and his subjects, who according to the contents of the said apostolic bull do their part, can freely enjoy butter and other milk foods on the said days without any scruples of conscience. Since this is implied by the expression of the said bull, one must not deviate from the literal meaning of it, according to L. non aliter ff. de legatis III. can. ad audientiam, dedeci; indeed, it is better to stick exactly to the words of an edict in a doubtful point, since one must stick to the words of the law itself in doubtful cases, according to L. I. § si is qui etc. ff. de exercito actio, unb ἡαφ bem L. prospexit ff. qui et a quibus manumissi cum simili.

This is also confirmed by the fact that the Lord Pope can dispense from the right over the right, C. proposuit, where the text applies according to the letter de conces. praebeben. Yes, even in the statutes of general councils of the Lord Pope, his power and authority suffers an exception, c. Significasti, where the text beautifully reads as electione; and therefore it comes that the Lord Pope can dispense against a general council.

The pope is still in charge of the council; as the strange gloss has c. ex parte de Capell. Monach. unb in c. ubi periculum in principio in verbo consilio, de elect. libr. VI. moreover, the Lord Pope is able to dispense from the right everything, so, as God himself, according to Osti. ut ipse notat in c. quanto de translat. prelati. Therefore, according to Bal. in lege fi. codic. de senten. rescin. non pos. a rightfully elected pope holds God's office on earth. On the other hand, he who has not been duly elected is a devil, and therefore has not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but of hell. Therefore it is said that the Lord Pope has perfect power, II. q. VI. decree. c. ad honorem de autori. et usupal. c. unico, ut ecclesiasti, be- nefi. et dic. c. proposuit, and the same is the governor of God and thus represents the place of our Lord JEsu Christ allhie on earth, c. inter corporalia de transla. prelato. c. per venerabilem § rationibus, qui filii sint, legit, et c. I. de homici. 1. VI. where in the text, which deserves to be written with golden letters, the reason is given why our Lord, the Son of God, entrusted his place and the care of his army to the blessed Petro and his successors, and for this very reason spoke to the blessed Petro and to his successors: What you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven 2c. c. Solite, de mayo. et obedi, et die § Rationibus, et XXIV. q. I. Quocunque; therefore we must also accept it with meekness and humility, even if the Lord Pope should burden us with something unbearable, XIX. dis. in memoriam. Just as we kiss his feet as a sign of his highest dignity, as the gloss says. In 1.1. s. äs äorns. st prots. I. XII. Incidentally, the Lord Pope is not bound by the laws and rules, but is free from them. IX. q. III. cuncta per mundum et I. princeps, ff. de legi, et XXV. q. I. his ita, et notatur in c. I. de constitutionibus. Now, however, since the aforementioned former pope, against the law, according to which the eating of butter and other milk foods are forbidden during Lent, has made and dispensed a decree, as he could do according to the above, therefore 2c.

This is also, thirdly, confirmed by this. For if the causes mentioned in the aforementioned apostolic bull were not legitimate, the indult or letter of freedom of the pope would nevertheless have its force, so that the aforementioned duke and his subjects, if they had as much as is mentioned in this apostolic bull, would have the same right to the freedom of the duke and his subjects.

The pope can freely enjoy butter and other dairy products during Lent and other days, without any scruples of conscience. Which I therefore prove, because, although the Lord Pope cannot dispense against what is founded in divine law, without important and reasonable causes, he can at least dispense against what is established according to human law and in *jure positivo*, according to his mere and free will, because for this his will alone, without any other cause, is already sufficient; as notes Inno, in c. cum ad monasterium de stat. Monach. et sequitur specu. ti. de legato § Nunc breviter dicendum est, ver. et nota, quod nisi Papa. And herein has instead the well-known saying: 8ie volo, 8io znkso, 8it pro rations volnntas. But since this, that one is not allowed to enjoy butter and milk food during Lent, does not have its reason in divine law, but only juris humani unb positivi ifi, as in c. denique IV. dis., then the Lord Pope can, and can also really pardon against said human law, according to his mere and free will; for which reason one does not have to ask about the reasons given, whether they are true or false, nor to dispute about them because of the circumstances mentioned above.

This is also proved, and fourthly, in this way. For if one or the other of the causes mentioned were not true, such an indult or pardon would still be valid if only one of them had a cause. Art. eorum, quae in simili dicuntur, de sententia, because then, if two causes are stated in the sentence itself, one of which expressly disputes with the general law, while the other does not, the sentence has its force; as especially noted Inno, in c. in praesentia, de renuntia, et Io. An. in c. Cum inter de re judica. For there the sentence itself becomes strong, by virtue of this circumstance, which does not run expressly against the general law, pro quo fa. c. per tuas, qui filii sint legitimi. The judge, in stating two causes, does not base himself praecisely on the other alone, and it is therefore already enough that the judicial pronouncement can stand for the cause that does not expressly conflict with the general law; to which belongs Ratio c. causam de re judica, where it is said that the mind of a judge is not always directed to a particular kind of proof; and this is also noted by Mr. Nico, alias Panor. in s. 1. s. ti. So, according to the foregoing, it seems to be already enough and sufficient that such be-

gnadigung und Indult Stich halten kann, vermöge desjenigen Grunds, der nicht falsch ist, wofol auch streitet fa. quia in dubio interpretandum est, ut potius res et dispositio valeat, quam pereat, c. Abbate de verbo significa, et 1. quotiens, ff. de rebus dubiis cum simili.

But on the other hand and *pro parte negativa*, that the said Duke and his subjects, who according to the contents of the said apostolic bull do their part, cannot freely enjoy butter and other milk foods during Lent without conscience scruples, is stated: Because such causes are falsely stated, such an indult and pardon is also invalid, because a supplicant who commits fraud has no right to enjoy what he has been granted. c. sedes apostolica de rescript. et 1. et si legibus c. si contra jus vel utili, publi. Therefore one must consider these words, which indicate that letters of grace received in this way would be invalid, according to what 1. et no. per lo. An. et doc. de ea dictione penitus in C. Romana § fin. de sententiis excommunicata. 1. VI. fa. 1. ambiguitatem c. de usu et habita. Yes, in the papal scripts or bulls this condition is always to be understood under it, although it is not put to it, namely, where the request is based on truth, or where it is so, c. II. de Rescript. et 1. universa C. de diversis rescript..., where it is also stated that whoever asks for something and presents falsehoods shall not enjoy the answer received. Next to this, the matter is proved thus: The *vitium surreptionis*, or when one presents untruths, or conceals and suppresses the truth, deprives not only the scripts, or bulls, issued for the attainment of certain benefits, as is noted in Cie. 1. de praeben. of their force, but also the letters of grace granted over certain liberties or dispensations; as such is recalled by Inno. in c. Constitutus de rescriptis. Yes, also the grace becomes invalid by this act of corruption, c. I. et II. defin. presbi. lib. VI. et fa. c. ad audientiam II. de rescriptis et notant doc. communiter, in dic. c. Ceterum. Similarly, the secret effect weakens the grace with the deed itself, if it also consists in the fact that one has a foreign kaetnni, of which the one who has been made theilhaftig has probably known nothing, according to the text dio. c. Constitutus quemd. Nico, ibi dicit pro hoc menti tenendum; and this is especially true when there is fraud under the surreption. Where under the surrept

If there is a deception in the statement, and either the truth is concealed, or unfounded things are stated, then this invalidates the whole Rescript; which happens not only when disputes are to be settled, but also when privileges and pardons are granted, according to what has been noted in dic. c. Ceterum, which is also noted by d. Nico, in c. super litteris de rescript. , allwo auch nach der Glosse 08ti. 6t lo. ^n., if and when one who states false things or withholds the truth in obtaining a rescript, or an apostolic letter of grace, does this maliciously or out of simplicity. And according to the aforementioned document, this same Nico. also states that a judge must discern from various circumstances and assumptions whether there is fraud or simplicity; and when the judge has taken care of all the circumstances, he must consider whether the one who obtains grace is simple-minded or diligent, and whether the fact concerns him or another; whether he is near or far; whether his letters are substantial or not, and so on, for the inner deceit cannot be brought out otherwise than by mere speculation. 1. dolum Cod. de dolo, et c. II. de renuntia. li. VI., baoon in dicto c. super litteris plene per doc. et maxime moder. Yes, the apostolic bulls issued over certain privileges and pardons, if they have been secretly executed, are null and void according to the laws themselves, as in C. dudum. II. de elec. et. 1. I. ff. de natali restituere. et notat. lo. An. post Compostel. in dicto c. ad audientiam, ad quod dic. c. I. et c. II. de fi. presb. lib. VI. et notat, d. Nico, indic, c. dudum. who says that the pardon issued per *vitium surreptionis* would be void according to the law itself; and this same one holds that this would also be said of all letters of pardon in general. Furthermore, surreption offends the apostolic bull, not only if it was a final cause of the pardon or of the rescript; but also if it was a moving cause of it; thus, because the pope or the prince would otherwise have issued letters of pardon, where one did not secretly ask for it, in this case surreption was the moving cause of it; as the beautiful text has in c. postulasti de rescript..., which text must be remembered because it is nowhere else, secundum d. Nico, ibi, which also adds that in this text one encounters a peculiar and special casum, according to which, where the moving cause cessirt, or is wrong, also the decree falls over a heap; whereby to our intended cause the gloss

The most remarkable is in c. post translationem in verbo cessante, de renuntia, the content of which is that, if a dispensation occurs from any cause, this cessante causa should also cessare. Of this, there is a wide-ranging discussion by D. Anth., who examines: whether and if, cessante causa, the effect should also cessare, what one calls a final and a driving cause, to which one must answer, as is done there by him. Of this also Io. de Ymola et d. Nico, in c. cum cessante de appell. et per Gloss. in 1. 1. § sexum ff. de postulant. and more extensive Bar. in 1. 2. § fin. ff. de donationibus. So also about the preservation of apostolic rescripts or bulls one gives this rule, namely, that everything must stand in the letter with express words, what is able to direct the heart of the lord pope or the prince to grant grace, and to grant the same not at all or reluctantly; as the gloss notes in verbo litteras, and there doc. in the before mentioned c. super litteris. § iergu bñt c. postulasti unb c. si proponente de rescriptis unb c. si motu proprio, de preben. libr. VI. Therefore, since it is claimed that in the said apostolic bull the untruth has been expressed, and the truth suppressed and concealed, since nothing is said therein about the fact that olive oil can be had almost in all the said lands subject to Duke Albrecht's dominion for almost the same price and as frequently as butter; and that the oil of certain fruits, of which our parents and forefathers availed themselves, some of which brought their lives from a hundred and more years, can be procured for a more moderate price than butter usually is. Since it is not thought that people of male and female sex have reverently and certainly abstained from eating butter and other dairy foods, which are forbidden during fasting and on other days, from time immemorial, it is also not thought that people of male and female sex have reverently and certainly abstained from eating butter and other dairy foods, which are forbidden during fasting and on other days; Since it is not further reported that from the eating of butter and other dairy foods, which takes place during the said days, as well as from the omission of the said praiseworthy and godly custom, a very great annoyance has arisen among the Christian believers, who reside in the said Duke's own and other surrounding lands and provinces, as in Bohemia, Saxony, in the Mark, in Silesia and in Lusatia 1); as well as that almost everywhere in said lands there are as many fish as are needed, and these are bought for a fair amount of money; and it is in

that if our ancestors, citizens and inhabitants of these lands had one fish thirty years ago, we have two or three nowadays, as experience teaches, and therefore it is to be presumed that the people should observe and celebrate the holy Lent, which, as it has been salutary ordained by the law and the holy prophets for the welfare of souls and bodies, and sanctified by our Savior through his holy fasts, should be observed and celebrated with the greatest reverence, de consecra. dis.V. quadragesima, eat butter and other milky foods more for pleasure and lust than for necessity: so, alas, I hold that the very last perilous times are approaching, to which, according to the testimony of the apostle 2 Tim. 3 will be men who think of themselves as stingy, boastful, hopeful, blasphemers, unthankful, unspiritual, who love pleasure more than God; and consequently, since the truth has been suppressed and concealed, the apostolic bull, according to the foregoing, cannot have, nor retain, its force and validity.

This is also strengthened by this important reason, because where a law is abolished, not at the same time the custom is to be considered abolished, by which the observation of this law was introduced in particular places, if it would cause annoyance in a place that the ancient law was no longer observed; and therefore, when a law is repealed, it is not thought that the usage and custom by which the law itself was observed is abolished at the same time, if an offense should arise from their omission; as the strange text proves in c. super eo, and the gloss in verbo consuetudo, de cogna. spu. unb anmerfet d. domi, in c. I. de constitu. lib. VI. which says that it is necessary to keep it. Ad quod c. cum oli. de cleri, conjuga. et c. nihil de praescriptio. And so also in the foregoing case, although the lord pope, by permitting butter and other dairy foods to be eaten on said days, abrogates the general law, or grants a liberty and grace contrary to it: yet he does not abrogate the custom, the omission of which would cause offense, or dispense against the established custom, Ar. eorum quae le. et no. in dictis iuribus. But that the omission of this very good custom, which has been observed sacredly since time immemorial, causes great and grave trouble among the believers in Christ in the said lands, daily experience teaches. For this, take what Bal. notes in 1. fin. c. si contractus vel util.

1) In the old edition: Lausnitz.

pub. 1. where he says very strangely that many pardons could lose their power if one does not especially consider the custom which the pardon is contrary to: *cum de ipsa consuetud. ne fieri debeat specialis mentio*, and he says: *hoc teneri per doc. et menti esse tenendum*. Nor would the clause *ex certa scientia* be sufficient to abolish the custom, if the Lord Pope did not otherwise make an explicit and special report of it. Because, as the Bal. says in 1. fin. c. de sentent. rescind. non poss. the clause *ex certa scientia* would not be sufficient.

sel ex certa scientia is of no help, except in such matters where the prince is presumed to have knowledge and science, as in matters concerning a point of law; but in matters where it can be presumed that the prince knows nothing about it, where good and praiseworthy customs of certain countries or countries belong, this clause has no force. From what has been said, it is clear that it is not so easy to give a *decisum* in this doubtful *casu*, considering also that it concerns a *praerogativa* and the high authority of the Lord Pope, about which one cannot dispute without danger; because he who makes the same disputable is guilty of *criminis sacrilegii* c. de diver. rescript.

Neque lingua transiens super terram, os ponere debet in caelum XXI. dis. in tantum.

Therefore, before proceeding to a more detailed elucidation of this matter, which in modern times, when avarice, as a handmaiden of idolatry, is very prevalent, and money and goods are lured out of the bag in a subtle and cunning manner, 1. 2. c. de commere, et mercato, et in cie. abusioibus de poeni- tent. et remissio. If the dispensation, which often occurs, gives rise to a rash, it must be remembered above all that the dispensation or disbursement is so much as a balancing of expenditures with all circumstances, hence a steward is also called a manager, and the one who manages the treasury must pay attention to all circumstances, and must well estimate the work and its wages. For dispensing means nothing other than paying out this and that. And we need such an administrator who, for certain reasons, sometimes enacts a law that is useful in itself; although such a dispensation must not be granted to everyone without distinction, but only to those who make laws and can also repeal them, and should therefore be performed only by the pope or by the prince, or in their name. Accordingly, he who has the administration must direct his eye to the account,

Why he dispenses, which is based on three things: utility, necessity, and the particular preference of the persons; and where a steward has these three in mind, he cannot be said to act against the common good and to prefer his own interest to that, but to abate the general statute for the sake of the common welfare, which is added in a special case. In this way, the dispensation is not to be made for a private matter, but for the sake of the common and obvious benefit. For the pardon is a dispensation of the general right, which is made after exact insight into the matter by one to whom the right of pardon belongs, as in *nisi rigor*. l.

VII; or it is a prudent indulgence of the common law, having first well considered the utility or necessity; or it is a remission of the severity of the right, which has been regularly done by the one to whom such is due; as noted *Specui. tit. II. § dispensatio est, in prine*. But if a steward were induced to do this merely by his will and his own pleasure, without any intention of predestined pieces, this would by no means be called a pardon, but rather a waste. Therefore St. Bernard says that if a pardon were to happen without reasonable causes, it would then have to be called a waste; as *Osti. states in c. Quia in tantum de praebeand*, and such a one who grants a pardon without reasonable cause would not be considered a wise and faithful steward. In the Gospel of Luke 12:42, 43 it says: "How great a thing is a faithful and prudent steward, whom the Lord sets over his servants to give them their due. Blessed is the servant whom his lord finds doing so when he comes 2c. But such a steward is unfaithful who does not consider the common good; he is unwise and careless if he has no reasonable cause for himself. From this follows that he who has dispensed without reasonable cause is not safe from God; as the curious gloss reports in c. *Non est de voto*; and although it seems as if the gloss, which speaks in terms of desire, were referring to what is founded in divine right, this is also true in matters that have their basis in *jure positivo*, or in human right, as is nicely noted by *Io. An.*, whose statement is to be found almost from word to word in c. *de multa de praebeand*. which *alida d. Anthon. Io. de Ymola d. Nico.* follows and likewise teaches this; and as just the-

fer d. Nico, in dic. c. This is not hindered by what, from what has been said before, in dic. c. de multa roiber Theoricam concludes Inno, in c. cum ad monasterium de stat, monacho. and says that the pope can grant grace against human law according to his mere and free will and pleasure. For although this, according to the opinion of this same d. Nico. applies to the contending church, in which the opinion and pronouncements of the pope no one may master, XI. q. III. Nemo, it does not apply in the sight of God, because even the Lord Pope may not, without cause, abate a right built on the common welfare, he is rather bound, according to his office, to feed his sheep, and to act as a righteous steward; as he speaks there and dic. c. Non est, and so has d. Nico, in c. quae in ecclesiarum de constitu., and says that where there is no lawful cause to depart from the jure positivo, a prince sins when he violates the same, because he has the power to feed his flock, but not to confuse or weigh it down; and therefore he must act according to justice and equity, but not according to his particular inclination and pleasure. And this I consider to be an indisputable truth, that the Lord Pope in foro poli. or of God does not have the power to slacken the jus positivum without reasonable cause, because its resolution and regulation must be based on the same reason, according to what stands le. et no. in regula I. de regulis juris et in l. nihil tam naturale ff. c. tit. But since no positive law is to be made unless it is based on reason and natural equity, and where this is the case, the name of right or law is not even deserved, c. erit autem lex IV. dis, hence law is called the art of what is just and equitable, l. I. ff. de justitia et jure; so likewise it may not be abrogated again without reasonable cause and natural equity. This, that the pope, if he wants to dispense contrary to the positive laws, must have natural equity for himself, is beautifully proved by the text c. manet XXIV. q. I., where it is said that the privilege deriving from Blessed Petro remains unaffected, even if a pronouncement is made in accordance with its equity. Therefore it is said that the pope is able to do everything, so that he is unconfessed in his power, which he exercises, namely after previous judicial investigation; just as the power which the church has is called a key. And in fact there is only one key, or One

But the fact that one sometimes speaks of keys in the number of multiplicity is due to the fact that a prelate, in addition to the power, must also make an investigation and decision, so that there are two keys, one of the power, the other of the investigation and decision; as we therefore rightly say that the pope is able to do everything without erring in his executive power, namely after previously made investigation and decision. This is noted by d. Nico, in c. tanta de excess. praelato. Take to this what the gloss has in c. Quanto de jurejurando, where the gloss also mentions the clavis discretionis, and says that the pope can absolve someone from the oath for legitimate and well-founded reasons, if he first uses the clavem discretionis properly. Inno. also says there that although the pope can do everything, he must often use the clavis discretionis before he makes the pronouncement. Here belongs a beautiful dio. Bal. in l. II. in IX. colum, c. de servi- tut. etaq., where it is said that no power, neither of a prince nor of the council, can make the prince cease to be a rational and mortal creature; nor can it make him free from the law of nature, or from the instruction of sound reason and the eternal law; and thus, although the prince himself is not subject to the laws, he is not free from what sound reason instructs him to do, according to the saying of this same Bal. ibi, quod est perpetuo menti tenendum. Moreover, in every dispensation, if it especially concerns divine right, the pope must pay attention to three things, namely: what he may do according to justice and equity; what he should do according to respectability, and what may be good in view of the benefits and advantages; as the beautiful text reads c. magnae de voto. Yes, the pope must sometimes abstain from many things that are not unlawful, according to the apostle's saying (1 Cor.6,12.): I have it all power, but it is not all pious; as in c. Aliud quod decet c. XI. q. I. From this it is concluded that, although the power and authority of the pope is of a very great extent, and is endowed with an immense number of privileges and privileges; of which in dic. c. proposuit de concess. praeben., unb in dic. c. Cum ad monasterium de sta. monach. unb in c. litteras de restit. spolia., also per gloss. et doc. in c. I. de transla. praelat. and in c. quod translation. de offi. lega. and in c. sicut unire de excess. praelat., and more extensively per specu, tit. II. § Nunc ostendendum and § Nunc breviter dicendum, per totum, and per Bal. in l.

rescripta c. de preci, impera, offeren., also per d. Nico. in his disputation, which begins: *Episcopus et quidam Rector etc.*, and per d. Andre, alias Barbatium in dic. c. quod translationem: yet he may not prove this his high power and authority without reasonable causes; whereto the peculiar saying Innoc., in c. Innotuit de elec., which expressly says that the pope may not use and exercise his complete power without reasonable causes.

On the other hand, it must be noted that regardless of someone committing a pagan sin, who wants to be a Christian, and yet is disobedient to the apostolic see, c. si qui presbyteri LXXXI. dis. even to obey the papal commands is necessary for salvation, as in extravagant. Bonifa. VII Unam sanctam, and the gloss notes in cie. Ad nostrum § tertio de heretic., this is to be foreseen: as long as it is not to be assumed that by the papal command the church will be put into extreme unrest, or that other mischief will arise from it; as is nicely noted by Innoc. and after him in c. Inquisitioni de sentent. excommunic., where it is stated whether and to what extent one is obliged to obey the pope or the prelate who gives unjust orders. See the gloss, and just there Innoc. in c. ad aures de tem- por. ord. together with the note of Nico, in c. si quando de rescript, where he also has quite strange words, namely that a subject, if the regent, be he pope or emperor, should order something, whose compliance and observation could cause trouble in the city, is not bound to obey, which must be especially noted. This is also what Nico means in c. quae in ecclesiarum de constitut. He says: "One does not have to obey the prince and regent if one has to fear a future offense from his command, or disorder in Christendom, or otherwise a great sin. But also this is noted by the said Nico in c. accepimus de fide instrum, where he says: the pope must be obeyed in a command, although hard, which he lets go out from enlightened knowledge, if only such command has nothing sinful in it, or one has to fear an offense from it; whereby one conferire, what has been noted per doc. post Osti. and Io. An. in c. significavit de offic. ordin. and in c. Cum adeo de rescript. From this it is further concluded that where the prelate in a place presumably foresees that the observance of the apostolic order or the apostolic bull could bring about an annoyance, he should not let it happen that

Rather, he shall report it to the pope and present to him the resulting annoyance and all other circumstances arising from it, and then expect a different order from the pope himself, after he has been well and sufficiently instructed in everything.

And so the matter is also proved in dic. c. si quando, after the said d. Nic., which concludes from this text: that the magistrate, or another to whom the prince gives a written order, has the power not to obey it for this time, but to write to the prince and expect another order; although the prince, because of the too great impetuosity of the one who asks, or because he wants to effect something secretly, or because of his too many affairs, does and permits what he should not and should not do and permit. In this connection, this same D. Nico, in c. causam II. de Testi. remarks and says that an official in the execution of liberties and privileges, which seem to dispute with reason, or under which there is a fraud, or which run contrary to the common interests, must not proceed immediately, but first ask the prince for advice and expect a different command, whereby the text to confer in c. ad nostram and c. porrecta de confirmatione utili, vel inutili; et in authentico, ut nulli jud. § Et hoc vero coi. IX, and what the curious text has in c. ordinarii § si vero de offic. ordin. lib. VI, where it is stated that if there were any doubt as to whether the dispensation granted was correct and sufficient, the apostolic see should be consulted. And what has been said before is confirmed by what is noted per doc. in c. cum venissent de judi. where they claim that a subject can examine whether the privilege of the prince has been secretly exercised or not. Here is to be looked up c. super litteris de rescript, and what notes Io. An. in c. l. de litis contest. lib. VI, therefore it is said that those prelates would be miserable who were immediately afraid. For they must not fear at all when they deal with the truth, in that they thereby make themselves pleasing to God and the pope, as the curious gloss reads in 1. puniri c. si contra jus vel utilit. public. And Bal. says there: this should be noted against such wretched prelates, who accept the papal bulls so strictly that they do not even want to admit to examining them and objecting to them. For according to the Bal. they must let this happen; and the gloss also notes this in authentico de mandatis principum in § deinde in verbo nuntians coi.

III, where the gloss also says: this should be noted against the wretched prelates, who are so afraid of the papal bulls that they do not have the heart to object to them; which they should not do, according to this very gloss. Indeed, that the apostolic letters should be carefully read and examined by every local bishop is proven by the text in *cie. II. de poenitent. et remiss.*

Thirdly, it must be considered that although the pope can dispense against the law if he has a substantial and useful cause for it, and especially if he wants to dispense against the divine law; against which he could also dispense on the impulse of a very important cause, according to what has been noted *per doc. post Inno*, in *dic. c. quae in ecclesiarum* and *per glossam in c. a. nobis de deci.* and *per gloss. et doc. in 1. fin. C. si contra jus vel util. publi. fa. c. quanto de translat. praelat.*, but the good text excludes certain cases in which the pope can by no means dispense; of which with more *per gloss. et doc. in prae al. c. proposuit* and in *dic. c. cum ad monasterium* and in *dic. c. litteras*, and *per specui*, in *dic. § Nunc breviter dicendum est.* And among other cases is also this, if the pope wanted to dispense against the general state of the church, so that after such dispensation and change the same would gain a completely different form: so he could not then dispense; as the text proves in *c. et si illa, 1. q. VII. tenet Archidia.* in *c. sunt quidam, XXV. q. 1.* and so must be understood the gloss, which wants just this, in *dic. c. proposuit unb* in *dic. c. litteras* according to *d. Nico.* who also asserts it in *dic. iuribus.* From this it follows that the pope cannot grant a secular prince the power 1) to judge and condemn the clergy in his territory on all matters without distinction, because this would reverse and change the general state of the churches. Not to think that this conflicts with the divine will and law, *XCVI. dis. si imperator*, where the peculiar text deals with it; and note *doc. after Inno*, in *c. II. de majori et obedient.* And just that, that the pope cannot do this, asserts *d. Nico*, in *prae al. c. litteras* and *d. Floren. in c. perpendimus de sentent. ex- commun.* Therefore, according to divine law, the clergy are exempt from jurisdiction or lordship.

The laymen are free to create, as it is written in *dic. iuribus.* And so the clergy may be altogether fearless, because the word of God speaks for them and says: Do not touch my anointed ones [Ps. 105, 15]. Therefore they are quite calm and secure in this, as stated *gloss. in authenticico, de non alienando aut permutando ec- cles. re. § 1. in verbo degenerari, coi. II.* however, for this reason the clerics, and especially the priests, should not offend anyone, but be ready to serve all, *XIV. q. Y. denique et c. fin. de Postul.* There is also another case exempted from this, namely, marriage contracted between faithful persons and already consummated by conjugal cohabitation, which bond the pope is by no means able to sever and dissolve; as the gloss notes in *c. ex publico, de conver. conjugato, et Io. de Ymo in c. fi. de transaction. and d. Nico, in dic. c. ex publico.* But it is different with a marriage that has not yet been consummated by the carnal union, in which case the pope can dispense for important reasons, as note *doc. in prae al. c. ex publico* and *Io. de Ymo in dic. c. fi.*, which says that this would be accepted by everyone. From this one can draw a conclusion to the abominable and cruel injustice which the most unjust king in France, if he still deserves the royal title, is said to have inflicted on our most glorious lord, the Roman king, by abandoning the daughter of said our lord and king, who was betrothed to him, and the Great British princess, who had been promised to our lord and king, has been chosen as his wife, about which all your faithful and especially the German subjects of the Holy Roman Empire have reason to be justly grieved and to heartily regret their chief. 2) Therefore, all German princes, dukes, margraves, counts, barons, and nobles in general, would like to show prudence and prevent that, through the malicious plots and clandestine attempts of the said French king and other barbarians, the Holy Roman Empire, for which the honest Germans and righteous nobles, who are called *Theotunici*, as is noted in *XXXIV. dis. Quorundam*, and by *Io. An. in c. venerabilem in verbo germanus de elec.*, have so merited by their bravery, as the gloss affirms in *c. Ego Lu- dovici LXIII. dis. unb Io. An. in dic. c. ve-*

2) King Carl VIII of France turned his fiancée, the heiress of Brittany, away from the German King Maximilian I and married her.

1) "not" put by us instead of: "with" in the old edition.

nerabilem, be snatched from them, and after its loss, which God wants to avert, they might fall into servitude. Therefore, the aforementioned Duke Albrecht, having considered, according to his high and enlightened insight, how to counteract the apparent danger that the Germans would face, has sent his sweet wife, noble sons, wise councillors, obedient subjects, his country and everything else dear to him in his duchy, and what else was dear to him in his duchy, and exposed himself to the greatest danger in the lower part of Germany, because he would rather die than see the Germans deprived of this incomparable crown and the Republic ruined to the ground. For this reason, the memory of this wise and honest prince, and of the other highborn princes and lords, the Dukes of Saxony, the Landgraves of Thuringia and the Margraves of Meissen, should remain in constant blessing among all nations. For of such it must be said that they live unceasingly for the sake of their acquired fame; as is stated in § 1. institut. de excusat. Tutorum. Therefore, if this marriage with the princess of our king had been consummated by carnal cohabitation, the pope could by no means dispense with it. But if this had not happened, and the marriage between our king and the English princess had not been consummated by conjugal cohabitation, the pope could dispense with it for important reasons. And if there were no probable suspicion that from such a dispensation great annoyance, or some other great mischief might arise, why then should the pope hesitate to dispense? Ar. eorum quae no. per doc. post Inno, in dic. c. Inquisitionem de sentent. excom. et per d. Nico, in dic. c. si quando de rescript. et in dic. c. quae in ecclesiarum de constitut. ad quod nota per gloss. in re. Qui scandalizaverit de re jud. et in c. sane de tempor. ordin., where it is noted that although one should not abandon the truth of a pious and righteous life because of the arousal that has arisen, the truth of justice and the truth of doctrine suffer a great blow because of the arousal.

Provided this, I give my *decisum pro parte negativa*, and say that the aforementioned Duke Albrecht and his subjects, who do their part according to the decree issued in the apostolic bull, cannot eat butter and other dairy products during Lent and on other forbidden days without scruples of conscience. And this is what drives me, in addition to what I have learned in this

The first point is that in doubtful matters one must take the safer way. c. ad audientiam and c. significasti II. it. c. penit. de homicid. and c. Illud de cleri, excom. ministrat. Therefore, in matters that are doubtful, and in which the soul can be put in danger, we must always choose what is more certain, and what can be done without danger to the soul, and in this respect the power that takes the safe path is also to be considered better, less severe, and more benevolent, as the curious gloss reads in c. 1. de scrutin. in ord. facien. et text. in cie. Exivi de verbo signif. ad quod c. juvenis de sponsal. et ibi per doc. Moreover, it is incumbent upon honest hearts to be afraid of sins where no oversight is to be found, v. dis. ad ejus et c. consilium de observan. jejun. Thus also this power serves to preserve and promote religion and abstinence; although there must already be an important reason which serves to preserve religion, 1. sunt personae ff. de religione. Yes, if the said apostolic bull had not been received secretly, and therefore not per vitium surreptionis, I would nevertheless advise the contributors to abstain from eating butter and other milk foods during Lent; For this reason, because one should abstain from that which one can do and refrain from without mortal sin, in order to prevent only the offense, and should make use of it, according to the circumstances, to prevent the offense. Therefore the apostle says 1 Cor. 8, 13: If the food offends my brother, I would never eat meat; and the Lord in the Gospel Match. 18, 7. and Luc. 17, 1.: Woe to the same man by whom trouble comes. Of which the text is very curious in c. cum ex injuncto de no. ope. nuntia. Ad idem text. cum gloss. verbo distinguendum in c. Nisi cum pridem pro gravi quoque de renuntiat, where the gloss says that the blessed Gregory in the VII homily on Ezekiel would have made the distinction: whether or not we can avoid the offense without sin; for insofar as we can avoid it, we are obliged to do so; whereby to read what has been noted in dic. regula qui scandalizaverit de regul. juris. It is quite certain that whoever contributes according to the regulation founded in the apostolic bull can abstain from eating butter and other dairy foods without sin, since no one is obliged or required to do so, and yet, if such foods were consumed on the aforementioned days, great annoyance would result.

as experience teaches. Therefore, to prevent this, one must abstain from such foods, *per praedicta, et fa. c. illa in f. XII. diss. et c. cavendum X. q. III. et c. nolite recedere XI. q. III. ad idem gloss. notabil. in 1. in laqueum ff. de acquirendo rerum do- min. et in § apium. Institut. de rerum divis.* where it is nicely remarked that one should fear the annoyance even more than the judgment. And as I hear, also the venerable and devout fathers, Mr. Gregorius 1) de Frickenhausen, S. Theol. Prof., and Mr. Jo. de Bomberga, S. Theol. Baccalaureiis, both preachers in this famous city of Leipzig, have decided the deal, and agree with my opinion, which is evicident from the above.

Now it remains that I also answer the reasons that one puts forward *pro parte affirmativa*. To the first I answer thus: Although it is necessary to stick to the words of a law or indult and a letter of grace, and not to depart from the letter, it is also true that if such letters of grace or indults are executed secretly, that is, in such a way that false things are stated or the truth is concealed, then they no longer have validity and force, and one must then depart from the letter, and the rights must agree with each other, and one law must agree with the other. *c. cum expediat de elec. lib. VI. cum simili.* Moreover, the rights and laws must also be conciliated *per subauditiones tacitas*, as the gloss notes in *c. cupientes § quodsi per viginti, in verbo petere de elec. c. li. fa. 1. non possunt ff. de legi.* Also, one must limit the words of such pardon bulls that hold hostile, burdensome and vexatious dispensations, as in *can. odia cum concor. de regul. juris lib. VI.*

On the other point, I must remind you that although the pope is still above the law and can dispense against it, it only applies when there is a legitimate cause, and therefore he should not do anything without prior investigation. And if his pardon bull had been issued secretly, it would then have no force, as was previously thought; and thus old and new laws must harmonize with each other.

Coming to the third argument, that is not approved in rights, that the pope can contradict the *leges positivas* according to his mere and

The Pope's own free will, so that neither he who accepts the dispensation has to undergo punishment in divine judgment, nor the Pope himself who grants it, sins; rather, the opposite is asserted in it, as I have explained above. Therefore, the statement of the Inno. and Specu. must be abandoned if it is not founded in rights, since the words of a certain teacher have only a probability, and one remains with them insofar as they are affirmed in rights; as is noted *per gloss. in 1. 1. C. de legi, ad quod glos, in c. 1. de postuland. praelato.* Hence it is that a teacher, though a great one, may not be trusted and believed unless he proves his propositions from credible writings; as is beautifully noted by Archi. in *c. nolite eos, in verbo in scripturis XI. q. III. III.* And so it is also permitted to depart from the common opinion of a teacher, if the same cannot be proven from the laws; as notes d. Nico, post d. Antho. in *c. Tua nos, de usuris*, which one must well keep, and take to it what Jo. An. notes in *e. l. 66 oon8tit.* With this one does not argue, if one wanted to say, what pleases the prince is valid as much as a law, *1. I. ff. de constitut. principum* and in *§ sed quod principi, Institut. de jure naturali et gentium et civili.* For the word *placet* presupposes the will and expert opinion of a righteous man, and so we take the popularity of it, - what seems good to a righteous and reasonable man, *1. Tahys. § sorore ff. de fidei commiss. libertat. notat Bar. in ex- travagante ad reprimendum, in verbo videbitur et d. Nico, in c. I. de constitut.* But a righteous and reasonable man will not put up with anything without cause. Nor does it stand in the way that in the case of a prince, as far as human law is concerned, the well-known saying: *Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas, ftati^at, per gloss. in c. si gratiosae de rescript. lib. VI,* for this is not to be understood of the mere and free will, but of the will tempered and governed by reason, as is clear from the above.

To the fourth and last point, it serves as an answer that this is well in science, which, if the disputes are thereby raised and settled, becomes favorable; and thus the thing on which this science goes, where it does not expressly dispute with the general right, protects and affirms science itself. But it is different in pardons or privileges, which, in so far as they are in conflict with the general

1) In the documents No. 20 and 23 he is called "Georgius".

The pope is to take and interpret them in an unpleasant way and in a narrower sense, yes, the secret effect invalidates even such privileges, as has been said above. Therefore, when the pope has first been presented with the great annoyance, the long-established custom, and other obscure circumstances, and thus has a certain infallible science and a reasonable reason for himself, he should grant such a papal favor or privilege: no one will doubt the validity of such a favor or privilege; although it is not to be presumed that the pope, whose office entails increasing the service of God, C. ex parte de Constitut. to promote religion, to keep fast, to practice godly and praiseworthy habits, c. ad apostolicam de Simo. would grant such a letter of favor only for a minor and unworthy cause. And even if an indult had been issued secretly and without the knowledge of the pope, it would still have to be reclaimed and rescinded in the event that an annoyance arose from it and the matter amounted to a sin. C. suggestum de aeci. where the text is very strange and shows that one would have to reclaim a letter of freedom because of an offense that arose over it; Jo. An. just there, who presents twelve cases in which a privilege is overturned, and in the tenth case says that such annoyance occurs halfway; likewise, so that many inconsistent things do not arise from an inconvenience or impropriety in a granted liberty, 1. Ratas. C. de rescind. vendit. in the beginning, and follow Ovidii saying:

Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur.

Nam mala per longas convaluere moras. As the gloss notes in c. ad haec de re- script. where Tullii words convention: Every evil is damped in its first beginning with slight effort; but where it grows, it commonly becomes stronger, and therefore it cannot be remedied so easily. Hence blessed Jerome also says: "As long as your enemy is still small and has no strength, rub him up, so that his evil may be stifled in its first beginning.

Now, what has been presented by me so far, in total and in particular, I hereby want to submit to the censorship of our aforementioned Most Holy Lord Pope and the Holy Mother, the Church, also of the aforementioned Duke Albrecht, and of the Highborn Prince and Lord, Duke Georg zu

Saxony, Landgraves in Thuringia and Margraves in Meissen, my most gracious lords, and all well-meaning, submit; testify also hereby publicly that I assert and accept what you and each of them in particular accepts, and that I reject what he rejects; in this no reasonable person will be able to reprove me, per ea, quae le. et no. in c. Haec est fides XXIV. q. V. et in c. damnamus in fin. de sum. trini, ad idem glossa in prooemio. VI. in principio. Nor have I wished to present and write this to anyone for harm or favor, but for the welfare of this flourishing fatherland, also for the benefit and advantage of the Lords Studiosorum of both rights, and especially of the Papal right, which I publicly testify evenly to the glorification and praise of God, Amen.

20. of the Bishop of Meissen, John VI a Saalhausen, protestation and other acts against this indulgence. About the beginning of 1492.

From the Georg Fabricius aimal. urd. Msaio., lid. III, p. 171.

Bishop John VI had to overcome many difficulties before he reached this dignity, and in the beginning of his office the priests in Bautzen and Meissen were his most important opponents. In addition, he was plagued by foreigners. For the indulgence merchants from Liefland had obtained letters of indulgence from Pope Alexandra VI and Julio II, and also wanted to distribute their goods in his cities, under the name and authority of the archbishop of Magdeburg; but he rejected this altogether and protected the freedom of his church, which would be a free one. Therefore, from all places of his diocese, he severely restrained these merchants who carried such dissolute goods, and finally won the case before Julio II. His opponent was Christian Baumhauer, quasi dicas, arborum Caesor, aut eversor, who made money out of this indulgence, and needed two swindlers, Philipp Scirpen and Hermannen, a priest of Hildesheim, for it. He rejected many superstitious things in his time, and said that as often as he read the Bible, he found a different religion in it than was practiced in public. When he saw the people paying money to Tetzels for indulgences, he cried out: "Oh, how foolish people are that they put money into the box for which they have no key! Georgii von Frickenhausen, a Dominican in Leipzig, when

who preached against the papal butter letters, he took up, and in his defense against the Freiberg canons used these words: *nam quod Romae palam et impune per totum anni tempus venditur, id Germanis sine aere permittere, aut sine poena edere, non licebat?* that is, what one sells in Rome freely and publicly, without incurring a penalty, year after year, should we Germans not be allowed to concession this without payment, or to esen with impunity? Whenever he saw a monk, he used to say: There would be no more insolent animal than the one peeping through the cows.

21st Duke George of Saxony's order to the dean and chapter of Freiberg, as well as to the monks of the Barfüßer and the preachers of Leipzig, as both disputing parties, to send their mutual reasons in writing to the prince within a certain time, so that these could be sent to a university for pronouncement. 1492.

From Kapp's "Nachlese nützlicher Reformationurkunden," Theil III, p. 113.

By the Grace of God, we George, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, confess that [due to the disagreement] 1) between the worthy, our dear devotees, dean and chapter of our Lady Church at Freiberg, on the one hand, and the Order of Preachers and Barefooters at Leipzig, on the other hand, because of the afflictions which have arisen between them, concerning 2) the promulgation of the Papal Bull concerning the milk diet: So that the lords of the chapter at Freiberg shall send their consilium and all their justice to the affected monasteries, which shall then have such three weeks, and see whether they may accept and find from it to reject their authority. But if this does not happen, the affected brothers and monasteries shall also send all their justice or mobility causes to us again, which we want to have conveyed to the chapter, who shall then also have such three weeks, and shall see whether they may reject themselves from it, but if this also does not happen, we shall then be informed after the end of the three weeks. 3) The monasteries shall send their consilium and all their justice causes to us again, which we want to have conveyed to the chapter, who shall then also have such three weeks, and shall see whether they may reject themselves from it.

1) inserted by us, and "held" deleted before "talked about".

2) "raised" inserted by us and "um" put instead of: "and" in the old edition

We will send this to Leipzig in our university to the doctors of holy scripture and law, commonly and no person therein extracted, or to other foreign high schools, in the form as indicated; and in doing so, to look at nothing but God and justice in the letter, and to open their opinion and mind to us. And what is thus recognized and declared by the same doctors shall be held and recognized by every part willing to accept them. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our seal. Given at Dresden on the Saturday after Dionysius 1492.

22 Duke Albrecht and his first-born son, Duke George, wrote to Pope Alexander VI, requesting that, because both some monks and John Breitenbach had preached against the indulgence granted by Innocentius VIII and had asserted erroneous and vexatious propositions, he either take this matter to Rome or assign it to the bishop of Schleswig.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Theil III, p. 115.

Translated into German.

Which prescribed process, which we have indeed complied with, they have not observed at all, but rather have traveled to court, and have stated us falsely, unjustly and shamefully to the apostolic see, in respect of the Cardinals and the entire public Consistorii, blasphemously as follows: 4)

Most Holy Father! Innocentius VIII, Pope, then of most blessed memory, the ancestor of your Holiness, had by various letters, at the humble request of the sons of your Holiness and of the Holy Roman Church, Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, and George, his firstborn, for the need of his subjects and some other persons named at that time, also for the reconstruction of the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in his city of Freiberg, in the Meissen district, which said Duke Albrecht, out of devotion and zeal of faith, has made into a collegiate church with an excellent foundation.

4) The preceding introductory words are to be regarded as a complaint of the Leipzig Order of Preachers and the Order of the Barefoot against the dean and the chapter of Freiberg.

(Collegio) had been erected on apostolic benefits, and which had been miserably devastated by a conflagration: It is hereby established, decreed and granted that until the next twenty years from then on, both Duke Albrecht and all his subjects, along with some others who were named at that time, may eat cheese and such dairy food freely and without hindrance during Lent and other feast days, when the eating of butter, cheese and other dairy food is forbidden; However, those who wish to make use of this freedom shall pay the twentieth part of a Rhenish guilder annually for the reconstruction of the church in question, in such a way that the fourth part of such tax shall be used for the construction of St. Peter's Church in the city. St. Peter's Church in the city should be deducted from it.

Nevertheless, some preachers dare to destroy the authority and power of their holiness and the apostolic see, and pretend by false speeches and lying doctrines in their sermons: that the duke, his subjects and other reported persons, by virtue of such letters, are not allowed to eat butter, cheese and milk on said days, because in those regions oil is made from all kinds of seeds and legumes, which the faithful otherwise eat in those places; And their holiness could not, against the custom of such places, ordain another for the people, by which they would cause great offence, and, as it were, excite a riot and a new sect; and because they are not under the ordinary spiritual jurisdiction, and are not afraid of our punishment, preach all the more freely that of which I have already reported; from which it is even probable to fear that there might result many annoyances and dangers to souls. As then a child of perdition, Joh. Breitenbach, has fallen in with such preachers, and has publicly advocated some annoying and erroneous propositions of said things, and has endeavored to have them printed almost in a thousand copies in quarto 1). So that what we have said about this sect, that it seems to be disrupting the religion and the Catholic faith of this country, does not continue to eat away at it and spread, their Holinesses Albrecht and George humbly ask that it be respected by any judge, that they deign to order and command some judge of the Roman court to order the Ordinarii of the same region, in whose cities and districts this is going on, by way of punishment and banishment, as it may be well for the said Commiffario, thereupon to diligently

To take care, and to forbid said preachers and Joh. Breitenbach, under equal curses and church punishment, seriously, that they do not dare to preach or even to advocate such things before the believing peoples from now on. And that whoever has preached against your Holiness and the Apostolic See's authority and prestige, or has asserted or advocated something, recant it, be he of whatever status, order, or even prelature and dignity he wishes. And that he also summons and summons the said preachers and Johannem Breitenbach in a summary and extrajudicial manner to appear personally before him at the Roman court for curses, spiritual punishments and fines, which he himself, the judge, may name at will; both that they justify themselves for what they have already committed, as stated above, and that they clear themselves of the strong suspicion of heresy that has arisen against them as a result of the above-mentioned things, and also certify that they hereby recant all of the above; But otherwise (if they have not done so, but have despised or neglected to do so), that they may be condemned and sentenced to the curses, penalties, and fines above mentioned, and others which have been decreed against the resisters of the authority of the apostolic see, and to which they are liable. Likewise, that he also summons and warns others according to their transgressions, and stops and punishes the crimes; and that he also had and has everyone tear up and burn the above-mentioned printed sentences, where they are only expelled, contents of other letters omitted about it, with the above-mentioned curses; and that they do and execute everything that they consider necessary or useful in the aforementioned matters and in addition, regardless of all other exceptions, liberties, letters and privileges that the apostolic see, in whatever form and according to whatever description, may grant or still grant to any person, place or order, even of its own accord and good knowledge; All of which shall be of no avail against the same, notwithstanding all apostolic ordinances, statutes, and other things contrary thereto, in whatever manner they may be deemed expedient.

By order of our Lord Pope, the Bishop of Schleswig shall hear, and after summary extrajudicial interrogation, after the testimony on reported matters, order and request that one appear in person, and proceed with excommunication and other reported punishments, as requested, and establish justice, even if from above reported liberties something would be in the way.

1) In Walch's old edition, Lill's "uatsrnis Uttvri" 6tL. is given here by: "in 1015. letters"; in the next following writing by: "in 1015. lines".

23 Pabst Alexander VI's other letter, issued in this dispute, in which he has drawn the whole matter, which he had ordered the bishop of Schleswig, after the Dominicans and Franciscans had been presented, to the Roman court, to which a Dominican's note is prefixed and a Franciscan's memory is buried to the end.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Theil III, p. 115.

Translated into German.

Upon which adverse complaint the most holy pope (although in our part the procurator or attorney, as he is called, of the order of preachers, all of which was contradicted in the same full consistory), and after he had been instructed to the contrary, assigned the matter to the venerable father, the bishop in Schleswig 2c. But after the Holy Spirit had been further informed of many great upsets and various mischiefs, he took the matter to himself in the following form:

Since it was formerly presented to us that Innocentius VIII, our ancestor, of blessed memory, by various apostolic letters, granted to his beloved sons, Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, and Georgio, his firstborn, for the need of his subjects and some others who are under their protection and belong to their dominions, and for the reconstruction of a certain church, under the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the city of Freiberg, in the Meissen district, which said duke, out of devotion, ordered to be a collegiate church, with an excellent collegio or foundation, and which afterwards should have been burned down by conflagration, had decided, ordered and granted that for twenty years from then on, both the duke himself, as well as all his subjects, and other persons included in said letters, may eat butter, cheese and other such dairy food freely and unhindered during the great fast and other days (where otherwise butter, cheese and other dairy food would have been forbidden to be eaten because of the church statutes); but so that those who wanted to use such freedom should pay the twentieth part of a Rhenish guilder annually for the renewal of said church, and that a fourth part of it should go to the building [of the church] of the prince of the apostles in the city:

And that, on the other hand, when the said letters of freedom were made known in the same regions, some

Preachers took upon themselves to diminish the authority of the apostolic see, and to assert in their sermons, with false persuasions and lying doctrines, that the said duke, his subjects, and other reported persons, by virtue of such letters, were not permitted to eat butter, cheese, and such dairy foods; that in such regions an oil is beaten from various legumes and seeds, which the faithful of the same places otherwise enjoyed on the said days, and that therefore no decree should have been issued against this old custom; and that many would be annoyed by this, and that they would thereby, as it were, create a new sect, whereupon it would be to be feared that many souls might suffer mischief and annoyance from it; and that also the beloved son Joh. Breitenbach, has joined in with the aforementioned preachers, and has not shied away from publicly advocating various annoying and erroneous statements about the aforementioned things, and from having them printed in almost a thousand copies in quarto:

Thus, at the request of the said Albrecht and George, we ordered the most venerable brother Egard, bishop of Schleswig, a 1) steward from the apostolic palace, that he emphatically forbid the said preachers and John, with church punishments and banishment, from henceforth preaching or advocating such things to the believing peoples, and that all who have so far preached, asserted and advocated the opposite, revoke it; The said preachers, however, and John, at his request, appear in person at the Roman court, under the same penalties, and apologize on account of the above-mentioned things, and on account of the grave suspicion of heresy which they have thereby given against us, as it was said, and also certify that they recant what they preached and advocated before; or otherwise, and there see that they are declared to be people who have carried out and forfeited the penalties, curses and fines I have announced against those who resist the authority of the apostolic see. How he would therefore have to remind and demand them, also to punish them according to their offense and crime, and have the above thousand copies torn into quarters and burned.

And what was further added, on the part of the dean and chapter of said collegiate church: that although on the venerable brothers, the archbishop in Magdeburg and other of his suffragan bishops, will, so in said letters kund-

1) In the old edition of a.

In certain neighboring countries their people, according to the apostolic liberty, needed butter and other milk food in the fasting without annoyance; nevertheless the beloved sons, Brother George of Frickenhausen, Master in Theology, and Brother John of Bamberg, Baccalaureus in Theology, the Order of the Friars Preachers and Minorites, and the above-mentioned John, Doctor, 1) because they intended to destroy the power and authority of the said apostolic see and to interpret the same's letters of grace and liberties for the renewal of the said collegiate church in an annoying manner, with apparent censures and false doctrines, not to be afraid to preach publicly that the said duke and his subjects, and other persons mentioned, by virtue of these apostolic letters, are not free to eat butter, cheese and dairy food on the said days: And that our forefather, having given liberty over the express right, and having abrogated it, does not use the key of understanding in the said matters; and that the people in such places, having accepted such liberty, contrary to their former use of their fatherland, would be greatly annoyed, and, as it were, stirred up to a right sedition and new sect; but that the said collegiate church would remain without renewal and rebuilding, and that it would be daily to be feared that no greater annoyances would arise therefrom:

At the request of the dean and chapter, we have instructed the same bishop, our administrator, to order the ordinaries of the same places to take diligent care of the aforementioned matters, and to expressly forbid the aforementioned Georgen, Johannem and Johannem, in the event of such a ban and fine, from preaching or advocating such things to the faithful people, but rather to revoke what is preached and advocated in such matters; that the people may use the said liberty without hindrance; that the said Georgen, Johannem and Johannem, brethren and doctor, nevertheless appear before them personally, and apologize in the said matters, be charged with the same penalties, and that everything else be decreed, as is contained in various commissions issued by us concerning this matter with more.

But since, as we have heard through credible (people's) report, this matter is becoming more and more annoying in such places, and gives more cause to depart from the statutes of the church than to go to the sea-

The reason for this is that it seems as if the salvation of souls is being bought with money, and thus our honor and the prevention of the souls' aggravation are at stake here, so that it is an important matter, and there is more to consider than what has recently been feared in the manner indicated:

Thus, moved by these and some other causes in our minds, we have brought the matter and similar matters before us, such to our venerable brothers, Oliverio and Cs. Bishops of Sabina and Alba, the Holy Roman Church of Naples and Lisbon priests, out of their own impulse and good sense, that they order and grant to the parties on both sides due dates, which they may set at their pleasure, and where it is necessary, further suspend, in order to enforce their rights and grounds on both parts; and that they, after due hearing has been held, the rights of the parties have been recognized, and their arguments and reasons have been maturely considered, present them to us in secret council, so that we may take due precautions, both with them and with other venerable brethren, our holy Roman Church Cardinals, in such a way and manner, so that we may be able to prevent the annoyances of the nations and to counsel the salvation of souls, with the power to require and prohibit, in the Roman court and outside of it, also with ecclesiastical punishments and excommunications and other penalties, as seems good to them, without being hindered by any other statutes and apostolic orders, or others that are contrary to it.

Which dragging of the matter to Rome the supposed bishop, since he was no longer judge, no doubt bribed by gifts, did not respect.... against us, who had been warned and, if necessary, summoned: that, against God and law and all due process, indeed, against the content of said ... warning and, if necessary, summons, since we never refused to appear to them in person, and they could come to our homes without any danger, they nevertheless, to our greatest shame and that of both orders, had such things publicly posted and posted on the doors of the churches of our monasteries, on the day of the seraphic teacher, our father Francisci, at a great sermon and procession, before a populous assembly, and thus heaped injustice upon injustice. By which

1) In the old edition instead of "Doctor" only "D". It refers to Doctor Johannes Breitenbach.

We have publicly contradicted, and exposed their deceit, cunning, falsehood and lies, both in schools and pulpits, and that they cannot continue to revile or insult us in our honor, appealed to the Holy Apostolic See.

On August 25, 1496, Pope Alexander VI issued a bull imposing silence on both parties.

From Möller's "Freiberg tteivtr. olironie.", Theil II, p.37.

Translated into German.

Alexander the Sixth, Roman Pontiff, to the beloved sons, dean and the cathedral chapter of Freiberg St. Mary's Church, Meissen Diocese.

Beloved Sons! My greeting and apostolic blessing beforehand. Our predecessor Innocentius VIII, Roman Pontiff, of blessed memory, to our beloved son, the noble man Albrecht, Duke of Saxony, and to all persons of both sexes in his country, likewise to those who are subjects of his feudatories in secular matters, who are also under his protection, and who at present live under it, at their request, that they may eat butter, cheese, and other dairy foods, during the forty days of fasting, and on other days on which meat-eating is forbidden to the faithful of the Christian church, for the next twenty years without scruple of conscience; if only those who want to eat such things contribute the twentieth part of a Rhenish gold guilder annually, as long as the twenty-year period lasts, for the reconstruction and improvement of your Freiberg Church of Our Lady, the Meissen parish, which burned down, and other churches named at that time; and therefore also decided that this very indulgence, regardless of some doing the opposite, at the request of the beloved son and noble Lord Georgii, as the eldest Prince Albrecht, and present Duke of Saxony, shall have its validity, and extend as far as such is contained in all letters of our predecessor, which were issued at that time, more extensively. And we have also subsequently, since our beloved sons, Brother George Frickenhausen, and Brother John of Bamberg, from the order of the mendicant monks, as preachers of the divine word

in the same places, in their speeches to the people, did not shy away from asserting that the aforementioned indulgence was not valid, and also our beloved son Johannes Breitenbach, a doctor of both rights, who held it with the aforementioned preachers, took the liberty of publicly disputing about the aforementioned, and thus, while disputing about it, to assert some annoying sentences and conclusions because of the aforementioned, to have one thousand five hundred 1) copies of the same printed; In order that we may prevent the aggravation which we fear may arise from such a dispute, we have ordered the venerable brother Egerdo, bishop of Schleswig, who by virtue of our order is to hear the parties in the papal palace, that, after having received notice of such matters, he should admonish the aforementioned preachers, as well as the doctor of mutual part, in a certain manner, that they desist from their intention and present themselves before him personally. Then, because of certain causes, we also ordered some Roman Cardinals by and by, and finally our beloved son Bernardino, Cardinal of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, that they should inquire about what had been cited on the part of the preaching monks and the same Doctor for the rejection of what was contained in said letters, as well as for your vindication and defense, and bring it to us. Since, however, the aforementioned Cardinal, after having been fully instructed in the matter, has honestly told us everything that has been said by both parties, we have, in order to prevent all opportunity for offense and unrest among the believers in Christ, also to cut off all cause for dispute, which has already arisen because of the aforementioned deal and could still arise in the future; to provide for the salvation of most souls as well as for the physical needs and comfort of the first-named subjects of Dukes Albrecht and George, and of all others who are reported; also to take care of the reconstruction of the said church, which is considered to be of undoubted use for the suppression of the Bohemian heresy and the protection of the Catholic faith of the said lands, to take care of the said trade, together with other disputes that have arisen between you and the said brothers Johanne and Georgio, and Johanne Doctore, or others, whoever they may be, as well as all other disputes that have arisen on the occasion of the aforementioned

1) Thus the old edition, while in the two previous writings only one thousand copies are mentioned.

We are aware of the fact that the matter has arisen in the course of our business, and we wish to appeal to the said Bernardino and other Cardinals, and also to those who have to hear the parties in dispute in the papal palace, as well as to the judges at the Roman court and outside it, wherever they may be, by virtue of our duty and after requesting the complaints submitted to us by each party, by virtue of the present edict, and to have them settled completely and in all respects. And lest any doubt remain in the minds of the faithful as to the validity, force, and observance of the indulgence mentioned, which was granted by Innocentio, our ancestor: We therefore resolve and decree that this very letter of indulgence, and that which is contained in it by apostolic authority, shall have its full force for twenty years, counting from the day of the first concession granted in such letter, which was executed at the request of the aforementioned Duke Albrecht, and shall be observed according to its contents without any error of conscience; We impose a complete silence on the said brothers, Johanni and Georgio, as preachers of the divine word, as well as on Doctor Johanni, with regard to their objections, sermons, disputations, and everything else that has been brought forward by them, both in and out of court, against this indulgence and its observance. However, our opinion here is that the use of such milquetoast, which shall take place during these twenty years, shall not benefit anyone to establish any custom, or to advance any excuse for such use, after the elapsed twenty years, nor give the said Dukes Albrecht and Georgio, nor the subjects of their lands, and other places aforesaid, any excuse or pretext that they should not be deemed to be in the state as to the use of dairy products in which they were before the said letter was executed by our ancestor; We hereby declare invalid and void anything which, knowingly or through ignorance, shall be done in any way contrary to our decree, without regard to the foregoing, including apostolic decrees and orders, and everything which our predecessor in his bull did not wish to be considered, and everything else which may seem contrary to our letter. Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, sealed with the Fisherman's Ring, August 26, 1496, in the fifth year of our papal reign.

25: Pope Julius II extends the butter exemption for Electoral Saxony for another twenty years. 1512.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Theil III, p. 156.

Julius, Bishop, a servant of all servants of God. To our dear sons, the noble men Frederick and John, Dukes of Saxony, blessedness and papal benediction.

Your devotion, goodwill, and loyalty, so that you may have us and the Holy Roman Church in honor and dignity, require that we favorably bestow upon you the means [that] your own, your subjects, and other believers in Christ who wander and come to your region, dominion, and principality, may be blessedly preserved and cared for in benefit, prosperity, health of body, and purity of conscience. Because in the past, Pope Innocentius the Eighth, of blessed memory, our forefathers, has stated that in Saxony and other dukedoms, principalities and regions subject to your temporal authority, protection and protection, for the cold of the same region, no tree oil grows, and therefore the oil in the fast and at other times, where the use of the dairy is forbidden by law or custom, would be very difficult to obtain, has named Pabst, our ancestor, out of gracious inclination and papal authority, has granted you, your subjects, and all others who come into the country and region subject to your duchy's authority or protection and shield, twenty years, to be counted from the issuance of the same papal letter, to use and eat butter and dairy freely, safely and without any burden of conscience, during fasting and at other times and days when dairy is forbidden by law or custom. Since also, according to your report, a considerable amount and number of people, nobility and other people would have to come to your city Torgau, Meissen diocese, your most common court camp, daily on horseback and on foot, and that over the great water, called the Elbe, flowing there, there would be no bridge, and therefore the people who wanted to enter your city on horseback or on foot, would have to let themselves be carried in ships, would have to be driven across in ships, and on several occasions, due to the outpouring of the waters, the turbulence of the air and other storms, especially in winter, would not be able to get across without great danger to their lives, and for this reason it would be useful, for the sake of safety and for the protection of your principality, to build a stone bridge across the Elbe.

stirred water to build. What bridge could not be built in a short time and with little expense and presentation, by preventing the cold, the rising of the waters, the storms, and other ways, also that one would build on the same bridge a little time of the year for the continuance and fortification; with attached indication, how you would be willing to erect a chapel at the same bridge out of kind devotion for the increase of the divine service, and for the blessedness of the people's souls, who would pass over said bridge. Thereupon our ancestor, by papal authority, decreed and ordered that all persons, spiritual and secular, male or female, who wished to use such milk works, should pay the twentieth part of a Rhenish guilder for the construction of said bridge and chapel for the next ten years, and after sparing the first ten years, the fourth part of the same money, the fourth part of the same money to the building of the main church of the Prince of the Apostles in Rome, and the rest to the construction of the said bridge and chapel, and after the erection and construction of the same bridge and chapel, the remaining money to the said building and the many-named city of Torgau parish church preservation to give, give and deposit, as is further understood in the said letter of our ancestor Pabst Innocentii. If now, after your next request to us has been reported, the same twenty years have passed, the causes that existed at the time of the grant still exist, and the named bridge is barely half built, and your subjects and other persons believe that Pabst Innocentii's grant or freedom still exists, and have therefore needed dairy works after the passage of the said twenty years, we humbly request on your behalf, out of papal benevolence, that such be conveniently provided and preserved. So that you and your subjects may show yourselves so much more devout, willing to serve and inclined towards the Roman church, as much as you feel and know more and higher grace and handling towards you from the same Roman church, therefore we confer out of special grace on you, thought your subjects, and all those who at this time come into the territory and principality subject to you, For twenty other years, to be reckoned from the issue of this letter, during the fast and other times and days of the year on which dairy products are forbidden by law or custom to eat butter and other dairy products without burdening the conscience. But so, that all persons or people who eat such dairy products

each shall deposit for itself the twentieth part of one Rhenish guilder annually, of which money the fourth part shall be paid for the next ten years to the above-mentioned supreme principal church in Rome, but the other three parts, the same for the first ten years, and then for the following ten years, all parts and the same money shall follow for the completion of the said bridge. We also decree and acknowledge that if the said fourth part of the past papal charter forfeited to the aforesaid building of the supreme principal church in Rome has not been paid in whole or in part until now, that the said fourth part shall not be remitted or forgiven in any part by this papal grant. And this grant shall be in dignities and powers, unhampered by prior and all other papal, also special or common conciliation, suspension and order, and everything else that is contrary thereto. Therefore, it is not lawful or permitted for any man to break this letter of our indult and grant, and to act contrary to it with boldness and audacity. But if anyone should presume and dare to do so, let him know that he will come under the disfavor of Almighty God and of His holy apostles Peter and Paul. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, after the Incarnation of the Lord one thousand five hundred and in the twelfth year, on the third of the Kalends of April, that is, on the thirtieth day of March, in the ninth year of our Papacy.

26 Elector Frederick and Duke Johannis, brothers, letter to the von Einsiedel on Sunday Lätare 1513..

This letter, which Walch has accidentally already set well) No. 16, belongs to the just preceding bull. See Col. 63.

D. The pope finally dispensed with and permitted everything for money, so that a formal trade was made of it.

27: The Würtemberg envoys to Rome request complete freedom and exemption from all church ordinances, church discipline 2c., as well as complete absolution of all sins, freedom from fasting 2c. 1517.

From MSNtoralül . 'iVoltii, tom. II, p. 104,
printed in Löscher's "Reformation Acta," Vol. I, p. 189.
Translated into German.

Most Holy Father! In order that the welfare of the souls of your subject petitioners, the Highborn Ulrich, Prince of Württemberg and Teck, also Count of Mömpelgard, of the Diocese of Constance, and twelve other persons, who are to be named only once by him, and their associated wives and children of both sexes, may be more salutary advised: the said Supplicants humbly request your Holiness, inasmuch as you grant them and each of them special grace, that a suitable confessor, whether he be a secular or any religious priest, whom each of them wishes to choose, exempt them and each of them from all ecclesiastical ordinances, disciplines, and penalties of banishment, suspension, and interdict, which may have been inflicted on them by law or by any man on any occasion, also transgressions of all and any vows and ecclesiastical ordinances, of the guilt of perjury, both actual and contemplated manslaughter, forcible manslaughter of all and any ecclesiastical persons, except prelates, because of the past, of interdictions, also total or partial neglect of fasts, *horae canonicae*, divine offices and imposed penances; also of all and any of their sins, vices, excesses and crimes, they may be as grave and as great as they always wish, if they heartily repent of them and confess them with their mouths, they should also be of such a nature that the Roman See would be justified in asking counsel for them; to absolve themselves from the reserved exceptions contained in the bull *Coena domini*, once in life and at the hour of death, but from others not reserved to the Roman See, as often as may be necessary, and to expound a salutary penance for what they have committed; to change any vows, including the vow to cross the sea to visit the thresholds of the apostles Peter and Paul in Rome and Jacob in Compostella, with the exception of the vow of monasticism and chastity, into other works of love; also to remit any and all oaths, without prejudice to a foreign right; also to be able to communicate once in life and at the hour of death the redemption and absolution of all sins by apostolic authority.

And that the prince and the nobles or graduates or priests to be named by him, and also each one of them, shall be permitted to have a funeral altar, on which they shall stand with due reverence and honor, in the places fitting and honorable for that purpose, even if such places are not

and are subject to the ecclesiastical interdict by ordinary authority, if only they have not given cause for such interdict, even before daybreak, but at daybreak, in their presence and that of their relatives and household members, mass and other holy offices, themselves, who are priests, or have them performed by other priests, and may attend such services at the time of the interdict, as well as receive the holy night meal and other holy sacraments, without detriment to anyone, except on the Easter feast of the resurrection of the Lord.

And that the bodies of such deceased may be given a church burial, without funeral pomp.

Moreover, that by visiting one or two churches, or two or three altars, in the places where they take up their residence, at Lent or other times, and the days for visiting the stations of the city of Rome, which church or altars each of them shall deem good to choose, may receive as much and the same indulgence, also forgiveness of sins, as they would obtain if on each of these days they personally visited any church in this said city and outside of it, which the faithful of Christ are accustomed to visit in this way for the sake of the stations.

Furthermore, during fasting and other forbidden times, they may, on the advice of both physicians, help themselves to eggs, butter, cheese, and other dairy products and meat, and eat them freely, without any scruple of conscience. Incidentally, each of the aforementioned supplicants, together with four other respectable women, whom each of them may choose, may go four times a year to any nunnery, they may belong to any order, including that of St. Clare, with the permission of those who are the superiors there, and may and may keep company with these nuns, if only they do not spend the night there themselves.

He was granted permission and indulgence by special grace, without regard to the apostolic constitutions, the apostolic ordinances, the rules of the apostolic chancery, and the other things contrary to these:

Also because of the reserved, excepted, previously set [cases], once in life and in the hour of death, as above.

Also because of the cases not reserved for the aforementioned chair, as often as it will be necessary.

Also because of change of vows, and because of remission of oaths, as said above.

Also because of the complete remission and absolution once in life and at the hour of death.

Also because of a Tragaltar along with Celebrirung before day, and in places that are under the Interdict, as above.

Also that at the time of the interdict the bodies of the supplicants can be part of the ecclesiastical burial.

And for indulgences of the stations of the city [Rome], by visiting the churches or altars, as above.

Also because of eating eggs, butter, cheese, also other dairy food and meat, as above.

Also because of entry into the nunneries for above said supplicants, as above.

Also with the abrogation of the rules of the apostolic chancery, which state the opposite.

Also that the present indulgence lasts and is not considered revocable as long as the supplicants live.

And that only the sealing of the present letter of indulgence is sufficient, without issuing other letters.

And that also present copies of the letter, which have been made out for each supplicant in particular, since no other notification is made, signed by a notarius publicus, and confirmed with the seal of a person standing in an ecclesiastical dignity, are given full credence.

28 Answer to the previous letter, in which Pope Leo X grants everything requested. 1517.

From Löscher's "Reformation Acta," vol. I, p. 192. Translated into German.

Let it be done as requested. 1)

Alexander, called Farnesius, by the grace of God Cardinal Diaconus of the Most Holy Roman Church of St. Eustace, eternal salvation in the Lord to all and everyone who will see, read or even hear about this letter.

We declare and testify that we have seen, read, kept and diligently examined the original letter of confession, the copy of which is given above, and have found that it was, and still is, inscribed in the hand of our most holy father, Lord Leo X, Pabst: *Fiat ut petitur*.

1) Leo X put these words on the previous letter of petition.

Therefore, for the sake of the above-mentioned most illustrious Lord Ulrich, Prince of Württemberg, who has been primarily named in the above original letter, we have ordered to take and copy the necessary, without expression of the other names, which are to be named once by him, and will, just as our most holy lord, the pope, in the same letter willed and commanded that such a copy be given full credence in and out of court, also in all places, if such is shown, as the said original itself. To authenticate all and any of the above, and to attest to the superior, we have commanded the present letter to be executed and signed by the end-signed Notarius publicum and to be published, and also to certify the same with the affixing of our seal. Given at Rome in our ordinary residence, in the year of the birth of the Lord 1517, in the fifth indiction, on the 10th day of April, in the fifth year of Pontificate. April, in the fifth year of the Pontificate of the aforesaid in Christ most holy Father and Lord Leo, by the grace of God the tenth Pope of that name, in the presence of the venerable men, Mr. Stephano Rosino, of the Cathedral Churches of Freisingen and Padua Canonicus, and Caspar Witth, Prepositus of the time, Episcopal Collegiate Church, and Ernst Banf, Canonicus of the Collegiate Churches of Georgii and Martini at Tübingen, as witnesses especially required and requested for this act.

29. three indults of Pope Clement VI, which he granted to John, King of France, and Joan, Queen. 1350.

From Lucas d'Achery ZpioilsZium 8ivs eollsetion. vstsrui "eriptorum, tom. III, p. 723, after the Paris edition of 1723; with German translation in Kapp's "Sammlung einiger zum päbstl. Ablass gehörigen Schriften," p. 1.

Translated into German.

By M. Joh. Erhard Kapp.

a. Permission that the King and the Queen may celebrate on monasteries that have been imposed with the interdict.

Clement, Bishop, a servant of the servants of God, wishes salvation and apostolic blessing to his son, beloved in Christ, John, Serene King in France, and Joan, Serene Queen in France. Your uncolored devotion deserves that we follow your wishes mainly in those things that can contribute to your blessedness, as much as we can in the sight of God.

We are pleased to be able to do so. Now that we have been moved by your humble petition, we grant you and your successors, the kings and queens of France who will be at this time, and each one of you and them, by apostolic power, that, where you may come into places which are subject to an ecclesiastical interdict, you and they may be permitted, to have mass and other divine offices said aloud in your presence and in the presence of your councilors and also of other persons who follow you, where you or they have not given cause for the interdict, nor has the same been specifically forbidden to you or them. Therefore, no one shall be allowed to break this charter of ours or to contravene it by a bold undertaking. But if anyone should undertake this, let him know that he will fall into the disfavor of Almighty God and the holy apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Avignon the 29th of April s1350P of our Papal Government in the ninth year.

b. Allow them to choose a confessor.

Clement wishes salvation and apostolic blessing to his beloved children in Christ, John, the noble King of France, and his noble wife Joan, Queen of France. Those things are to be graciously granted to you, by which, as it appears that you demand them out of piety, you may obtain peace of conscience and salvation of souls by God's grace. Hence it comes that we have been moved by your devout and footsteps pleading, and by virtue of this we grant to you and your successors, the kings and queens of France, who will be at this time, and to you, and to each one of them, by apostolic power, for ever, that each one of you and them may choose as his confessor an able and skilful clergyman, who, as often as it shall be convenient for you and your successors, after having diligently heard your and their confession, may grant proper absolution from your and their sins, and impose wholesome penance, though it may be such things as the apostolic see may be justly asked to advise. Therefore 2c. But if any 2c. Given the 20th of April in the ninth year.

c. Permission for the confessor to change their vows and oaths.

Clemens 2c. wishes salvation and apostolic blessing to the most beloved Son in Christ, John, the Serene King in France, and Joan, Serene Queen in France. We gladly grant your wishes, but especially those by which you may obtain peace and blessedness with God's grace, just as it appears that you are asking for it out of piety. Therefore, by your humble petition, we have been moved to permit you, and your successors, the kings and queens of France, who will be at this time, and each one of you and them, by apostolic authority, by virtue of which, for ever, a spiritual or secular confessor, whom each one of you and them will deem it good to choose, to hear the vows that may have been made by you, and may be made by you and your successors in the future (except for those made across the sea and to the holy apostles Petro and Paulo, as well as the vow of chastity and abstinence), as well as the oaths made by you and may be made by you and them in the future, which you and they cannot comfortably keep, may be changed for you and them into other works of godliness, as it may be useful according to God, your and their souls' blessedness. Therefore, 2c. Whereas 2c. Given at Avignon the 20th of April in the ninth year.

30. collection of some of the most distinguished indulgence formulas as they were formerly found in the English Officiis. 1526.

From the Horas of the Blessed Virgin Mary, for Godly Use, printed in Paris Anno 1526. Gilbert Burnet has included these indulgence formulas in his *dmotoriu rotorirmt. oeciosiuo ^nMcmmuo*, p. 89, and p. 91 in English added some prayers that one must say after having obtained indulgence. Kapp brings this in the "Collection of Some Writings Belonging to Papal Indulgences"; the indulgence formulas in Latin, the prayers in English and German, p. 493. The page numbers given refer to the Paris edition.

Folio 38.

To all those who are in the state of grace, and daily devoutly recite this prayer before our Blessed and Compassionate Lady, she will show them her holy face, and indicate to them the day and hour of their death. Also, at their last end, the

Angels of God bring their souls to Heaven, and he shall receive 500 years and as many quadragens of indulgence as have been given by five Holy Fathers to the Roman Popes.

Folio 42.

Our Holy Father Sixtus VI, Pope, has given a sum of 11,000 year indulgence to all who will devoutly recite this prayer before the image of Our Lady.

Folio 44.

Our holy father Sixtus, at the request of the noble Princess Elizabeth, late Queen of England and wife of our sovereign prince, King Henry VII (whose dear soul and all Christian souls may God have mercy on), has decreed that the person who is to be blessed every morning at dawn, after the Hail Mary bell has been struck three times, is to be given the right to be blessed. (on whose dear soul and on the souls of all Christians may God have mercy), has decreed that he who early every morning, after striking the Hail Mary bell three times, shall say the entire greeting of Our Lady: Hail Mary 2c., three times, namely at six in the morning three Hail Marys, at noon three Hail Marys, and at six in the evening the same number of Hail Marys, shall each time receive for such action 300 days of indulgence *toties quoties* [as often as he does it] from the spiritual treasury of the Holy Church. Likewise, our holy father, the archbishop of Canterbury and York, along with other bishops of this kingdom, has given forty days' indulgence three times a day to all those who are in the state of grace and are sent to receive forgiveness. This began March 26, 1492, in the 7th year of Henrici, and the summa of indulgence for each Hail Mary is 860 days *toties quoties*. This prayer is to be prayed at the ringing of the Hail Mary bell.

Folio 47.

Our holy father Pope Boniface has given seven years and forty quadragens or *carenas* of indulgence to all those who devoutly speak this lamentable contemplation of our Blessed Lady, who stands under the cross with tears, and has compassion on her dear Son JEsu. Likewise, Pope John XXII gave 300 days of indulgence.

Folio 50.

These are the 15 Oo, 1) which the holy virgin Brigitta used to say daily before the holy cross in the church of St. Pauli in Rome. Whoever prays this for a whole year, shall get fifteen souls from his nearest blood friends from the feg-.

fire and convert fifteen sinners to a pious life. There shall also be fifteen other pious men of his lineage who shall continue in a pious life, and whatsoever ye shall ask of God, that shall ye have, if it be for the salvation of your souls.

Folio 54.

To all those who pray five Our Fathers and five angelic greetings before this compassionate image, as well as once devoutly praying the faith and compassionately contemplating these arms of the suffering Christ, 32.755 years of indulgence are given. Sixtus IV, Roman pope, also made the fourth and fifth prayers and doubled his predicted indulgence.

Folio 56.

This letter of our Savior was sent by our Holy Father, Pope Leo, to Emperor Carl the Great, of whom we find written: He who wears this blessing on his body and pronounces it once a day shall have 40 years of indulgence and 80 *carenas*, and shall not die a quick death.

Folio 57.

This prayer was made by St. Augustine, who assures that the one who says it on his knees every day will not die in sins, but will enter eternal joy and bliss after this life.

Folio 58.

Our Holy Father, Pope John XX, has given 3000 days of indulgence from mortal sins to all those who devoutly recite this prayer after the annulment of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Just there.

Our holy father, Pope Boniface VI, has given 10,000 year indulgences to all those who devoutly recite this following prayer between the annulment of our Lord and three *Agnus Dei* (O Lamb of God).

Folio 61.

Our holy father, Sixtus IV, has given to all those who are in the state of grace and say this following prayer immediately after the lifting up of the body of our Lord, complete and eternal forgiveness of all their sins, also John III, Roman Pontiff, at the request of the Queen of England, has given to all those who pray this prayer before the image of our crucified Jesus as many days of indulgence as there were wounds in the body of our Lord at the time of his bitter suffering, which were 5465.

1) Probably "Oo" means orutiones, prayers.

Folio 65.

St. Gregory made these five petitions and prayers, and gave 500 years of indulgence to all those who prayed these five prayers, with five Our Fathers, five angelic greetings, and the faith devoutly.

Folio 66.

These three prayers are written in the Chapel of the Holy Cross in Rome, which is otherwise called *Sacellum Sanctae Crucis septem Romanorum*. Whoever prays them devoutly will receive 1,000,000 year indulgence from mortal sins. This indulgence was given by John XXII, Roman Pontiff.

Folio 68.

Whoever will devoutly contemplate these arms of our Lord Jesus Christ shall receive 6,000 years of indulgence from our holy father St. Peter, the first pope of Rome, and from thirty other popes of the Roman Church, his successors. Also, our holy father Pope John XXII has given 3000 years of indulgence from venial sins to all those who are truly contrite and have sincerely confessed, and say these following devout prayers in memory of the bitter Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, but they must first pray an Our Father and an angelic greeting.

Folio 71.

Our most holy father, Pope Innocentius II, has given 4000 days of indulgence to all those who devoutly say this prayer while adoring the wounds that our Lord had in his blessed side when he died and hung on the cross.

Folio 72.

This devout prayer was spoken by the holy father Bernard daily kneeling at the adoration of the most holy name JEsu. It is also believed that St. Bernard, by invoking the most excellent name of Jesus, received a special word of perpetual comfort from our Lord Jesus Christ. These prayers are written on a tablet, and in St. Peter's Church next to the high altar, where our holy father, the pope, usually reads the mass. But whoever says this prayer devoutly and with a contrite heart every day, and in the same day is in the state of eternal damnation, then the eternal punishment shall be changed into the temporal punishment of the purgatory. But if he had deserved the punishment of the purgatory at that time, it shall be forgotten and forgiven by the infinite mercy of God.

31 Seven Roman Jubilee Calendars of the Inexpressible Indulgence of Sins, through all the months and on all the days of the whole year, communicated from Papal Scribes.

These seven jubilee calendars are found in des Elias Ehinger fiist. eoolss. sooul. XV, p. 108 and in Kapp's "Sammlung," p. 519.

On the *elevationem poli*.

1. *veneti*, printed in 1532.
2. *ingolstadiensis* 1596, Archfraternity with the knitted belts.
- 3rd *Viennensis* 1629, for the Brotherhood of the Holy Rosary.
4. *Constantiensis* 1603, the Blessed Virgin Mary Rosary.
5. *constantiensis* 1630, the souls rainbow.
6. *augustensis* 1630. rosetum or little rose garden.
7. *coloniensis* 1603. rosarium.

1. Venice 1532.

Of the indulgences granted for the churches of the city of Rome through all the months of the year.

In the month of Jenner.

On the Feast of the Circumcision there is plenary indulgence at St. John Lateran, and likewise at the Altar of Heaven.

On the day of the Three Kings is full indulgence at St. Peter's, and forgiveness of all sins at St. Mary Major.

In the Octave of the Magi full indulgence at St. Peter's.

Des Felix in Pincis 1000 year indulgence at St. Sebastian.

The Holy Five Martyrs and the Order of Minorites, and St. Marcelli, Pabst and Martyr, forgiveness of all sins and 1000 year to St. Sebastian.

St. Antonii, Abbot, forgiveness of the third part of sins, daily at St. Mary Major.

Fabians and Sebastians, full indulgence and forgiveness of all sins at St. Sebastian, and 158,968 years and 28 days.

The Virgin and Martyr Agnes, forgiveness of all sins and 200 year, and every day 1000 year indulgence to St. Mary Major.

On the first Sunday after the feast of Antonii, Abbot, Veronica appears, and is full of indulgences at St. Peter's, and the Romans have 7000 years, but those over the mountains 14,000 and so many quadragenas, 1) and is forgiveness of the third part sins.

1) A "quadragena", that is, forty-day indulgence.

Des Vincentii and Anastasii, 40,000 year indulgence at St. John Lateran.

Pauli conversion day, full Ahlaß and 10,000 year to St. Pauli.

The Agnes full 1) forgiveness of sin, as on the first, at St. John Lateran.

Cyri and Johannis, forgiveness of the third part of the sins at St. Sebastian.

In the month of Februarii.

On the day of the Purification of Mary the Virgin, full indulgence to St. Mary *de populo* and 155,293 year and 285 days.

Agatha, virgin and martyr, full indulgence to the Holy Cross.

Of the Chair of St. Peter, full indulgence and 1000 year to St. Peter, and 158,968 year and 289 days.

Of St. Matthew the Apostle, full indulgence at St. Mary Major, where her body rests, and 159,290 years and 285 days.

In the month of Martio.

On the day of St. Thomas Aquinas, full indulgence to St. Mary in Minerva and 158,958 year and 2832 days.

Gregory, the Pope, full indulgence and daily 40 years indulgence and so much quadragenä and forgiveness of the third part of sins, likewise 10,000 years to St. Peter.

Joseph the Confessor, full indulgence at St. Mary Major.

In the vigil St. Benedicti, the abbot, full indulgence to the Holy Cross, in the chapel, so called Jerusalem, on which day the dedication of the same is celebrated.

St. Benedicti, the abbot, 100 year indulgence at St. Peter's and 159,154 year and 40 days.

Annunciation of the Lord, full indulgence and 1000 years and so many quadragens, and forgiveness of a third part of sins; and again 1000 years at St. Mary Major, and 158,958 years and 285 days.

In the month of April.

Georgii, the martyr, 1000 year indulgence and 154,913 year and 260 days.

Marci, the Evangelist, full indulgence at St. Peter's and 154,990 year and 200 days.

Peter, the Martyr, Order of Preachers, full indulgence to St. Mary in Minerva.

In the month of May.

On the day of Philippi and Jacobi full indulgence to St. Mary Major and 158,978 year and 285 days.

All Sundays in this month full indulgence to St. Sebastian, and 186,039 year and 100 days.

Holy Cross invention, full indulgence to the Holy Cross, and 186,039 year and 100 days.

Similarly, on the third day of this month full indulgence, because it is the consecration of St. Mary Rotunda.

St. John's before the Latin Gate, Indulgence of the Redemption of a Soul from Purgatory at St. Mary Major.

St. Michael's Epiphany, plenary indulgences at St. Mary's, likewise from that day until Aug. 1, three plenary indulgences daily at St. John Lateran.

Nerei, Achillei and Pancratii, 100 year indulgence at St. Pauli.

Bernardini, the Confessor, from the Minorite Order, full indulgence to St. Mary at the Altar of Heaven.

At the Ascension of our Lord, full indulgence at St. Peter's and 158,968 years and 285 days.

On the Feast of Corpus Christi, full indulgence at St. Peter's, and 259,968 year and 45 days.

Petronillä, the Virgin, 1000 year and so many quadragenen indulgence to St. Peter.

In the month of Junio.

Marcellini, Petri and Erasmi, 1000 Year Indulgence at St. Peter's.

Barnabas, the Apostle, 600 year full indulgence to St. Mary at the Altar of Heaven.

Paulini, the Confessor, and Crescentiä, 100 year indulgence and so much quadragenen to St. Pauli.

Paulini, the Confessor and Pope, 7000 year indulgence at St. John Lateran.

On the feast of the birth of St. John the Baptist, full indulgence in the Lateran Church and 154,989 year and 45 days.

St. John and St. Paul, 1000 year indulgence at St. John Lateran.

Leonis, the Pope, 1000 years and so much Quadragenä to St. Peter.

Peter and Paul, full indulgences in both churches, and 159,964 year and 45 days.

The commemoration of St. Paul, full indulgence and 1000 year in his church.

In the month of Julio.

The Octava St. John the Baptist, full indulgence to St. Mary *de populo*, and 158,958 year and 285 days.

Bonaventure, the bishop and confessor, of the

1) "full" put by us instead of "2." in our template. The latter will probably be a printing error instead of: "v." January 1 is "plenary indulgence"; so also in the other jubilee calendars for the day of St. Agnes.

Minorite Order, full indulgence at St. Peter's and 158,997 year and 285 days.

Division of the Apostles, 2000 year indulgence at St. Peter's.

Alexii, the Confessor, full indulgence and 1000 year at St. John Lateran.

Margarita, Virgin and Martyr, 100 years to the Holy Cross.

Praxedis, the Virgin, 2000 year indulgence at St. Peter's.

Magdalen, full indulgences and 100 years to St. Mary Major.

Apollinaris, the martyr, 100 years at St. John Lateran.

Christinn, the Virgin and Martyr, 40 year indulgence at St. Mary Major.

Jacobi, the apostle, full indulgences in his church and at St. Mary Major.

Anna, Mother of Mary, full indulgence to St. Mary Major.

Pantaleon, the martyr, 40 year indulgence at St. Mary Major.

Nazarii, Celsi, Victoris, 300 year indulgence to the Holy Cross.

Simplicis and Faustini, 5000 year indulgence at St. Sebastian.

In the month of August.

On the day of St. Peter in bands and eight following days, full indulgence in its church, and 158,968 year and 285 days.

On the feast of the Consecration of St. Mary de Angelis or Portiunculă, as the first church of the Minorite Order, full indulgence to St. Mary Major.

Invention St. Stephani, full indulgence to St. Laurentii.

On the feast of St. Mary de Nive, full indulgence to St. Mary Major and 159,790 year and 285 days.

Dominici, the Confessor, full indulgence to St. Mary in Minerva, and 158,958 year and 285 days.

Sixti Felicissimi and Agapiti, many indulgences to the Holy Cross.

Cyriaci, Largi and Smaragdi, 1000 year to St. Sebastian.

Laurentii, the martyr, full indulgence through the whole Octav and 158,958 year and 285 days, and every day 1000 year and so many quadragens and forgiveness of the third part of sins, in his church.

Clară, the Virgin, full indulgence to St. Mary Major, and 100 year indulgence to the Holy Cross.

Eusebii, the Confessor, 1000 year indulgence to St. Mary Major.

The holy evening of the Ascension of the holy

Mary, at vespers, full indulgences to St. Mary de populo.

On the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the whole Octava, full indulgence and forgiveness of all sins, and 40 years and so many quadragenă, and forgiveness of the third part of sins, at St. Mary and at St. Peter's, 185,162 year and 100 days.

On the Sunday after the Octave and Ascension forgiveness of all sins at the altar of heaven.

Louis the Confessor, of the Minorite Order, full indulgence to St. Mary at the Altar of Heaven.

In the Octava after the Assumption of Mary, forgiveness of all sins to St. Mary over the Tiber.

Bartholomew, the Apostle, full forgiveness of all sins and 7000 year indulgence at St. John Lateran.

Augustini, bishop, full indulgence in his church, and 1000 year to St. Mary.

Beheading of St. John the Baptist, full indulgence, and forgiveness of all sins. Similarly, 100 years and so many quadragens, and forgiveness of the third part of sins, at St. John Lateran.

In the month of Septembris.

On the holy evening of the Nativity of Our Lady, at Vespers, full indulgence to St. Mary Rotunda, and 159,709 year and 185 days.

Adriani, the martyr, 200 year indulgence to St. Mary Major.

Holy Exaltation of the Cross, full indulgence and 1040 year, and forgiveness of the third part of sins, to the Holy Cross, and 159,064 year and 45 days.

Euphemia, Lucia and Geminiani, 1000 years at St. John Lateran.

Eustachii and his companions, 130 years at St. Sebastian.

Matthäi, the Apostle, full indulgence and 130 year to St. Laurentii.

Cosma and Damiani, 7000 year indulgence to St. Sebastian.

Michaelmas, the Archangel, full indulgence at St. Mary Major, and 154,991 year and 200 days.

Hieronymi, the Confessor, full indulgence at St. Mary Major, where his body is. Likewise of 2000 years, and 158,790 years and 285 days.

In the month of October.

On the feast of our most holy father Francisci and through his Octave, full indulgences in his church above the Tiber and at St. Paul's and 158,968 years and 285 days.

Lucă, the Evangelist, full indulgence and 1000 year to St. Mary Major.

Simonis and Jude, apostles, full indulgence at St. Peter's and 40 years and so many quadragens, and forgiveness of the third part of sins and 158,968 years and 285 days.

In the month of November.

On the feast of All Saints, full indulgence to St. Mary Rotunda, and 185,662 year and 100 days.

On the memorial of the souls, full indulgence, and the eight following days, at St. Mary Major and in the church of St. Gregory, and 154,991 year and 200 days.

In the Octave of All Saints at St. Peter's.

Of the four crowned, much indulgence at St. John Lateran.

The consecration of the Cathedral Church of the Savior, full indulgence at St. John Lateran. Likewise 100 years and 300 days, and 154,983 years and 285 days.

Triphonis, Respitii and Nymphä, much indulgence to St. Laurentii.

Martini, the bishop, 300 year and so much quadragenen to St. Sebastian.

The consecration of the Cathedral Church of the Prince of the Apostles St. Peter, full indulgence and 11,000 years and so many quadragens, and forgiveness of the third part of the sins of St. Peter, and 159,964 years and 285 days.

Elizabeth, the daughter of the king in Hungary, 100 year indulgence to the Holy Cross.

The Presentation of St. Mary, full indulgence in her church and to St. Mary at the Altar of Heaven, and 20 year indulgence and 150,190 year and 285 days.

Clementis, Pabst and martyr, full indulgence in his church and at St. Peter's, and 185,966 year and 250 days.

The martyr Felicitas, 40 year indulgence to the Holy Cross.

Grisonis, the martyr, 1000 year indulgence to St. Mary Major.

Catharine, the Virgin and Martyr, 1000 year indulgence to St. Mary Major.

Saturnini, the martyr, 100 year indulgence at St. Sebastian.

St. Andrew the Apostle, 1000 year indulgence and forgiveness of the third part of sins, and full indulgence at St. Peter's and 159,974 year and 45 days.

In the month of December.

Bibiană, the Virgin and Martyr, 9000 year indulgence to St. Mary Major.

Barbara, virgin and martyr, 1000 year indulgence in her church and to the Holy Cross, and 154,991 year and 200 days.

Ambrosii, the bishop, 1000 years and full indulgence at St. Peter's.

On the holy evening of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, at Vespers, plenary indulgence to St. Mary *de populo*.

On the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, full indulgence at St. Mary *de populo*, 158,968 years and 285 days.

In four times [Quatember], 40 years of indulgence and so many quadragens, and forgiveness of the third part of the sins at St. Mary Major.

St. Thomas the Apostle, 30 years and forgiveness of all sins, and full indulgence at St. Paul's.

On the feast of the Nativity of our Savior JEsu Christ, full indulgence at all three Masses, and 1000 year at St. Mary Major.

On the day of St. Stephen, full indulgence at St. Laurentii, where his body is; likewise two thousand years and indulgence and forgiveness of the third part of sins; and more indulgence in his church on the high mountain.

St. John the Evangelist, full indulgences at St. John Lateran, and 100 years at St. Paul; and redemption of One Soul from Purgatory and 158,790 years.

Of the Holy Innocents, full indulgences and 40 years and so many quadragenen to St. Paul.

Sylvestri, Pabst's, full indulgence and 10,000 year at St. John Lateran.

2nd Ingolstadiensis 1596.

Papal Bull, Indulgence and Indulgence of the Archfraternity with the Knitted Belts of St. Francisci, Barfüsserorden.

By many Popes notified Order on all the same feast and days in the year 2c. And later by Pope Sixto, the fifth of the name, confirmed, confirmed again, and abundantly gifted over all brotherhoods.

1596. Ingolstadt by Wolfgang Eder.

Follow the indulgence and indulgence, so monthly to acquire.

January.

On the New Year Day 365 year, 112 quadragen, given by Gregory IX, Innocentium IV, Clementem IV, Gregory X, Martinum V, Nicolaum IV and Urbanum V. On the Holy. Three King Day also so much, näm-

lich 365 years, 112 quadragen, a) awarded by first-registered popes.

On the day of the five holy martyrs of the Order of the Barefoot, which falls on the 16th of this month, named Berardi, Petri, Accursii, Adjuti and Othonis, it is decreed by several popes, as Innocentius IV, Alexandri IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X, Nicolai III and Nicolai IV, Urbani V, Benedicti XI, Martini V, Johannis XXII, to obtain indulgences 446 years, 100 days, and 40 quadragen.

February.

On Our Lady's Candlemas, indulgences are granted for 406 years, 40 days, and 112 quadragens. Gregory IX, Innocentius IV, Clement IV, Gregory X, Nicolaus III, Martinus V, Nicolaus IV, John XXII, Urbanus V.

On the day of the elevation of the holy confessor Antonii, Order of the Barefoot, held the 15th of the month, one obtains indulgence 356 years, 150 days and 12 quadragen.

March.

On the 14th of this month, the elevation of the holy confessor Bonaventure, Order of the Barefoot, is held so the 15th of the month.

The 18th of this one holds the feast of the Holy Angel Gabriel, is earned indulgence 356 years and 10 quadragen. Nicolaus IV, Gregory VI, Innocentius IV, Clement IV, Gregory X, Nicolaus III, Alexander IV.

On the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady, the indulgence is the same as on Candlemas Day in February, namely 406 years, 40 days, 112 quadragen.

May.

On the 8th of this month, the feast of the Epiphany of St. Michael, indulgence is 306 years and 10 quadragen.

The 17th of this one celebrates the elevation of the holy confessor Bernardini, Order of the Barefoot, and obtains indulgence 256 year, 12 quadragen.

The 20th on the feast of St. Bernard, is again 356 years of indulgence, 150 days, 12 quadragen. At the same time Gregory IX gave 100 years and 50 years and so many quadragen, also on each day in the eighth 2) 10 years and 50 days. Sixtus V granted plenary indulgences.

The 25th This is St. Francisci elevation and indulgence 356 year, 150 day, 12 quadragen.

1) It seems to us that here, and every time "confessor" is found in this writing, it should be read "confessor"; in Latin, *cofvtssoris* will probably be found.

2) "in the eighth" will probably mean: in the octave.

Junii.

The 13th of this month falls the day of St. Anthony of Padua, Order of the Barefoot, indulgence 466 years, 122 cron, 150 days, and on any day in the eighth 10 years, 50 days. Sixtus V gives plenary indulgence.

On St. John the Baptist's Day, one obtains indulgences as on the New Year, namely 365 years, 112 quadragen.

On the day of Peter and Paul is indulgence 286 year, 12 quadragen. Innocentius IV, Gregory X, Nicolaus IV, Urbanus V, Martinus V.

Julii.

On the Feast of the Visitation of Our Lady, one earns indulgences as on the Feast of Candlemas, and Urbanus VI has granted all indulgences above it, as Urbanus IV and Martinus V did on the Feast of Corpus Christi of our Lord, and by the eighth to the Office of the Holy Mass and the Holy Days; see above the movable feasts.

On the 14th of this month, the feast of St. Bonaventure, the Order of the Barefoot, is celebrated, earning indulgences for 466 years, 112 quadragen, 150 days, and for every day in the eighth 10 years, 50 days. Julius II gives in addition 40 years, and Sixtus V even plenary indulgence.

August.

The 2nd of this month, called our Lady's Day to the Angels or *Portiunculæ*, about the indulgence, which is 446 years, 100 days and 24 quadrants, recorded in the Jenner, on the Holy Five Martyrs' Day, one obtains plenary indulgence, which has been pronounced by Christ Himself with a living voice, and declared by Pope Benedictum XII.

On the 5th of this is our women's feast with the snow, and indulgence as on Candlemas Day in February.

The 6th of this the declaration of Christ, indulgence as on the New Year's Day in Jenner.

On the 12th of this St. Clare, the Virgin, Feast, Order of the Barefoot, one has indulgence 256 year, 150 day, 12 quadragen, and every eighth 10 year, 50 days. But from Sixto, the fifth, plenary indulgence is given.

On the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady there is indulgence as on Candlemas Day in February. And John XXII still pardoned on this day in the eighth 10 year, and 50 days.

The 19th of the holy bishop and confessor Ludovici day, Order of the Barefoot, indulgence is to be obtained as on the day of the holy five martyrs in the Jenner, and on each day in the eighth still 10 years, 50 days of Johanne XXII. Sixtus V gives plenary indulgence.

On the 25th of this, St. Louis' Feast, King elect in France, Order of the Barefoot of the Third Rule, is indulgence as well as on the day of the Holy Five Martyrs in Jenner.

September.

On our Lady's birthday one acquires ablution as on Candlemas Day in February, and on every day in the eighth 10 year, 50 day, given by Johanne XXII.

On the day of St. Francisci Mark, the 17th of this month, all indulgences are forgiven, as on the day of the five martyrs, in the Jenner, and in addition by Gregorio IX 30 years. Summa 476 years, 100 days and 24 quadragen.

The 27th of this. St. Elzearii the Confessor's Day, from the third order of the Franciscans, on which one gets indulgences, as on the day of the holy five martyrs in Jenner.

October.

The second of this month, St. Clare the Virgin's Exaltation, indulgences are given 356 years, 150 days, 13 quadragen.

On the feast of St. Francisci, founder of the Order of the Barefoot, which falls on the 4th of this, one obtains indulgences as on the New Year's Day in January, in addition to which Alexander IV granted 40 years, John XXII 10 years, 50 days, Sixtus IV a hundred years and so many quadragen; to those who say mass on this day 50 years and so many quadragen. Again, John XXII granted on each day in the eighth indulgence 100 years and 50 days. Sixtus V granted plenary indulgences.

On the 13th of this, St. Danielis, Angeli, Samuelis, Donuli, Leonis, Nicolai and Ugolini day, Order of the Barefoot, 446 year, 100 days and 24 quadragen indulgence is given, as on the day of the five martyrs in the Jenner.

The 27th, St. Ivonis Confessor's Day, from the Third Order of Franciscans, is indulgence 446 year, 100 days and 24 quadragen.

November.

On All Saints' Day Gregory IX gave a hundred year indulgences and so much quadragen.

The 8th of this month is the elevation of St. Louis, the Bishop, Order of the Barefoot, Indulgence 356 year, 150 days and 12 quadragen.

On the 9th of this falls Salvatoris or our Beatific Father's church consecration in Rome; indulgences are to be obtained, as on New Year's Day in Jenner.

The 18th of this, St. Peter and Paul's church consecration, indulgences are granted, as on their feast in June, 286 year, 12 quadragen.

The 19th of this, St. Elizabeth's day, most elect queen in Hungary, of the third order St. Francisci, indulgence as on the day of the five holy martyrs. Gregory IX has also given 100 years and so many quadragen. Summa 546 years, 100 days, 124 quadragen.

The 21st of this, our women's sacrifice in the temple, one acquires indulgences like Candlemas Day in February.

December.

On the 8th of this month is the Feast of the Conception of Our Lady, and indulgences as on Candlemas Day in February. In addition, Sixtus IV grants all the indulgences obtained on our Lord's Corpus Christi, and what Urbanus IV also granted Martinus V by the eighth at all times of the day; those who hear the sermon have 150 days of it. Leo X gives plenary indulgence to those who hear the Feast of the Conception of Mary read, confessed, and repent of sin, and also ask for papal sanctity and the general Church.

On Christmas Day one acquires indulgences as on New Year's Day, namely 356 year, 112

3. Viennensis 1629.

From JEsu Maria Archfraternity of the Holy. Rosary Instruction by Fratrem Eustachium Mayr, Order of Preachers, Generalem Praedicatorum, and Subpriorem. Vienna by Matthão Formica.

Pag. 19 Calendar for the Fraternity of the Holy Rosary. Rosary of Our Lady.

In it, certain indulgences to be obtained in the Preacher's Church are listed for all days, taking into account that v.

1) means plenary indulgence, which is the quadragen.

Jenner.

1. circumcision of Jesus Christ, plenary indulgence and 25,000.

2. macarius abbot 6000 year.

3. genovefa virgin 6000 year.

4. titus bishop 6000 year.

5. telesphorus pope and martyr 6000 year.

6. hail, three king to cologne, fully comm.

7. Raymundus Confessor, 2) Order of Preachers v.

1) Here in the original it says "V". However, when setting, the large V seems to have run out soon and then is continued with the small "v".

2) For "confessor," see note Col. 122.

8. erhard bishop 8000 year v.
 9. martiana virgin and mart. 10,000 year v.
 10. paul the first hermit 10,000 year v.
 11. higinus pabst and mart. 10,000 year v.
 12. satyr and arcad. Mart. 12,000 year b.
 13. Hilarius Bishop 1000 year, also v.
 14. felix priest and mart. 3000 year and Q.
 15. the feast of the sweetest name of JEsu v. and much.
 16. marcellus Pabst and Märt. v.
 17. antonius abbot v.
 18. chair celebration to Rome v. and much.
 19. mar. 2c. Mar. 100 year and Q.
 20. sebastian mart. v.
 21. agnes virgin and mart. v.
 22. Vincenz Levit and Märt. v.
 23. john allmuser 15 year.
 24. Timothy Bishop and Mart. 1000 year and Q.
 25. Paul the Apostle Conversion v.
 26. polycarpus bishop and mart. 7 year.
 27. john to the gülden mouth v.
 - 28th Margarita Queen in Hungary, Order of Preachers, 12,800 year and Q.
 29. valerius bishop 12,800 year and Q.
 30. adelgund virgin 3000 year and Q.
 - 31 Vigilius Bishop and Mart. 3000 year and Q. v.
- Hornung.
- 1st Ignatius Bishop and Mart. 1000 year.
 - 2nd Candlemas of Mary v.
 3. st. blasius bishop and mart. v. Year. 1)
 4. veronica 1000 year.
 5. agatha virgin and mart. 120,000 year b. Q. v.
 6. dorothea virgin, mart. 1000 year.
 7. richardus king 6000 year.
- The eighth day has been omitted from the printed version.
9. scholastica 8000 year.
 10. Apollonia Virgin and Mart. v.
 11. euphrosyna monastic virgin 6000 year.
 12. eulalia virgin and mart. 6000 year.
 - 13th Castor priest 10,000 year.
 14. valentine priest and fair. 12,000 year.
 - 15 Faustinus and Jovita Mart. 6000 year.
 16. julians virgin and mart. 12,000 year and Q.
 17. constantia virgin 8000 year.
 - 18th Concordia Virgo 6000 year.
 19. gabinus priest and fair. 1000 year.

20. eustochia monastic virgin 1000 year.
 21. leonora 8000 year.
 - 22 Peter's Chair Celebration at Antioch v.
 23. serenus abbot and mart. 10,000 year.
 24. Matthias Apostle v.
 25. walburg cloister virgin 120,000 year and
 - 26 Victor Mar. 12,000 year and Q.
 - 27 Julianus Mart. 10,000 year.
 28. romanus abbot 8000 year.
- On Sunday Septuagesimä 11,000 year, 48 Q., remission of the third part of the sins. † 2) v.
- On Sunday Sexagesimä 12,000 year, 18 Q., remission of part of the sins.
- On Sunday Quinquagesimä 28,000 year and v.
- Marzenablaß.
1. albinus bishop 12,800 year and Q.
 2. Simplicius Pabst 3000 year and Q.
 3. cunigund empress 100 year and Q.
 4. lucius pabst and mart. 15 year.
 5. gulielmus bishop 12,800 year.
 6. fridolinus abbot 3000 year and Q.
 7. Thomas Aquinas, Order of Preachers, Leh-
8. Philemon and Apollo. Mart. 100 year and 100
 9. forty martyrs 7 year.
 10. alexander mart. 15 year.
 11. humbertus bishop 1000 year and Q.
 12. Gregory Pope and Doctor of the Church v.
 - 13th Desiderius Bishop and Fair. 1000 year.
 14. mattildi's widow 12,800 year.
 15. longinus bishop and mart. 3000 year.
 16. cyriacus and his companions, mart. 100 year and Q.
 17. Gertrudis virgin 6 year.
 18. gabriel archangel v.
 - 19 Joseph Confessor v.
 20. Ambrose of Senis, Order of Preachers, v.
 21. benedictus v. and 100 year.
 22. paul bishop 7 year.
 23. theodoricus bishop 121,000 year and Q.
 24. Simon, Knab zu Trient, 1000 year.
 - 25 Annunciation of Mary v.
 26. ludgerus bishop 12,000 year.
 - 27th Rupertus Bishop 12,000 year.
 28. felix bishop 12,000 year.
 - 29th Eustace abbot 12,000 year.
 30. Quirinus Mart. 12,000 year.
 - 31 Balbina Virgo 12,000 year.

1) So in our template.

2) The cross (†) means the release of a soul from purgatory.

Merk, the fasting station and indulgences that can be obtained daily in the Preacher's Church, I have decided to add to this.

On Ash Wednesday of 3000 year.

The next day after that 10,000 years.

The third day 10,000 year.

The first Saturday in the fasting 10,000 year v.

On the first Sunday of 18,000 year.

Monday v. 10,000 year.

Erchtag 1) v. 28,000 year and Q.

Wednesday 28,000 year and Q.

Thursday v. 20,000 year.

Friday v. 18,000 year and

On the second Sunday in the fasting 28,000 year.

Monday, 11,000 year, remission of the third part of sins.

Erchtag, Wednesday, Thursday, twelve thousand year and much.

Friday ten thousand year.

Saturday † v. ten thousand year.

On the third Sunday in Lent, ten thousand year, 48 Q. f.

Monday, Erchtag, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday 10,000 year.

Saturday twelve thousand year †.

On the fourth Sunday in Lent v. †.

Monday ten thousand year.

The day of the remission of the third part of the sins, 10,000 years.

Wednesday like yesterday.

Thursday ten thousand year.

Friday ten thousand year.

Saturday v.

The fifth Sunday in the fast 28,000 year and tz-, remission third part of sins.

Monday, Erchtag, Wednesday, Thursday 10,000 year.

Friday twelve thousand year †.

Saturday thirteen thousand year †.

On Palm Sunday v. five and twenty thousand year, and 25,000 Q.

Monday, remission of third part of sins, five and twenty thousand years.

Erchtag, eighteen thousand year v.

Wednesday, eight and twenty thousand year and v.

Thursday, twelve thousand year, 48 Q., and v.

On H. Char Friday, Saturday v.

On H. Easter Day 33,000 year, and so much Q. and v.

Easter Monday eight and twenty year v.

Erchtag two thousand year, 18 Q. v.

Wednesday † v. 18,000 year and so much.

1) "Erchtag" - Tuesday.

Thursday v. fifteen thousand year.

Friday fifteen thousand year.

Saturday fifteen thousand year.

On Sundayfifteen thousand
Year v.

Indulgence in the month of April.
12,000 year indulgence:

1. hugo bishop.

2. Mary of Egypt, penitent.

3. florentius bishop.

4. Ambrose Bishop and Doctor of the Church v.

5th St. Vincent Order of Preachers v.

6. Sixtus Pabst and Märt.

7. alexandrinus mart.

8th Dionysius Bishop.

9. procorus bishop and mart.

10. Apollonius priest and mart.

11th Eustorgius Fair.

12. Pius Pabst.

13. euphemia virgin and mart.

14. Tiburt. and Valerius Mart.

15 Isidore Bishop.

16. Albinus Archmarch. in England.

17 Rudolphus Mart.

18. eleutherius bishop and mart.

19. Wernerus Fair.

20. Victor Pabst and Märt.

21 Anselmus Archbishop.

22nd Gajus Mart.

23 Georgius Mart.

24. Adalbertus Bishop and Mart.

25. marcus evangelist, 28,000 year and Q. and v.

26. Cletus Pabst and Märt.

27th Anastasius Mart.

28 Vitalis Fair.

29. Peter of Milan Mart. Order of Preachers v.

30 Eutropius Mart.

Here, the following festivals, graced with rich indulgences, are to be taken into account and have been placed here by me, because they are usually held in the following month.

As first in the cross week, Sunday, Erchtag, Wednesdays, 28,000 year and Q., also v.

On H. Ascension Day v. and 28,000 year.

On the evening of Pentecost 15,000 year v.

Pentecost day, Whit Monday, Pentecost eighth day, eighteen thousand year and full.

Wednesdays ten thousand year v.

Thursday eighteen thousand year and f v.

Friday eighteen thousand year and v.

Saturday eighteen thousand year and v.

2) In our template: "eighteen thousand † year".

On H. Corpus Christi Day v.
Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Erchtag,
Wednesday, Thursday v.

Indulgence of the month of May.

12,000 year indulgence:

Mark, every Sunday of this month is plenary indulgence.

On the Sunday after S. Cross invention is celebrated the feast of S. Virgin Catharine of Senis, Order of Preachers.

On the Sunday after the Ascension of Christ the feast of St. Jacob, confessor, preacher. Jacobi, confessor, order of preachers.

1. philip and jacob apostle v.
2nd Anthony Archbishop, Order of Preachers, v.
3. invention of the holy cross v.
4. monica whiting, much, and twelve thousand year.

5. gotthardus bishop v.
6. John of the Lat. porten full †.
7. the feast of the dry crown of Christ v.
8. apparition St. Michaelis v.
9. Gregorius Bishop of Naz.
10. gordianus and epim. Mar.
11. Stanislaus Bishop and Mart.
12. Pancratius Mart.
13th Servatius Bishop.
14th Victor and Corona Fair.
15. Robertus Count Palatine on the Rhine.
16. peregrinus bishop.
17 Bruno Bishop of Würzburg.
18 Dioscorus Mart.
19. potentiana virgin and mart.
20 Bernardinus, confessor, Order of the Barefoot, v.

21 Constantinus the Great, Emperor, v.
22. helena empress.
23. sulphitius and servil.
24. elevation of the holy father Dominici. Father Dominici, Order of Preachers.
25. urbanus pabst and mart.
26. beda priest.
27 July Mart.
28. gulielmus duke.
29 Maximinus Bishop.
30. Felix Pabst and Märt.

Indulgence of the fallow month.

Full c. and 12,000 year indulgence:

1. vincent. *Lirinens*. Priest.
The other Sunday of this month plenary indulgence.
2. Marcellus and Peter Märt.
3. erasmus bishop and mart.

4. the feast of the five wounds of Jesus.
5. Bonifacius Archbishop and Mart.
6. Nortbertus Archbishop, the
Premonstratensian founder.
7. paul bishop and mart.
8. medardus bishop.
9. primus and felician.
10. getulius and his companions, mart.
11 Barnabas Apostle.
12th Nazarius and Celfus Fair.
13. Anthony of Padua, barefoot.
14th Basil bishop and teacher.
15 Vitus Mart. 6000 year and v.
16 Aureus Archbishop of Mainz.
17. botulphus dept.
18. marina virgin and mart.
19. Gervasius and Protasius Mart.
20 Abagarius King.
21 Albanus Priest and Mart.
22. paulinus bishop.
23 Ediltrudis King, virgin.
24. John the forerunner of Christ.
25. prosper bishop and mart.
26th John and Paul Fair.
27. the seven sleepers mart.
28. leo magnus pabst.
29. Peter and Paul, apostles.
30th Martialis Bishop.

Indulgence of the hay month.

Perfectionist and 12,000 year indulgence:

1. rumoldus bishop and mart.
2. Visitation of the Virgin Mary v.
3. land francus bishop.
4. Ulrich Bishop of Augsburg.
5th Wendelinus Abb.
6. goar priest and confessor.
7. wilibald bishop.
8. kilian bishop and mart.
9. agilolph archbishop and mart.
10. the seven brothers with their mother Felicitas.
11. Pius Pabst and Märt.
12. margaretha virgin and mart.
13. Heinrich Kaiser.
14th Bonaventure Card. and Barefoot.
15 The apostle's division.
16th Eustace bishop and confessor.
17. alexius confessor.
18. symphorosa sammt ihren Söhnen und Märt.
19. arsenius dept.
20. Joseph, one of the 72 disciples of Christ.
21 Praxedis Virgo.
22. Mary Magdalene, penitent, v.
23. brigitta, princess and widow, v.

24. christina virgin and mart.
25. iacobus apostle, the greater, v.
26. Anna, Mother of Mary, v.
27. hermolaus priest and mart.
28. Pantaleon Fair.
29. Martha, virgin and hostess of Christ.
- 30th Abdon and Senna Fair.
31. germanus bishop.

Indulgence of the month of August.

12,000 year indulgence, remission of the third part of sins:

1. peter chain celebration v.
2. Stephan Pabst and Mart. 6000 year.
- 3rd Stephen of the first mart. Invention v.
4. Dominicus Order of Preachers Founder v.
5. maria to the snow v.
6. sixt Pabst and Mär. v.
7. Afra zu Augsburg, penitent and mart. 8000 year.
8. Hilgerus Prior, Order of Preachers, 10,000 year.
9. romanus mart. 10,000 year.
10. Laurentius Diacon. and Mar.
11. susanna virgin and mart.
12. Clara Virgin, Order of the Barefoot, v.
13. Hippolytus Mart. 280,000 year and
14. eusebius confessor.
15. Assumption of Mary, GOD's Childbearer, v.
16. rochus, pilgrim and confessor, v.
17. liberatus abbot and mart. v.
18. agapitus Mart. v.
19. sebaldu confessor v.
20. bernardus abbot v.
21. Anastasius Mart. v.
22. Simphorianus Mart. v.
23. zacchaeus bishop and disciple of Christ v.
24. bartholomew apostle v.
25. ludovicus king v.
26. Zepherinus Pabst and Mär. v.
27. bishop Gebhardus.
28. Augustine Bishop and Doctor of the Church v. and 1)
29. John the Baptist beheading v. and 1)
- 30th Felix and Adauchus Fair.
31. Paulinus Bishop and Mart.

Indulgence of the autumn month..

NB. 12,000 year indulgence, third part of sins.

Is to note that in this month the Quatember thun fall, since on Quatember Wednesday 18,000 year and

- On Quatember Friday v. 18,000 year.
- On Quatember Saturday 28,000 year.
- 1st Verena Virgo 6000 year.
- 2nd Antonius Mart.
3. emericus duke in Hungary 10,000 year.
4. marcellus bishop 1000 year.
5. victorinus bishop and mart. 8000 year.
6. magnus abbot 121,000 year and
7. regina virgin and mart. 1000 year.
8. our Lady's Nativity v.
9. sergius pabst and confessor 12,800 year and

Q.

10. Nicolaus of Talentin, Augustinian, v.
11. protus and hyacinthus mart. 3000 year.
- 12th Niceta Fair. 100 year and
13. Maternus Bishop.
14. holy cross elevation v.
15. Ludmilla widow in Prague 15 years.
16. euphemia virgin and mart. 1000 year and
17. lambertus bishop and mart. 5 year.
18. methodius bishop and mart. 7 year.
19. january and his journeymen mart. 100 year and Q.
20. Eustachius Mart. 3000 year and Q. and v.
21. Matthew Apostle and Evangelist v.
22. mauricius and his journeymen 128,000 year and Q.
23. Tecla virgin and fair. 1000 year.
24. Rupertus bishop 121 year and Q.
25. cleophas disciples 8000 year.
26. cyprianus bishop and mart. 7000 year.
- 27th Cosmas and Damianus Fair. 7000 year.
- 28th Wenceslaus Duke in Böhme, Mar., 1000 year.
29. michael archangel v.
30. Jerome Doctor of the Church v.

Indulgence in the month of wine.

The first Sunday of this month is the glorious feast of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary with plenary indulgence.

1. remigius bishop 8000 year.
2. leodigarius bishop and mart. 6000 year.
- 3rd Candidus Fair. 6000 year.
4. Franciscus Founder Order of the Barefoot v.
5. Placidus Mart. v.
6. Bruno Carthäuser Founder v.
7. justina virgin and mart. v.
8. pelagia penitent v.
9. dionysius bishop and mart.
10. Gereon and his journeymen Mär. v.
11. Jacobus Alemannus Order of Preachers v.
12. Maximilianus Bishop and Mart. v.
13. Simpertus Bishop of Augsburg 6000 year.

1) There seems to be "Q" omitted.

14. burcardus bishop 6000 year.
15. Hedwigis Duchess in Poland 6000 year.
16. gallus abbot 8000 year.
17. heron bishop 10,000 year.
18. lucas evangelist v.
19. Ludovicus Beltram Order of Preachers v.
20. Caprasius Mart. 10,000 year.
21. ursula and her company 8000 year.
22. cordula virgin and mart. 8000 year.
23. Severinus bishop 10,000 year.
24. euergistus bishop and mart. 8000 year.
25. crispin and crispinianus mart. 121,000 year.
26. amandus bishop 121,000 year.
27. jvo, lawyer, 121,000 year.
28. Simon and Judas, apostles, v.
29. narcissus, knight and mart., 1000 year.
30. marcellus knight and fair. 1000 year.
31. wolfgangus bishop 10,000 year.

Indulgence in the winter month, plenary indulgence.

1. all saints day v.
2. All Souls' Day v.
3. Jta Countess in Swabia.
4. Irenaeus, teacher, bishop.
5. Zacharias, John's father.
6. leonhardus abb.
7. florentinus bishop.
8. the four crowned mart. v.
9. theodorus mart. v.
10. ermegar. Countess 10,000 year.
11. martinus bishop v.
12. cunibertus bishop 10,000 year.
13. brictus bishop 8000 year.
- 14th Serapion Fair. 6000 year.
15. Albertus Magnus, Bishop and Order of Preachers, v.
- 16th Ottmarus abbot 12,800 year and
17. hugo bishop 12,800 year and Q.
- 18th Gelasius Pabst 10,000 year.
19. elizabeth landgravine 8000 year.
- 20th Eadmundus King Mart. 8000 year.
21. sacrifice of Mary v.
22. caecilia virgin and mart. v.
23. Clemens Pabst and Märt. v.
- 24th Chrysogonus Mart. 8000 year.
25. catharina virgin and mart. v.
- 26th Conradus bishop 10,000 year.
27. wrgilius bishop 12,800 year and Q.
- 28 Sosthenes, disciple of Paul, 3000 years.
29. saturninus bishop and mart. 100 year and Q.
- 30 Andrew Apostle v.

Indulgence of the Christian month, plenary indulgence.

Mark, favorable reader, wett in this month the H. Advent of our Lord is celebrated, are in it the following indulgences to receive:

On the first Sunday 28,000 year and v.

The other Sunday 11,000.

On the third Sunday of Advent 28,000 year and H-.

Fourth Sunday.

On Quatemb. Wednesday v. 28,000 year and Q.

On Quatember Friday v. and 10,000 year.

On Quatember Saturday 12,000 year and Q.

1. Eligius bishop, eight thousand year.

2. bibiana virgin and mart.

3. lucius king and confessor 6000 year.

4. barbara virgin and mart. 6000 year.

5. crispinga virgin and mart. 8000 year.

6. nicolaus bishop v.

7. ambrose bishop and teacher v.

8. conception of the Virgin Mary v.

9. joachim, father of mary, v.

10. Melchiades Pabst, Mar.

11. Damasus pope and confessor.

12 Epimachus, Mar.

13. lucia virgin and mart. v.

14th Nicasius Bishop.

15. valerianus bishop.

16. adelheidis empress 10,000 year.

17. lazarus bishop 8000 year.

18. Wunibaldus abbot 121,000 year and Q.

19. nemesius mart. 10,000 year.

20 Tecla Virgo 12.800 year and Q.

21st Thomas Apostle v.

22. theodosia virgin and mart. 3000 year.

23. victoria virgin and mart. 3000 year.

24. jrmia Virgo 28,000 year and Q.

25. birth of Christ the Savior at the first Mass on Christmas Eve v.

At the second in the morning 28,000 year and Q., also v.

In the third measuring 28,000 year, so much Q. and plenary indulgence.

26. Stephen the first mart. 28,000 year, and Q. and

27. evangelist John 28,000 year, and

28. innocent children 15,000 year and

29. thomas bishop and mart. 8000 year and Q.

30. sabinus bishop and fair. 3000 year.

31 Sylvester Pabst and confessor v.

4. constantiensis 1603.*Rosarinin,*

On the Origin and Advocacy of the Rosary of the
Blessed Virgin Mary 2c.

By Mr. Conrad Sittardum, the Heil. Schrift Professoren
und Provincial Predigerorden durch Hohes
Deutschland und Oesterreich.

Pag. 124. follow the Roman indulgences, so the
whole year out, at different times, in different places
are to be gained:

Januarius.

1. on the new year's day at S. Maria trans
Tiberim, majori unb ara coeli, a thousand year
plenary indulgence.

6. on H. three King's Day and the whole Octave,
at St. Peter's twenty-eight thousand years, and so
many quadragen, and plenary indulgence.

16. at St. Marcello Pabst at St. Antonio Abbot

18. at St. Peter's Chair in Rome

20. at St. Sebastian's.

21. at St. Agnes

22. at St. Vincent and Anast.

25. at St. Paul's Church plenary
indulgence.

27. at St. John Chrysostom at St.

Mary Scala coeli

31. at the Heil. Cross at St. Cyro
and Johanne

Februarius.

2. to light masses at St. Mary major, and
otherwise three other churches, plenary indulgence.

3. in St. Blast Church

5. in St. Agatha church- fully com-

9. st. apolloni, st. ludwigskirchen? mener

22. in St. Peter's Church Cathed. s indulgence.

24. at St. Matthia, Twelve Messenger, /

On the Sunday of Septuagint at St. Lawrence
outside the city wall, a thousand years and 48
quarters of indulgence, remission of the third part of
all sins, and the release of one soul from the third
purgatory.

On Sunday Quinquagesimä, at St. Peter 28,000
year and plenary indulgence.

Martins.

7. at St. Thomas Aquinas.

12. at St. Gregory Pabst at St. Peter's plenary
indulgence.

19. at St. Mary Major

20. at St. Sylvester's Chapel,

21. at St. Peter's, on St. Benedict's day, one hundred
year indulgence.

25. on the day of the Annunciation in the church,
called Annuntiatae, plenary indulgence, and from these
days until August 1, one has in this church every day
12,000 year indulgence.

Fasting, Stationes and Indulgences at Rome.

On Ash Wednesday visit St. Sabina, Order of
Preachers, church, in it are 300 years and plenary
indulgence.

The other day in the fast at St. George's are 10,000
year indulgences.

The third day at St. John and Paul are 1000 year
indulgences.

The first Saturday in Lent at St. Trifon 10,000 year and
plenary indulgence.

The first Sunday in fasting.

At St. John. Lateran, item at St. Peter eighteen
thousand years and plenary indulgence.

Monday at St. Peter's in bands ten thousand years
and plenary indulgence.

Tuesday St. Anastasia twenty-eight thousand, and so
many quadragen, and the release of a soul from
purgatory.

Wednesdays St. Mary major twenty-eight thousand
year and so much quadragen indulgence.

Thursday St. Laurentii in Palisperna twenty thousand
year plenary indulgence.

Friday St. Apostle twelve thousand year and plenary
indulgence.

The second Saturday St. Peter eighteen thousand
years and so much quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

On the second Sunday in Lent.

At S. Maria della Nanicella, and at S. Maria major
twenty-eight thousand year indulgence.

Sunday St. Element eleven thousand year
indulgence, and remission of third part of sins.

Tuesday S. Balbina.

Wednesdays S. Caecilia.

Thursday S. Maria trans Tiberim.

Friday S. Uval..

† The third Saturday at St. Peter and Marcellina ten
thousand years, also plenary indulgence, and the
release of a soul from purgatory.

Third Sunday.

† At St. Lawrence extra innres, 88 quadragen, and the
release of a soul from purgatory.

Monday St. Marcus 10,000 year indulgence.

Tuesday St. Potentia 10,000 year indulgence.
 Wednesdays St. Sixtus 10,000 year indulgence.
 Thursday St. Cosmas and Damianus ten thousand year indulgence.

Friday St. Lawrence in Lucina 10,000 year indulgence.

† Saturday St. Susanna 12,000 year indulgence.

The fourth Sunday in Lent.

By the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, plenary indulgence and the release of a soul from purgatory.

Monday the H. four crowned 10,000 year indulgence.

Tuesday St. Lawrence in Damaso, remission of third part of sin, 10,000 year indulgence.

On Wednesday, St. Paul, the third part of sins is forgiven, and 10,000 years of indulgence.

Thursday St. New Year 10,000 year indulgence.

Friday St. Eusebius 10,000 year indulgence.

Saturday St. Niclas in carcere,, plenary indulgence.

The fifth Sunday in Lent.

At St. Peter's twenty-eight thousand years and so many quadragen indulgence, also remission of third part of sins.

Monday St. Chrysogonus 10,000 year indulgence.

Tuesday St. Quirinus 10,000 year indulgence.

Wednesday St. Marcellinus 10,000 year indulgence.

Thursday S. Apollinaris 10,000 year indulgence.

Friday S. Stephano rotundo Redemption of a soul from purgatory.

Saturday St. John before the Latin Porten 13,000 year indulgence, and the release of a soul from purgatory.

Palm Sunday.

At St. Johan. Lateran. 25,000 year indulgence, so much quadragen, and plenary indulgence.

Monday St. Praxedis 25,000 year indulgence, and remission of third part of sins.

Tuesday St. Prisca eighteen thousand year, also plenary indulgence.

Wednesday St. Mary Major 28,000 year, also plenary indulgence.

Thursday St. Johan. Lateran. 12,000 years, 48 quadragen, and two plenary indulgences.

On S. Char Friday at S. Cross of Jerusalem plenary indulgence.

Saturday St. John. Lateran. 12,000 year indulgence, 40 quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

On Holy Easter Day.

Monday at St. Peter's twenty-eight thousand year and plenary indulgence.

Tuesday at St. Paul's twenty thousand year indulgence, 18 quadragen and plenary indulgence.

Midweek St. Lawrence extra innro8 18,000 year and so much quadragen. Discharge of a soul from purgatory, and plenary indulgence.

Thursday St. Apostle fifteen thousand and plenary indulgence.

Friday 8. Maria rotunã 15,000 year indulgence.

Saturday St. John. Lateran 15,000 year indulgence.

On Sunday Quasimodo.

5. at St. Pancraz fifteen thousand years, also plenary indulgence.

Aprilis.

5. at St. Vincent's Order of Preachers plenary indulgence.

23. on St. George's Day at St. Peter's plenary indulgence.

Twenty-eight thousand year indulgences at St. Mark's and at St. Peter's, and so many quadragen, plenary indulgences.

Majus.

Mark, every Sunday Maji is to earn plenary indulgence at St. Sebastian's.

1. at St. Philip, and Jacob Apostles plenary indulgence.

3. Cross of Jerusalem plenary indulgence.

4. at St. Augustino on the day of S. Women St. Monica much indulgence.

† At St. Johan. before the Latin Porten plenary indulgence.

At St. John's. Lateran, plenary indulgence and release of a soul from purgatory.

St. Michael's Appearance.

12. by St. Nereus and Achilles.

19. at St. Pudentiana.

20 In ara coeli St. Bernardini day.

21. at St. Helena.

H. from St. Bernardini day to August 1 at St. John. Lateran, all day plenary indulgence.

H. in the Weeks of the Cross, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday at St. Peter twenty-eight thousand year, and so much forty-day penitential indulgence.

On S. Pentecost evening at St. Johan. Lateran. fifteen thousand year, also plenary indulgence.

On S. Pentecost at St. Peter's, and Monday at St. Peter's in vincula plenary indulgence.

Tuesday St. Anastasia eighteen thousand year indulgence.

Wednesdays St. Mary Major, eighteen thousand year, also plenary indulgence.

Thursday at St. Lawrence extra muros, 18,000 years, and so much quadragen indulgence, release of a soul from purgatory, and plenary indulgence.

Friday St. Apostle eighteen thousand year and plenary indulgence.

Saturday St. Peter eighteen thousand years and plenary indulgence, also the release of a soul from purgatory.

On Corporis Christi day, that is, on S. Sacrament day, plenary indulgence, and the whole octavo off.

Junius.

The next Sunday of June, at Maria de Consolatione, plenary indulgence.

11. at St. Barnaba Apostle plenary indulgence.

13. at S. Antonio de Padua plenary indulgence.

15 St. Vitus and Marcellus six thousand year plenary indulgence.

24. st. johan. Lateran, John the Baptist. Baptist's plenary indulgence.

28. St. Peter's and Paul's Eve, plenary indulgence.

29. on S. [Peter and Paul] day plenary indulgence.

30th St. Paul's Commemoration.

Julius.

Visitation of the Virgin Mary in two churches de populo et pace, the whole octavo out, plenary indulgence.

17 St. Alexius plenary indulgence.

20 St. Mary Magdalene plenary indulgence.

21. s. Praxedis plenary indulgence.

22 St. Mary Magdalene plenary indulgence.

23 St. Apollinaris plenary indulgence.

25 St. Jacob Apostle plenary indulgence.

26 St. Anne plenary indulgence.

30. on the day of Saints Abdon and SennonJ) plenary indulgence.

August.

1. st. peter in vinsla plenary indulgence.

3. St. Lawrence extra muros plenary indulgence.

5 St. Mary the Greater plenary indulgence.

8. maria supra Minervam a plenary indulgence.

H. Day Dominici plenary indulgence.

6. at S. Johan. Lateran. Transfig. plenary indulgence.

1) In the old edition: "der heiligen Abden und Sennen".

10th St. Lawrence day, and the whole Octav, extra rnrro8 plenary indulgence.

12. at St. New Year's Eve, on the day of St. Clare, plenary indulgence.

1. and the whole Octave of the Assumption of Mary is plenary indulgence in five places, 8. Mariainazor, rotnnaa, de populo, ara coeli unb S. Maria Angelorum.

From our Lady's Ascension Day to her birthday, the pilgrimage or station is at St. Mary the Greater, and there are indulgences every day for 12 years, and remission of the third part of all sins.

16. at St. Rocho plenary indulgence.

14. at St. Bartholomew Apostle plenary indulgence.

26. at St. Augustine, teacher, plenary indulgence.

28. at St. John Lateran, plenary indulgence.

St. John's beheading plenary indulgence.

September.

8. on our Lady's birthday is plenary indulgence in the following churches, S. Maria major, S. Maria rotunda, Ara coeli, via lata, de pace et populo.

10th On St. Niclaus Tolentini day plenary indulgence, at S. Maria de populo, at St. Augustino.

14. on the day of the holy cross, and the eighth day after that, at the holy cross in Jerusalem, plenary indulgence.

On Quatember Wednesdays at 8. Mary inajor eighteen thousand years and so much forty-day penitential indulgence.

On Quatember Friday at St. Apostle 18,000 year and plenary indulgence.

On Quatember Saturday at St. Peter 28,000 year indulgence.

21. on Matthäi Apostle's Day plenary indulgence.

29. at St. Michel, Archangel, plenary indulgence.

30th At 8 Mary Major, on St. Jerome's Day, plenary indulgence.

October.

4. on St. Francisci day, and the whole Octav, plenary indulgence.

18. at St. Lucă, evangelists, plenary indulgence.

28. perfect indulgence on the day of Simonis 2c. at St. Peter's.

November.

On All Saints' Day and the whole Octave at 8. Maria rotunda plenary indulgence.

2. on the day of all souls at St. Gregory, Camaldolese Order, plenary indulgence of the whole Octave, and it is also taken for the deceased.

8. at St. Peter and Paul plenary indulgence.

9th At St. John Lateran, consecration of the Salvatoris Chapel, plenary indulgence.

11. St. Martin's Day at St. Peter's plenary indulgence.

21. at S. Maria major praesentans plenary indulgence.

22. perfect indulgence at St. Cecilia's.

23. at St. Element plenary indulgence.

25. perfect indulgence at St. Catharine Martyr.

30. St. Andrew in St. Peter's Church plenary indulgence.

December.

On the 1st Sunday in Advent at St. Peter's plenary indulgence, at S. Mary major twenty-eight thousand year indulgence.

On the second Sunday of Advent at the Holy Cross of Jerusalem 11,000 year and plenary indulgence.

On the third Sunday at St. Peter 28,000 year and quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

On the fourth Sunday at St. Peter's and St. Paul's plenary indulgence.

2. St. Bibiana Church plenary indulgence.

6. St. Niclas in carcere, plenary indulgence.

7th St. Ambrose plenary indulgence.

8. the Assumption and the whole Octave in five places plenary indulgence.

13th St. Lucia plenary indulgence.

On Quatember Wednesday at S. Maria major twenty-eight current year, and so much quadragen, that is, forty-day penitential indulgence.

21 St. Thomas the Apostle plenary indulgence.

24. on Christmas Eve S. Mary major twenty-eight thousand year and quadragen indulgence.

25. also on S. Christ Day S. Maria major plenary indulgence, at S. Anastasia, the Early Mass twenty-eight thousand years and quadragen, also plenary indulgence at the office in S. Maria *major* and Ara coeli, a thousand years and quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

26. at St. Lawrence outside the city wall, and at St. Stephen's. *rotundo*, 28,000 year and quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

27. at St. John Lateran. 28,000 year and plenary indulgence.

28. at St. Paul fifteen thousand years and plenary indulgence.

31. perfect indulgence at St. Sylvester.

5th Neoburgensis 1630.

The souls rainbow, in it to see beautiful sky colors of Catholic devotion.

M. Leonhard Mair, parish priest at St. Peter's and provincial dean.

Neuburg on the Danube by Lorenz Danhauser.

63. to note, the v. means plenary indulgence, the † release of a soul from purgatory, the quadragen.

In the Jenner.

1. on the New Year's Day v.

6. on the holy three king day v.

14. st. felix v.

16. st. marcelli v.

17. st. antoni v.

19 Peter chair celebration to Rome v.

20. st. sebastian v.

21. st. agnes v.

22nd St. Vincent v.

25. st. paul conversion v.

26th St. Chrysostom v.

31. on the holy day of the cross and at St. Cyron. v.

In the horn.

2. Candlemas v. †.

3. St. Blasii v. †.

4. st. agathä v. †.

9. apollonia v. †.

22 St. Peter's Chair Celebration at Antioch v. †

24. st. Matthiä v. †.

Sunday Septuagesimä v. † 48 Q. , Sunday Sexagesimä 12,000 year.

Sunday Quinquagesimä † 28,000 year.

In the March.

8. st. thomas of aquino v.

17. st. gregorii v.

19. st. josephi v.

20. in St. Silvester's Capell v.

21st St. Benedicti 100 year.

24th Vigil. Annunciation v.

25th Feast of the Annunciation v.

From that day until August 1 daily 11,000 year.

Lenten Station.

Ash Wednesday 3000 year v.

Thursday 1000 year v.

Friday 1000 year.

Saturday thousand year v.

On the first Sunday in Lent eighteen thousand year v.

Monday ten thousand year.
 Erchtag eight and twenty thousand year.
 Wednesday eight and twenty thousand year v.
 Thursday two thousand year v.
 Friday two thousand year v.
 Saturday eighteen thousand year.
 On the other Sunday in the fast eight and twenty thousand year.
 Monday, remission of the third part of the sin and eleven thousand years.
 Erchtag, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday ten thousand year v. †
 On the third Sunday in Lent 88 †
 Monday ten thousand year.
 Erchtag, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday ten thousand year.
 Saturday twelve thousand year.
 On the fourth Sunday of Lätare v. †
 Monday ten thousand year.
 The first day and Wednesday, remission of the third part of the sin, ten thousand years.
 Thursday and Friday ten thousand year.
 Saturday v.
 On the fifth Sunday remission of the third part of the sins, eighteen thousand year, eight and twenty thousand
 Monday, Erchtag, Wednesday, Thursday ten thousand year.
 Friday †
 Saturday thirteen thousand †
 On Holy Palm Sunday five and twenty thousand v.
 Monday Remission of the third part of sins.
 Erchtag, Wednesday, Thursday v.
 On holy Friday and Saturday v.
 On the Holy Easter Day, Monday, Erchtag and Wednesday v. †
 Thursday v.
 Friday fifteen thousand year.
 Saturday also so much.
 Sunday Quasimodo. v.

Aprilen.

5. St. Vincent Order of Preachers v.
 24. st. gregorii v.
 25. st. Marci eighteen thousand Q., eight and thirty thousand year v.

In Mayen.

All Sunday in Mayen v.
 1. philippi and jacobi v.
 3. cross invention v.
 4. monica v.
 6. s. Iohannis ante portam Latinam v.
 7. corona domini v.

8. st. Michaelis apparition v.
 9. nereï and achillei v.
 19. st. Potentiana v.
 20th St. Bernardini v.

From this day until the month of August is daily v. In the cross week on Monday, Erchtag, Wednesday 28,000 Q., eight and twenty thousand year.

On Ascension Day also so much.
 On the holy day of Pentecost fifteen thousand year v.
 On the holy day of Pentecost and Monday v.
 On the day of Pentecost eighteen thousand year.
 Wednesday eighteen thousand year v.
 Thursday nineteen thousand eighteen thousand year.
 Friday eighteen thousand year v.
 Saturday eighteen thousand year † v.
 On Corpus Christi Day and through the Octav v.

In June.

All Sunday this month v.

2. st. marcellini thousand year.
 11. st. barnabä v.
 13. st. Antonii of Padua v.
 15. st. Vitus six thousand year v.
 24. s. Iohannis Baptistae v.
 28 Vigil. St. Peter and Paul v.
 29th St. Peter's and Paul's Feast v.
 30. St. Pauli Gedächtniß v.

In the Julio.

1. eve of the Visitation of Mary v.
 2. Visitation feast, and by the Octav v.
 14. st. bonaventure v.
 17th St. Alexius v.
 20th St. Margaret 200 year v.
 21. st. Praxedis v.
 22nd St. Mary Magdalene v.
 23. st. Apollinarius 100 v.
 25. st. jacobi v.
 26. st. annä v.
 30. 8000 year v.

August month.

1st St. Peter's Vol. v.
 3. st. Stephen's invention v.
 4. St. Dominicus founder of the Order of Preachers and the Brotherhood † v.
 5. st. mary to the snow v.
 6. transfiguration of Christ v.
 8th St. Cyriaci v.
 10. St. Laurentii and the Octav v.

11. st. clara v.

14th vigil. Assumption v.

15. Assumption and the Octav v.

From this day until the birthday of the Virgin Mary, daily remission of the third part of sins and 12,000 years.

16. st. rochus v.

24. st. bartholomew v.

25. st. Zepherinus v.

28. st. augustine v.

29th St. John's beheading v.

In the autumn month.

7th vigil. Nativity of the Virgin Mary v.

8. Nativity of the Virgin Mary v.

1V. St. Nicol. Tolentin. v.

14th H. Cross Increase v.

Quatember Wednesday 18,000 Q., 18,000 year.

Friday 18,000 year v.

Saturday 28,000 year v.

21. st. Matthew 14,000 year v.

27th St. Cosmas and Dam. 4000 year.

29. st. michaelis v.

30. st. hieronymi v.

In wine month.

On the first Sunday they hold the great feast of Holy Rosary v.

4. franciscus v.

18th St. Lucas v.

28. st. Simon Judas v.

In the winter month.

1. of All Saints and the Octav v.

2. all souls and the octave by f v.

8th St. Salvatoris church consecration v.

11. st. martin v.

18th St. Peter's church consecration v.

22nd St. Cecilia v.

23. st. clement v.

25. st. catharina v.

30. st. andrews v.

In the month of Christ.

On Sunday in Advent 28,000 year v.

On the 2nd Sunday 11,000 b.

On the 3rd Sunday 28,000 Q. 1) v.

On the 4th Sunday v.

2. st. bibianä v.

4. st. barbara 10,000 year v.

6. st. nicolai v.

7. st. ambrosii v.

1) From here on, the original says (probably because the writing was not enough) "q." instead of: "tz."

8. mariä Empfängniß and the Octav v.

13. lucia v.

Quatember Wednesday 28,000 v.

Friday 1000 year v.

Saturday 28,000 Q., 28,000 year v.

21. st. thomas v.

24. h. Christmas Eve 28,000 year, 28,000 q-

On High Christmas Day twice 28,000 Q. v. v. and three masses.

26th St. Stephen 28,000 † v.

27th St. John 27,000 year v.

28th Kindleinstag 15,000 year v.

31st St. Silvester v.

6th Augustensis 1630.

Rosetum,

This is: Beautiful rose garden, in which all kinds of beautiful flowers, so full of great graces, indulgences and freedom, can be found in the gracious brotherhoods of the Holy. Rosary and sweet name of Jesus.

Augsburg, 1630. by Michael Stör, in Verl. Georg Miller's.

Pag. 30. mark, the † significant discharge of a sea! from purgatory, the v. plenary indulgence, the Q. Quadragen.

In Jenner Indulgence.

1. circumcision of Christ or New Year's Day v.

On this day the Brotherhood of the Most Holy Name of Jesu has a jubilee with the preachers, v.

6th H. three King and Octav v.

14. st. felix v.

16. st. marcelli v.

17. st. antoni v.

18. chair celebration St. Peter's at Rome v.

20. st. sebastiani v.

21. st. agnes v.

22nd St. Vincent v.

25. st. paul conversion v.

26 St. John. Chrysostomi v.

27. at St. Mary Scala coeli.

31. on the day of the cross and at St. Cyron. v.

In the horn.

2. Candlemas v. †

3. st. blasii v. †

4. st. agathä v. †

9. apollonia v. †

22nd St. Peter chair celebration at Antioch v. 's

24 St. Matthiä v. †

Sunday Septuagesimä 48 Q. v. † Sunday
Sexagesimä 12,000 year.
Sunday Quinquagesimä 28,000 year †

In Merzen.

8. St. Thomas Aquinas v.
9. st. joseph v.
12. st. gregorii v.
20. in St. Silvester's Capell v.
21st St. Benedict 100 year.
24. vigil. on Annunciation of Mary v.
25th Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, from this day
until August 1 daily 11,000 year.

Lenten Station.

Ash Wednesday 3000 year v.
Thursday 10,000 year v.
Friday 1000 year.
Saturday 1000 year v.
On the first almost. Sunday 18,000 year v.
Monday 10,000 year.
Tuesday 28,000 Q.
Wednesday 28,000 year v.
Thursday 2000 year v.
Friday 2000 year v.
Saturday 18,000 year.

On the second almost. Sunday 28,000 year.
Monday remission of third part of sins 10,000
year.
Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and
Saturday 10,000 year v. †

On the third Fast. Sunday 88 Q. †
Monday 1000 year.
Tuesday 10,000 year.
Wednesday 10,000 year.
Thursday 10,000 year.
Saturday 12,000.

On the fourth Fast. Sunday v. †
Monday 10,000 year.
Tuesday Remission of third part of sins 10,000
year.
Wednesday as on Tuesday.
Thursday 10,000 year.
Friday 10,000 year.
Saturday v.

On the fifth Fast. Sunday remission of third part of
the sins and 28,000 year and 28,000 Q.

Monday 10,000 year.
Tuesday 10,000 year.
Wednesday 10,000 year.
Thursday 10,000 year.
Friday ß
Saturday 13,000 †

On Palm Sunday 25,000 Q. v.
Monday, remission of third part of sins and
15,000 year.
Erchtag, Wednesday, Maundy Thursday v.
Char Friday v.
Saturday v.

Easter Day, Easter Monday, Easter Tuesday v.
Wednesday v. †
Thursday v.
Friday v. 15,000 year.
Saturday also so much.

Sunday Quasimodogeniti v.

April.

1. St. Vincent Order of Preachers v.
24. st. george, v.
25. st. marx 18,000 and 28,000 year v.

In Mayen.

All Sunday at the Majo v.
2. st. philrppi and jacobi v.
3. cross invention v.
4. st. monica v.
6. Johan. ante portam Latinam v.
7. corona domini v.
8. st. Michaelis apparition v.
12. nereï and achillei v.
19. prudentianä v.
20. bernardini v.
From this day until the month of August is daily v.
In the H. Cross week on Monday, Erchtag,
Wednesday 28,000 H., 28,000 year.
On Ascension Day also so much.
On H. Pentecost 15,000 year.
On H. Pentecost and Monday v.
Tuesday 18,000 year.
Wednesday 18,000 year v.
Thursday 19,000 Q., 18,000 yr.
Friday 18,000 year v.
Saturday 18,000 year v. †
On the Holy. Corpus Christi Day and by the Octav
v.

In June.

All Sunday this month v.
2. st. marcellini 1000 year.
11. st. barnabä v.
13. st. Antonii of Padua v.
15. st. Vitus 6000 year v.
14. st. john baptistä birthday v.
28 Vigil. St. Peter and St. Paul v.
30. to St. Pauli Gedächtniß v.

In the Julio.

- 1st Vigil. of the Visitation of Mary v.
- 2. visitation of the Virgin Mary and the Octave by v.
- 14th St. Bonaventure v.
- 17th St. Alexius v.
- 20. st. margaretha 200 year v.
- 21. st. Praxedis v.
- 22nd St. Mary Magdalene v.
- 23rd St. Apollinaris 100 year v.
- 25. st. jacob v.
- 26. st. anna v.
- 30. st. Abdon and Sennon 8000 year v.

August month.

- 1st St. Peter's Vol. v.
- 3. st. Stephen's invention v.
- 4. St. Dominicus, founder of the Order of Preachers and the Brotherhood of Founders, v.
- 5. st. mary to the snow v.
- 6. transfiguration of Christ v.
- 8th St. Cyriaci v.
- 10. St. Laurentii and the Octav v.
- 11. st. clara v.
- 14th vigil. Assumption and the Octavus by v.
- From that day until the birthday of the Virgin Mary, daily remission of the third part of sins and 12,000 years.
- 16. st. rochus v.
- 24. st. bartholomew v.
- 25. st. Zepherinus v.
- 28. st. augustine v.
- 29th St. John's beheading v.

In the autumn month.

- 7th vigil. Nativity of the Virgin Mary v.
- 8. Nativity of the Virgin Mary v.
- 10. st. Nicolai Tolentin. v.
- 14th cross increase v.
- Quatember Wednesday 18,000 Q., 18,000 year.
- Friday 18,000 year v.
- Saturday 28,000 year v.
- 21. st. mathew 14,000 year v.
- 27th St. Cosma and Damiani 4000 year.
- 29. st. michael v.
- 30. st. hieronymi v.

In wine month.

- On the first Sunday of this one holds the feast of the Holy Rosary of the Glorious Virgin and Mother of God Mary, with plenary indulgence, conferred by Gregory XIII.
- 4. st. francisci v.
- 18th St. Lucas v.
- 28. st. Simonis and Jude v.

In the winter month.

- 1. all saints octav by v.
- 2. all souls and octave by v. †
- 8. st. salvatoris church v.
- 11. st. martini v.
- 18th St. Peter's church consecration v.
- 21. sacrifice of the Virgin Mary v.
- 22nd St. Cecilia v.
- 23. st. clement v.
- 25. st. catharina v.
- 30 St. Andrew v.

In the month of Christ.

- On the first Sunday in Advent 28,000 year v.
- On the other Advent Sunday 11,000 year v.
- On the third Sunday 28,000 and v.
- On the fourth Sunday v.
- 2nd St. Bibiana v.
- 4. st. Barbara 10,000 year.
- 6. st. nicolai v.
- 7. st. ambrosii v.
- 8. mariä Empfängniß and the whole Octav v.
- 13. st. lucia v.
- Quatember Wednesday 28,000 H. v.
- Friday 1000 year v.
- Saturday 28,000 year and so much v.
- 21. st. thomas v.
- 24th H. Christmas Eve 28,000 year and so much (P
- 25th H. Christmas Day twice 28,000 v. v. in three Masses.
- 26 St. Stephen's Day 28,000 year v. †
- 27. st. john. 27,000 year v.
- 28th Kindleinstag 15,000 year v.
- 31 New Year's Eve v.

7th Coloniensis 1603.

Rosarium,

Or Rosary of the Holy Virgin. Virgin Mary, of whose origin and highest use, by Conradum Sittardum, the H. Script L., 2ro. 1) Order of Preachers through high Germany and Austria.

Cöln 1603.

Januarius.

On the New Year's Day at 8. Narla kraus VII-eriru, ruasor and ara eoeli twenty-five thousand years and plenary indulgence.

6. On H. three Kings' Day and the whole Octave, at St. Peter's twenty-eight thousand years, and so many quadragen, and plenary indulgence.

1) According to the Constance Jubilee Calendar, which Sittardus also procured (see Col. 168), "I. kro." will have to be resolved by: Lector, Provincial.

16. at St. Marcello Pabst
17. at St. Antoni Abt i
18. at St. Peter's Chair at Rome i
20. at St. Sebastian/
21. at St. Agnesv more perfect
22. at St. Nincenz and Anast. / Indulgence.
25. at St. Paul's Church v
27. at St. John Chrysoftomo i at St. Mary Scala
oosli k
31. at St. Cyrus and John /

Februarius.

2. full indulgence for light masses at St. Mary Major and three other churches.

3. in St. Blasius Church
5. in St. Agatha church/ full com-
9. in St. Peter's OatBsära > mener

22. at St. Matthias, Twelve Messengers, I Indulgence.

24. st.apollonia, st.ludwigskirchen/
s On the Sunday of Septuagint at St. Lawrence outside the city wall, eleven thousand years and 48 quadragen indulgence, remission of the third part of all sin, and the release of one soul from the third purgatory.

On Sunday Sexagesimä at St. Paul 12,000 and 18 quadragen indulgence, and remission of part of the sin.

On Sunday Quinquagesimä, at St. Peter's twenty-eight thousand years and plenary indulgence.

Martius.

7. with St. Thomas Aquinas
12. at St. Gregory Pabst / at St. Peter's
19. at St. Mary Major
20. at St. Silvester's Capelle /
- 21 At St. Peter's, on St. Benedict's day, 100 year indulgence.

25. on Annunciation Day in the church, called ^.nnnneiaka, plenary indulgence.

From that day until August 1, this church has twelve thousand year indulgences every day.

Lenten stationes and indulgences at Rome.

On Ash Wednesday visit St. Sabina, church of the Order of Preachers, in it are 3000 years and plenary indulgence.

The other day in the fast at St. George are 1000 year indulgences.

The third day at St. John and Paul are 1000 year indulgences.

The first Saturday in Lent at St. Trifon 10,000 year and plenary indulgence.

The first Sunday in fasting.

At St. Johan. Lateran. Item at St. Peter's eighteen thousand years and plenary indulgence.

Monday St. Peter in bands ten thousand year and plenary indulgence.

Tuesday St. Anastasia twenty-eight thousand years and so many quadragen indulgences, and the release of a soul from purgatory.

Wednesday St. Mary Major twenty-eight thousand year and so much quadragen indulgence.

Thursday St. Lawrence in *Palisperna* 20,000 year and plenary indulgence.

Friday St. Apostle 2000 year and plenary indulgence.

Saturday St. Peter 8000 year and so much quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

On the second Sunday in Lent.

At S. Maria della Nanicella and at S. Maria major 28,000 year indulgence.

Monday St. Element 11,000 year indulgence and remission of third part of sins.

Tuesday St. Balbina.

Wednesdays St. Cecilia.

Thursday at S. Maria trans Tiberim

† The third Saturday at St. Peter and Marcellus ten thousand years, also plenary indulgence and the release of a soul from purgatory.

On the third Sunday in Lent.

† At St. Lawrence extra muros, 88 quadragen and the release of a soul from purgatory.

Monday St. Marcus 10,000 year indulgence.

Wednesdays St. Sixtus 10,000 year indulgence.

Thursday St. Cosmas and Damianus ten thousand year indulgence.

Friday St. Lawrence in Lucina 10,000 year indulgence.

† Saturday St. Susanna 12,000 year indulgence.

The fourth Sunday in Lent.

By the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, plenary indulgence and the release of a soul from purgatory.

Monday the H. four crowned 10,000 year indulgence.

Tuesday St. Laurence in Damascus, pardon of the third part of the sin, 10,000 year indulgence.

Thursday St. New Year 10,000 year indulgence.

Friday St. Eusebius 10,000 year indulgence.

Saturday St. Niclas in carcere,, plenary indulgence.

The fifth Sunday in Lent.

At St. Peter's twenty-eight baptizing years and so many quadragen indulgences, also remission of third part of sins.

Monday St. Chrysogonus 10,000 year indulgence.

Tuesday St. Quirinus 10,000 year indulgence.

Wednesday St. Marcellinus 10,000 year indulgence.

Thursday S. Apollinaris 10,000 year indulgence.

† Friday S. Stephano rotundo, Redemption of a soul from purgatory.

Saturday St. John before the Latin Porten 13,000 year indulgence and the release of a soul from purgatory.

Palm Sunday.

At St. Johan. Lateran. 25,000 year indulgence, so much quadragen, and plenary indulgence.

Monday St. Praxedis 25,000 year indulgence and remission of third part of sins.

Tuesday St. Prisca eight thousand year, also plenary indulgence.

Wednesday St. Mary Major 28,000 year, also plenary indulgence.

Thursday St. Johan. Lateran. 2000 year, 48 quadragen, and twice plenary indulgence.

On S. Char Friday at S. Cross of Jerusalem plenary indulgence.

Saturday St. John. Lateran. 2000 year, 48 quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

On S. Easter Day at St. Mary Major 33,000 year and so much quadragen and plenary indulgence.

Monday at St. Peter 28,000 year and plenary indulgence.

Tuesday at St. Paul 20,000 year, 18 quadragen and plenary indulgence.

Midweek St. Lawrence extra iriuros, 8000 year, so much quadragen. Redemption of a soul from purgatory and plenary indulgence.

Thursday St. Apostle 15,000 year indulgence.

Friday 8. Maria rotunāa 15,000 year indulgence.

Saturday St. John. Latergn. 15,000 year indulgence.

On Sunday Quasimodo. at St. Pancraz twenty-five thousand year, also plenary indulgence.

Aprilis.

5. at St. Vincent, Order of Preachers, plenary indulgence.

23. on St. George's Day at St. Peter's plenary indulgence.

25. at St. Marcus and at St. Peter 28,000 year and so much quadragen, plenary indulgence.

Majus.

Merk, every Sunday is to earn plenary indulgence at St. Sebastian.

1. St. Philip and Jacob, apostles, plenary indulgence.

3. by the Holy Cross of Jerusalem, plenary indulgence.

4. at St. Augustine, on the day of St. Monica, many indulgences.

6. at St. John in front of the Latin Porten plenary indulgence.

† At St. John. Lateran, plenary indulgence and release of a soul from purgatory.

8th St. Michael's Appearance.

12. by St. Nereus and Achilles.

19. at Pudentiana.

20 In Ara coeli St. Bernardine's Day.

21. at St. Helena.

H. from St. Bernard's day to August 1 at St. John. Lateran, all days plenary indulgence.

H. in the week of the cross Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday at St. Peter 28,000 year and so much forty-day penitential indulgence.

On S. Ascension Day at St. Peter's 28,000 year and so much forty-day penitential indulgence.

On H. Pentecost evening at St. Johan. Lateran. 15,000 year, also plenary indulgence.

On S. Pentecost at St. Peter, and Monday at Peter in vincula plenary indulgence.

Tuesday St. Anastasia eighteen thousand year indulgence.

Wednesday St. Mary Major eighteen thousand year, also plenary indulgence.

Thursday at St. Lawrence extra muros 18,000 years and so much quadragen indulgence, release of a soul from purgatory, and plenary indulgence.

Friday St. Apostle eighteen thousand year and plenary indulgence.

Saturday St. Peter eighteen thousand years and plenary indulgence, also the release of a soul from purgatory.

On Corporis Christi day, that is, on S. Sacrament day, plenary indulgence, and the whole octavo off.

Junius.

The other Sunday of June, at Maria de Consolatione, plenary indulgence.

11. At St. Barnabas Apostle plenary indulgence.

13. at 8. Antonius äs kaäua complete indulgence.

15 St. Vitus and Marcellus six thousand year plenary indulgence.

24 Johan. Lateran, John the Baptist's plenary indulgence. Baptist's plenarv indulgence.

28. St. Peter and Paul ^Vigilie^s plenary indulgence.

29. total indulgence on S. s^Peter and Paul's day.
30th St. Pauli Commemoration.

Julius.

2. Visitation of the Virgin Mary, in two churches de populo et pace, the whole octavo also plenary indulgence.

17 St. Alexius plenary indulgence.

20 St. Margaret's plenary indulgence.

21 St. Praxedis plenary indulgence.

25 St. James the Apostle plenary indulgence.

26 St. Anne plenary indulgence.

30. On the day of S. Abdon and Sennon 1) plenary indulgence.

Augustus.

1. saint Peter in vincula plenary indulgence.

3. St. Lawrence extra muros plenary indulgence.

5. saint Mary the greater plenary indulgence.

S. Maria supra Minervam a plenary indulgence.

6. at S. Johan. Lateran. Transfig. plenary indulgence.

10th St. Lawrence's Day, and the whole octavo, extra innres, plenary indulgence.

12. at St. Silvester on the day St. Clara plenary indulgence.

15. and the whole Octave of the Assumption of Mary is plenary indulgence in five places, S. Maria major, rotunda, de populo, ara coeli and S. Maria Angelorum.

And our Lady's Ascension Day until her birthday is the pilgrimage or station at St. Mary the Greater, and there are indulgences and remission of the third part of sins every day.

16. perfect indulgence at St. Roch.

24. at St. Bartholomew Apostle plenary indulgence.

28. at St. Augustine, teacher, plenary indulgence.

29. st. john. Lateran. plenary indulgence.

St. John's beheading plenary indulgence.

Septemb er.

8. on our Lady's birthday is plenary indulgence in the following churches, S. Maria major, S. Maria rotunda, ara coeli, via lata, de pace et populo.

10. on St. Niclas and Tolentinus day plenary indulgence in the following churches, at S. Maria de populo and at St. Augustine.

1) In the original: "Abden and Senner".

14. on the day of the holy cross exaltation, and the eighth day after that, at the holy cross in Jerusalem plenary indulgence.

On Ouatember midweek at Mary major eighteen thousand year and so much forty-day remission of penance.

On Ouatember Friday at St. Apostle 18,000 year and plenary indulgence.

On Ouatember Saturday at St. Peter 28,000 year indulgence.

21st On St. Matthew the Apostle Day plenary indulgence.

29. at St. Michel, Archangel, plenary indulgence.

30th At S. Maria major, on St. Jerome's day, plenary indulgence.

October.

4. on St. Francis day and Ockav plenary indulgence.

18. at St. Lucas Evangelists plenary indulgence.

28. perfect indulgence on the day of Simonis 2c. at St. Peter's.

November.

1. on All Saints' Day and the whole Octave at 8. Maria roturiäa plenary indulgence.

2. on All Souls' Day at St. Gregory's, Camaldolese Order, plenary indulgence the whole Octavian, and it is also taken for the deceased.

8. perfect indulgence at St. Peter and Paul.

9. at St. John's. Lateran. Consecration of the Chapel 8alvatoris plenary indulgence.

11. perfect indulgence on St. Martin's day at St. Peter's.

21. at 8. maria mazor prasssiit. plenary indulgence.

23. at St. Element plenary indulgence.

25. perfect indulgence at St. Catharine Martyr.

30. St. Andrew in St. Peter's churches plenary indulgence.

December.

On the 1st Sunday in Advent at St. Peter's plenary indulgence. At S. Mary major twenty-eight thousand year indulgence.

On the second Sunday of Advent at the Holy. Cross of Jerusalem 11,000 years and plenary indulgence.

On the third Sunday at St. Peter 28,000 year and quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

On the fourth Sunday at St. Peter's and St. Paul's plenary indulgence.

2nd St. Bibianä Church plenary indulgence.

6. St. Niclas in oarcere, plenary indulgence.

8. total indulgence in five places for the Assumption and the entire Octave.

13 St. Lucy's plenary indulgence.

On Quatember Wednesday at S. Maria major twenty-eight thousand year and quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

On Friday St. Apostle ten thousand year and plenary indulgence.

On Saturday St. Peter twenty thousand year and so much quadragen, that is, forty-day penitential indulgence.

21st St. Thomas the Apostle plenary indulgence.

24. on Christmas Eve S. Mary major twenty-eight thousand year and quadragen indulgence.

25th On S. Chrism Day S. Maria major plenary indulgence at S. Anastasia, the early Mass twenty-eight thousand years, and 1) quadragen, also plenary indulgence at the office in S. Maria major and Ara coeli, twenty-eight thousand years and quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

26. at St. Lawrence outside the city wall, and at St. Stephen's. rotundo, 28,000 year and quadragen, also plenary indulgence.

27. at St. John Lateran. 28,000 year and plenary indulgence.

28. at St. Paul fifteen thousand years and plenary indulgence.

31. perfect indulgence at St. Sylvester.

32 Alexander de Neronibus, apostolic protonotary, preceptor of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Rome. Spirit in Rome, plenary indulgence for the dead and the living. 1516.

From Kapp's "Nachlese", Theil III, p. 213. Walch remarks that this document is not in the right place here, but should have been postponed further.

Translated into German.

The most holy Father and Lord in Christ, Nicolaus V, by the Grace of God, of blessed memory, Pope, has granted indulgences, absolved from sins, and given to all and every believer in Christ of both sexes who, from the goods granted to them by God, donates to the apostolic Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Saxia in the city a papal gold florin or an equivalent, either according to their wealth, according to the valuation of the preceptor, brothers and commissaries of the named hospital, for the maintenance of the poor, the infirm, and children who have been laid off. gold florins, or an equivalent, either according to their wealth, according to the assessment of the preceptor, the brothers and commissaries of the named hospital, for the

1) "and" put by us instead of: "an" in the old edition, according to the parallel Constance Jubilee Calendar.

The saints, who are a large number in the hospital, are to be given alms, and all penalties imposed on them at the hour of death, and after death all punishments which they deserved to suffer in purgatory for the cleansing of sins, are to be remitted: For we, by the mercy of God Almighty, and of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and out of that authority which the Lord bestowed upon us, grant to all and every believer in Christ of both sexes, who from their goods given to them by God, a papal gold florin, or an equivalent, either according to their fortune, as may be deemed proper by the Preceptore, friars, nuncios and procurators, or the commissaries, shall give alms to the said hospital, for the maintenance of the poor, infirm, and abandoned children who are in the said hospital, if only they have heartfelt remorse for their sin and confess it with their mouths, remitting all penance imposed on them for their sin in the last hour of death, mercifully in the Lord. That if perhaps one of them will deliver the said quantum to the intended hospital for the souls of the father and mother or other deceased, who have departed from this life in the sincerity of faith, and the unity of the Holy Roman Church, and in our obedience and that of our successors, the Roman Pontiffs, in repentance and full confession, if it is otherwise time and possible to confess: We absolve and remit all such who die in Christ, trusting in God's mercy, in which we trust more and more in heaven. By whose power we absolve from all punishment on earth, which they deserved to suffer after this time for the purification of their sin, by virtue of foreknown power, mercifully in the Lord absolve and remit at the same time. Which remission of sin and absolution from punishment all Roman popes, as ancestors of Nicolai V, have approved and confirmed; and recently also the most holy Father in Christ and Lord, and our Lord, Mr. Leo X, by the grace of God Pope, has approved and confirmed this same remission and absolution, and has conferred it anew. Therefore, we have Alexander de Neronibus, de Florentia, apostolic protonotarius, preceptor of the aforementioned apostolic hospital, and *magister of* this entire order *generalis*, our saint's

sten Herrn Pabsts *magister domus*, our below designated Commissair assigned to this and other duties; wanting, as we are held, that to all and every believer of Christ of both sexes, living and dead, this treasure

The church is to be distributed and allocated in the manner of an intercession. And because the believer(s) of Christ gave and deposited with our apostolic hospital this alms named in the preceding letter and assessed at the discretion of our commissioner reported below for the believing soul(s) of the deceased: therefore, by virtue of the present, we certify and attest that such souls have obtained complete remission and release from all the punishments they deserve to suffer for the purification of their sins in Purgatory. In the name of the Master, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. Given under our round seal of the apostolic hospital, and our below named Commissarii signature. On the day of the month ... in the 1516th year. In the fourth year of the Pontificate of the Most Holy Father in Christ and Lord, our Lord Leo X, by the Grace of God Pope.

A letter of indulgence from the papal nuncio Raymundus Peraldus, which he issued in 1489, since he had been sent to Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Liefland as commissary general of indulgences and nuncio to the pope.

From Lünig's Oerinin. Diplom, kuer., park I, p. 361 reprinted in Löscher's Reformation Acta, Theil I, p. 364.

Translated into German.

To all and everyone who will see the present letter, Raymundus Peraldi, Alnisian Archidiaconus in the Xanctonensian Church, professor of the holy divinity, protonotarius of the apostolic see, and of our most holy Lord Pabst referendarius domesticus, with full power of a legatus a latere envoy, ambassador and apostolic commissarius to Germany, also all and every province, city, country, and territory of Germany, the Holy Roman Empire, its Electors, and here and there its subjects, also the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Liefland, Prussia, and Russia, and islands and provinces, also other dominions, countries, and territories bordering the same, Hail! We wish you to know that the Most Holy Father in Christ and our Lord, Mr. Innocentius VIII, the contemporary pope, have granted all and every believer in Christ of both sexes, who for the protection of the Orthodox faith against the Turks, enemies of this faith, according to our decree, assistance to the Orthodox faith.

The Holy Father has also granted, in addition to the Jubilee, other indulgences, pardons, and privileges which the faithful of Christ themselves may obtain by attending the churches, through us or our commissioners to be deputized, as if they had attended the main Roman churches at the time of the Jubilee, as is more fully contained in the apostolic letter issued for this purpose; that they may choose a skilled confessor, whether of a religious order or not, who may once in their lives grant them complete absolution from all and any sins, excesses, vices and crimes, even those which the apostolic see has reserved to itself in general or in particular, but to absolve those whom this same See has not reserved for itself, as often as it pleases them in their time of life, even on their deathbed, as often as one is doubtful about their life, even if they should not die then, be able to grant complete forgiveness of all their sin. Our most holy Lord has also granted indulgence on his own initiative, so that all and every believer in Christ and their deceased parents and benefactors, who have departed with love, may always share in all petitions, intercessions, masses, alms, fasts, prayers, disciplines, and all other spiritual goods that are and can be done in the whole holy contending Church of Christ and all its members. And lest anyone should raise any doubt about the foregoing, our most holy Lord himself has willed that our present letter be accorded as much credence as would be accorded to it if it were issued under a leaden bull. Neither should this letter be included among the general or special revocations or annulments that might be issued with respect to such pardons and benefits. And because the devout in Christ N. N. N. have contributed from their goods to this faith of Godly help and defense, according to the will of the pope and our decree, as we confirm by the present letter, which has been handed over to them by us as a testimony of this, then we grant and permit out of apostolic power entrusted to us, by the present, that they may and can make use of and enjoy said pardons and indulgences. Given under our seal ordained for this purpose on the first of the month of August in the year 1489.

34. of the same Raymundus, Cardinal of Gurk and Envoy of Indulgences, two diplomas of the relics to be found at the University of Paris, together with enclosed indulgences. 1502.

From ʿoũ. lʿnuoji nanck. knris. illustrnt. torri. I, x. 222 and 224.
Translated into German.

Raymund, by divine mercy of the Holy Roman Church and of St. Maria Nova Cardinal Priest of Gurk, to all Germany, Denmark, 1) Sweden, Norway, Friesland, Prussia, and all and each of the same countries and cities, regions and places, even those subject to and bordering on the Holy Roman Empire in Germany itself, of the Apostolic See Legatus de Latere, in perpetual remembrance of the cause 2c. Just as the accepted office of our and the Holy See's Legation always reminds us: so we take care of the salvation of all believers in Christ willingly and gladly. And that what has therefore been done may remain the more firm, the more it is confirmed by the power of the Holy Apostolic See: so we confirm it by the power of our office, and, to promote the divine service the more, awaken the faithful of Christ themselves by spiritual gifts to greater devotion, as we, by the impulse of the Lord, deem it wholesome and serviceable to be. Now, the petition presented to us by our beloved brother in Christ, John Capel, of the Minorite Order, named by the Observance, of the Divine Right Professoris, contains that

Because, having some holy relics of St. Anne, the most glorious mother of the Virgin Mary, and Mary Jacobi and Salome daughters, likewise of Mary Magdalene, and the holy virgins and martyrs Cecilia, Agatha, Agnes, Barbara, Ursula, Constantia, the sister of her bridegroom, and Apollonia, and the holy martyrs, Sebastians, Blasii, and the confessors, bishops, Nicolai at Mire, Huberts at Liège, Sulpitii at Burges, Germani at Auxerre, and Eligii at Noviomum; by the most venerable in Christ Father John, bishop of Liège, granting and permitting, out of special favor

from various places of the said city and district, and communicated to the College of the excellent University of Paris and certain other places, for the awakening of the devotion of the faithful: It would increase daily the devotion of the Christian faithful, which everything has been done to increase, and would immensely promote the divine service, by which the honor of the name of Jesus would be elevated, if we, as was enclosed in the petition, confirmed the withdrawal and the approval of the matter with the letters of the most venerable in Christ John of Horrues, bishop of Liège, with the authority of our legation, with the granting of his own indulgence; he, the said brother John, humbly requested us to assist him in all the above-mentioned matters: We, who recognize the said letters and the seal attached thereto, and who in the said Parisian Studii Collegio, which is called Navarre, have learned the Holy Scriptures, which we teach, the first reasons and letters, for the increase of all the devotion of the faithful of Christ, and out of gratitude to the persons attached to the said Studii and Collegio, out of the obligatory duty of our legation, have wholeheartedly promoted all this. And accordingly, by virtue of our said Legation, which we hereby administer, we affirm, confirm, and approve the foregoing letters, and what is contained therein, and all that follows therefrom, in so far as it pertains to such letters, by this present writing and the perpetual validity thereof, in such a manner that any and all defects of right or deed are as good as superseded. And want that, if some by trickery or deceit oppose, nevertheless one has to pay attention to the care and effort of the aforementioned brother Johann Capel to promote the devotion of the faithful, and that consequently his reasonable request is to be given room. And that furthermore the said and all other holy places, to which some of the reported relics, for the increase of the Christian faithful in their devotion, are duly brought and kept therein, are visited with due honor and diligently venerated by all the Christian faithful, and duly preserved and protected in their buildings and services, also well provided and supplied with books, chalices, lights and all church ornaments necessary for worship, and the divine service therein increased. So that the believers in Christ themselves may come to the said places of worship all the more willingly for the sake of devotion.

1) "Denmark" put by us instead of: "Dacien" in the old edition, because we assume that vaolia was read from vania. Likewise in the following documents. Once, Col. 229 of the old edition, even Walch has added to "Dacien" as explanatory word: "(Dännemark)". Nevertheless, it is said *ibid.* Col. 238 that the king of "Dacien" wars with Lübeck.

2) In the old edition: "only" instead of now.

and for their renewal, preservation, protection and support, or whatever else has been thought of, the more quickly they offer their helping hand, the more they feel the rich heavenly gift of grace there: so we, who are inclined to the said brother John, who is beloved to us in Christ, herewith want all and every believer in Christ, who do true penance and confession, and visit the very same holy places and churches on each of the four most distinguished feasts of the year, likewise the holy Virgin Mary, and St. Anne, her mother, and Francisci, and other aforementioned saints' days, from the first to the last vespers. Anna, their mother, and Francisci, and other aforesaid saints' days, from the first to the second vespers, and who lend a helping hand to the same or to some of the same, for all days and times on which and as often as they do the aforesaid or something of the same, have graciously remitted 100 days of the penances imposed on them, that it may remain from now on always for future times. In witness whereof we have executed this letter and affixed our seal thereto. Given Erford, in the district of Mainz, Anno Christi 1502, Nov. 3, of the Papacy of our most Holy Father in Christ, Lord Alexandri, by the divine providence of Pabst VI in the 11th year.

The other diploma reads like this:

Raymund, by divine providence of the Holy Roman Church of the title of St. Maria Nova Cardinal Priest of Gurk, to all Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Friesland, Prussia, and all other their lands, cities, regions, and also the places subject to the Holy Roman Empire in Germany itself and adjacent to them, of the Apostolic See Legatus de Latere, to all and everyone who will see this letter, constant salvation in the Lord! We hereby announce and testify that we have received from the Vicar of the Monastery of St. Anastasii at Three Wells, outside the walls of the city of Rome (who, instead of the most reverend in GOD Father and Lord, Mr. Raphael, by divine providence, has named St. Georgii to the Golden Fleece of the Holy Roman Church Cardinaldiaconi, and permanent appointed Commendatarii of the same monastery) by virtue of an apostolic breve of our most holy Lord Pope, which allows us to accept all relics in and out of the city, and so has been conferred upon us; and still further below some of the holy 10,000 martyrs, hidden in the so-called Celestial Ladder Chapel, which is next to and near said monastery.

Relics, which the same vicarius gave us charitably and free of charge, humbly and with due reverence (in the presence of the venerable fathers, Mr. Rupert, bishop of Trecor, Marcelli de Clodiis, canon of St. Laurentii in Damaso in the city, and Sebastiani de Bonis, and many credible persons who were there at that time). Laurentii in Damaso in the city, and Sebastiani de Bonis, the apostolic see protonotaries, and many other credible persons who were there at that time; also some relics of the 11,000 virgins, which we received from the monastery of the 11,000 Cologne virgins, since we were present in person, in the month of April of the present A. D. 1502. year, with the consent of the abbess and the convent of the same monastery) by virtue of the same breve. Of which relics (both of the 10,000 martyrs and of the 11,000 virgins) we have given a part or a small piece to Brother John Capel, beloved to us in Christ, public teacher of the Holy Scriptures, of the Minorite Order of the Observance, who was in Provence; that he would like to present it to the excellent one beloved in Christ, Grand Master, Provisor and Magistris of the Burgariorum in the arts and basics of grammar, to the students and chaplains of the world-famous Royal Navarrese College of the noble University of Paris, where we otherwise stayed as a bursar and were not as diligent in the holy teachings of God; Therefore, he should accept the said relics on our behalf, and place them in the chapel of the same world-famous college, for God's and the said holy ten thousand martyrs and eleven thousand virgins' honor and veneration, and for the Christian faithful's devotion, to be kept there always and respectfully, with due shyness and reverence. For we, so that henceforth all believers in Christ of both sexes, who do true repentance and confession, may come together in said chapel all the more devoutly in God's honor and veneration of said holy relics, the more they see that they are attaining salvation for their souls, hereby wish, trusting in the almighty God's grace and the holy power of His apostles, Peter and Paul, all and every believer of both sexes, so do right penance and confession, and the chapel of said Collegii on the day when the aforementioned holy relics will be delivered by the very same brother Johann Capel, said Grand Master, Provisor, Bursario and Chaplains of said Collegii, and when the very same relics will be reopened and placed (or placed) by them again in said chapel with honor.

The saints, Louis and others, shall also devoutly attend three days or feasts to be appointed by the same magistrates, provisors, bursars and chaplains, from the first to the second vespers included, and for all the said days, when they shall do so, they shall graciously remit 100 days of the penances imposed upon them in the Lord, that it may henceforth always remain so in the future.

But the content of the above-mentioned breve is as follows:

Alexander Pabst, the VI.

Beloved Son, greetings and apostolic blessings! We gladly comply with your sincere request, in which especially the relics of the saints are honored, and, as much as we are able with God, we gladly accept them in grace. Since we have appointed you as a legate *de latere nostro* (from our side) to Germany and other countries bordering it, and are willingly inclined to everything by which you can show mercy to the believers in Christ, as well as to the churches and holy places: Then we give you that you accept all of the holy relics, which are in and out of the city somewhere, from those, who want to give you something mildly of it, joyfully and lead on to all places, and to the churches and other holy places, or also princes and other Christ-believers of both sexes, who you will recognize as devout and ready for the same preservation, freely and without hindrance, so that no prohibition (whether it has already happened in ban and in provincial and synodal conciliation, also apostolic, against it), nor any statute and ordinance, or what can otherwise be contrary to it, hinder you, thereby from apostolic power complete power. Given in Rome at St. Peter's under the Fisherman's Ring, October 27, 1500, in the 9th year of our Papacy.

To our beloved son Raymund, of the title of St. Mary Novice, Cardinal Priest of Gurk, our and the Apostolic See's Legate.

In witness whereof we have caused the present letters to be executed and confirmed with the affixing of our seal. Given Erfurt, of the Mainz district, Anno der Menschwerdung Christi 1502 den 5. Novembris, des Pabstthums unseres aller horigsten in Christo Vaters und Herrn Alexandri, durch divine Vorsehung gemeldten Pabst, im 11. Jahr.

35. a letter from the Cardinal of Gurk to the Mayor of Leipzig, Wolfgang Peilike, the Letter of indulgence issued January 10, 1502.

From the "innocent news," 1706, p. 299.

Translated into German.

Raymundus, by the divine mercy of the Holy Roman Church sanctae Mariae novae Cardinalpresbyter, Bishop of Gurk, of the Holy Apostolic See Protonotarius and of our most holy Lord Pabst Referendarius domesticus, to Germany and all and each of its provinces, cities, lands and lands in Germany, which belong to the Holy Roman Empire, and the Churfürsten, Herzogen, Fürsten, Count and Baron, wherever they may be, as well as to the Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Livonian, Prussian and Russian kingdoms, islands, provinces and other surrounding dominions, countries and lands, Oerter, Legatus de Latere, Apostolic Orator, Nuncius and Commissarius, to all and everyone who will read or hear of this letter, salvation in the Lord and Savior! We declare and know that the Most Holy Father in Christ and our Lord, Mr. Alexander, present Pope, has granted to all and every believer in Christ of both sexes manifold indulgences, pardons and benefits, which should be offered either by us or by our commissaries, also in such cases which the Apostolic See has reserved for itself either in general or especially, and which concern the hour of death, so that we may give them the most perfect forgiveness of all our sins, eternal blessedness and the Kingdom of Heaven. Our most holy Lord has also granted grace by His own motion, so that their parents, children and whole family may also be granted such indulgences, pardons and benefits and all spiritual goods. And lest there should be any doubt about the above, our most holy Lord has willed that our present letter be given as much credence as if it had been issued under his leaden bull; not less that the same should in no way be included among all general and special revocations and annulments which might go forth on account of such pardons and benefits. And because the devout and faithful in Christ, Wolfgang Peilike together with his wife, to the service of God, the Catholic religion and

We are also very humbly concerned, out of fear of purgatory and hell, that we may grant them and their family grace so that they may not burn and suffer torment in limbo for a long time: We hereby grant, give and bestow upon them and their entire family, by virtue of the apostolic power vested in us, that they may enjoy and enjoy the said pardons, indulgences and benefits. To certify this, we have executed this letter and have affixed our seal to it. Given in Leipzig, in the year of the Lord 1502, the 10th of January, of the papal dignity of our most holy in Christ Father and Lord, Mr. Pabst Alexandri, by divine providence of the sixth, in the eleventh year.

The letter of indulgence granted by this Cardinal of Gurk to the Church of the Holy Cross in Dresden. 1502.

From the "innocent news" 1714, p. 909.

Translated into German.,

Raymund, 1) by divine mercy of the Holy Roman and the New Holy Mary Church Priest-Cardinal of Gurk, of the Apostolic See Legatus a Latere to all German The Holy Roman Empire, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Friesland, Prussia, and to all and every province, city, country, and region thereof, even those in Germany itself under the Holy Roman Empire, and bordering on the same, wishes to all and every believer in Christ, to whom the present letter will come to view, constant salvation in the Lord! The miraculous sign of the holy cross, which will be in heaven when the Lord comes to judgment, and by which he who died on the wood will himself save the

The story of the cross that redeems the world, as well as the story of the disciples, remind us that on the sea of this world, when the storm arises, we must take refuge in the sign of the cross. Because the salvation of the world depends on it, we consider this sign worthy of devout contemplation and deepest attention; indeed, we consider ourselves bound to venerate with praiseworthy pardons of sins and to bestow indulgences on those who are adorned with the name of this holy and wondrous cross. We therefore wish that the Holy Cross Church of the city of Dresden, in the Meissen region, be given due honor, be honored by the faithful of Christ at all times, be properly rebuilt together with its buildings, be preserved and protected, as well as be properly provided with books, chalices, candlesticks, and other ornaments necessary for the service, and also that the service be increased in it. And so that the faithful of Christ may the more readily assemble there for the sake of worship, and the more willingly lend a helping hand for its erection, preservation and protection, support and other aforementioned things, so that they may thereby more abundantly enjoy the gift of heavenly grace there: We have been moved in this matter by the request of our fathers (vitricorum) of the said Church, beloved in Christ, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and in the will of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, to give to all truly penitent and confessing believers in Christ of both sexes, who are in the said Church all and every day, namely, the exaltation and invention of the Holy Cross, the conception and proclamation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the dedication feast of the same church, have met annually in congregation from the first evening until the next inclusive, and have made a helpful contribution to the aforementioned, for all and each of the aforementioned feast days for one hundred days; Who will devoutly and reverently attend the procession on the sixth holy feast day, when the venerable is carried, for all and each of the aforesaid days, having done so, for 600 days, remit to the Lord the penalties imposed upon them, both now and in all times hereafter continuing. To assure this, we have issued the present letter and affirmed it with the affixing of our seal. Given at Magdeburg in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1502, the 8th of February, in the 11th year of the most holy Pope, in Christ the Father, and of our Lord Alexander, by the grace of God the VI.

1) "Raymund" put by us instead of "Johann" in the old edition, because the titles prove that it is the same person as in the previous documents. The name "Johann" will probably have come here from the following confirmation letter of the bishop "Johann von Meißen".

As an aside.

And we John, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Meissen, have deemed it good to accept this letter with its entire contents, because it does not seem to be suspect or altered in any way, and to consider it valid; we also accept it, approve it, consider it acceptable, and introduce it into our territory and into the place indicated in it. And we nevertheless give to all our truly penitent, confessing and contrite believers, who have shown themselves in accordance with the foregoing, as often as they have done so, out of mercy 40 days' indulgence on account of the penalties imposed upon them, both now and in the time to come. Given and done at Stolpen, in the year 1503, the 11th of April, with the seal of our court attached for multiple authentication.

37. two other letters of indulgence from Raymundus, detached from him by Daniel von Buren and Heinrich Grashof. 1502.

From the "innocent news" 1713, p. 1045 and 1716, p. 187.

So the first one is German:

Raymundus, out of divine mercy tituli sanctae Mariae novas of the Holy Roman Church Cardinal Presbyter of Gurk, of the Apostolic See *Legatus a latere* in all Germany, in Denmark, 1) Sweden, Norway, Friesland, Prussia, also all and every province, city, country, and other countries also subject to the Holy Roman Empire in Germany itself and bordering the same: To all and every one to whom the present letter comes to view, salvation in the Lord! To know and to know that the Most Holy Father in Christ, and our Lord, Mr. Alexander VI, by the Grace of God Pope, has permitted all and every believer in Christ of both sexes, who for the protection of the Orthodox faith against the Turks, as enemies of this faith, lend a helping hand according to our decree, that they may apply for public indulgences, also this and that indulgence, as well as graces and benefits, which the faithful of Christ themselves may receive by attending the churches,

1) In the old edition: "in der Wallachey". Here again, *vaiuu* will probably be read instead of *vaeia*, compare Col. 162.

by us or our deputized commissioners, just as if they had visited the main churches of the city at the time of the jubilee year, as the apostolic letters issued about it moreover state, can choose a skilled confessor, be he a secular priest or a religious priest, who, once in their lives, may grant them complete pardon for any and all sins, transgressions, crimes and misdeeds, including those which the apostolic see reserves for itself in general or in particular, with the exception of those contained in the letters which are customarily read on the day of *Cena Domini*; But of other sins, which this same See has not reserved to itself, it may absolve them during their life, as often as they wish, and at the hour of death, as often as one is in doubt about their death, even if they should then arise again, it may grant complete forgiveness of all their sins. Our most holy Father has also, of his own accord, granted indulgence, so that all and every such believer in Christ, together with their deceased parents and benefactors, who have departed from the world with love, may eternally partake of all petitions, intercessions of the saints, mass, alms, prayers, disciplines and other spiritual goods, which are and may be done in the whole holy contending Church of Christ and all the members thereof. And so that no one may be in doubt about the above, our most holy Lord has willed that the present letter be accorded the same faith that would be accorded to it if it were issued under a leaden bull. Not less, that the same should not be included among all and any general and special revocations and annulments which might go out because of such pardons and approvals. 2) And because the devout in Christ would have the same faith as it would have if it had been issued under a bull of lead. And because the devout in Christ, Daniel von Buren, with his wife Beeke, contributed to the same faith good help and defense, according to the will of the pope and our decree, as we prove by the present letter, which we handed to him to testify this, from their fortune; therefore we, from the apostolic power granted to us, allow and grant him by the present that he may and can use and enjoy reported pardons and indulgences. Given under our seal prescribed for this purpose, on the Saturday of the month of June, the 25th, in the year of our Lord 1502.

2) "Not" inserted by us. Compare Col. 161.

Formula of absolution to be used in life as often as necessary.

He has mercy on you 2c. May our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you through the merit of his suffering. By virtue thereof, and of my apostolic authority committed unto me, and well communicated unto thee, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Form of absolution and total remission, once in life and at the hour of death.

He has mercy on you 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you through the merit of his suffering; and I, by virtue of this, and the apostolic authority given to me in this piece and communicated to you, absolve you, first, from all banishment, great or small, if you are under it. Then from all your sins, which you repent of, confess, and of which you no longer remember, granting you complete forgiveness of all your sins, remitting to you the penalties of purgatory, as far as the keys of the Holy Mother, the Church, extend. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

The other one to Heinrich Grashof and his wife Margaretha, dated 8 Mart, 1502, agrees in everything with the previous one.

38 A letter of freedom for Duke George's court chaplain, from the same. 1502.

From the "innocent news" 1713, p. 368.

Translated into German.

Raymundus, by the mercy of God of the Holy Roman Church, title of Sanctae Mariae novae Cardinalpresbpter of Gurk, *Legatus a latere of the* Apostolic See in the whole of Germany, through Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Friesland, Prussia, also all and each of the same provinces, cities, countries and lands, also those which are subject to and border the Holy Roman Empire in Germany itself: To Balthasari Thomel, beloved of us in Christ, presbytero *Capellano of* the Highborn Prince George, Duke of Saxony, Capellan of the Meissen Diocese, salvation in the Lord! The sincere devotion which we owe to the Roman Church

If you consider us good witnesses, we are not unworthy to be at your beck and call. Therefore, because we are inclined to your most humble request, it may happen that you may choose a skilled priest, be he a secular priest or a religious priest, as your confessor, who, during your life, in the cases which the papal see reserves for itself,

with the exception of those contained in the bull *coenae domini*, will give you complete confession only once in your life and at the hour of death, but in other cases, which this same See does not reserve to itself, as often as it may be necessary, after diligently hearing confession, to grant you due absolution for what you have committed and for your crimes, and to impose upon you a salutary penitence, and all your vows, the vow across the sea, likewise to the churches of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul in Rome, and to St. James in Compostell. Jacob to Compostell, as well as to transform the vow of chastity and the monastic vow into other good works. And that you are allowed to keep a altar with due reverence and honor, on which you can say mass and other divine services in your and your trusted companions' presence, or have them said, in places that are suitable for this action and where it is honorable, but without prejudice to a foreign right, and if the nature of the business requires it according to the occasion. In addition, by virtue of the legation which we have brought upon us in this matter, we grant you, by virtue of this letter, a special dispensation that during Lent and other times in which dairy foods are forbidden, you may help yourself to butter, cheese, and other dairy foods, and eat the same, without causing yourself any scruple of conscience, together with your trusted household members and those who are present at your table to dine. To certify this, we have ordered the present letter to be executed and affirmed with our seal. Given at Magdeburg, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1502, February 8, in the eleventh year of the Pontificate of the Most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, our Lord Alexandri, by the Grace of God Pope.

39. of the most reverend in GOD Father and Lord, Lord Raymundi, of the Holy Roman Church of the title of S. Mariae novae Priest, Cardinal of Gurk and Legate 2c. Orders and Pa-

The first part of the book is a series of documents that have been distributed and made known to the poor and other believers in Christ who want to earn the Most Holy Jubilee. 1502.

From Kapp's "Nachlese nützlicher Reformationurkunden," Theil IV, p. 372. This writing is printed at Erfurt in 1502 under the title: Reverend, in Oüristo putris et dolnini, domini Ruvmuridi etc., nmndutu et deelurutiones, in tuvorein xuuperuni uliorum^ue Oüristi üdelium, saeratissilnulu jubileum xronereri volentium, novissime editue et deelurutue.

Translated into German.

Raymundus, by the grace of God of the Holy Roman Church, of the title of S. Mariae novae Cardinal of Gurk, to all Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Friesland, Prussia, and all the countries, cities and towns subject to the Holy Roman Empire in Germany itself and bordering thereon, delegate legate a latere of the Apostolic See, to all and everyone who will read the present letter, everlasting salvation in the Lord! We hereby announce that the Most Holy in God the Father and our Lord, Mr. Alexander, by Divine Providence Pope, the VI, before Anno 1500, in the beginning of the month of September, as soon as their holiness and the holy college heard, not without tears and heartfelt pain, that Modon, 1) Coronna and many large and small cities of the Christians were conquered by the arch-enemies of the Christian religion, and miserably executed and destroyed, many thousands of men murdered, the women tempted with fornication or killed, or with nursing children, maids and virgins, unfortunately genothzüchtigt, captive led away, and that therefore, if not soon help would happen, to fear that not the perjured and shameful mad dogs, the Turks, sworn and cruel enemies of the Christian name and of our holy right faith (if they saw that the Catholic kings, princes and potentates were divided among themselves, seeking only their own self-interest, but the common good of our faith and of all Christendom), their own honor and duty to God and said our faith, out of forgetfulness of their high dignity, for nothing), finally inflicted more and incurable harm on Christians, as they have already done in previous years to various countries and places in Germany, Hungary, Poland, Croatia and other neighboring places.

The people of the Holy Roman Empire have not refrained from inflicting, have not refrained from inflicting in the present year, and unfortunately! still do not fail to inflict daily, to the greatest insult of the Divine Majesty and Her Holiness, and of the Holy Apostolic See, of the Emperor, of the entire Empire, and of all Catholic kings and princes and other believers in Christ, disgrace, dishonor, and harm.

And their holiness further considered, since they delegated us as their legate to this highly famous German nation, and various other cardinals to other kingdoms and countries, in the month of October, now two years ago:

That at that time the end of the Jubilee proclaimed in the city would be at the door, and that the Christian believers of different nations during the said Jubilee year, both because of the dangerous roads, as well as because of poverty, old age and war unrest, and also for other various reasons, could not easily come to the city of Rome to acquire this holy Jubilee (indulgence), and could not visit the designated churches in person. And their holinesses have nevertheless agreed with God to launch a great campaign against those perjured and shameful Turks (by uniting the princes of Christendom with their holinesses), and not to expect their invasion, but rather to hinder and advance such invasion with all their might, without sparing temporal goods or the Church, yes, not even their person, and to risk their blood with the above-mentioned princes, if necessity requires it, as their Holiness has solemnly pledged to God in the Consistorio, in our presence; and thereby also to win over the souls of the believers in Christ, who for the above-mentioned reasons do not deserve the announced Jubilee or cannot come to the city, to God, which is the most noble cause of the granting and announcement of the announced Jubilee.

Therefore, with the advice and consent of the most reverend of our lords, the Holy Roman Church Cardinals, you have decreed us a legate a latere to the whole of Germany, Denmark, Norway, and other aforementioned countries, first of all to make peace, if possible, among all princes as well as all other persons belonging to our legation who disagree among themselves; then also to proclaim or cause to be proclaimed the aforesaid most holy indulgence, together with other pardons and liberties of the Jubilee and the Jubilee itself. Likewise, the Roman and Danish kings, the highborn lords, princes and other sovereigns, and all the people of the empire.

1) In the old edition: Modra. - "Coronna" is Koron.

and other countries in our charge to take up arms against these same perjured and shameful Turks, enemies of the name of Christ, and to bring the said people to direct and invest some of the fortune given to them by God for the above-mentioned campaign against the reported Turks and for the salvation of their souls, as well as for the defense of the true faith.

Although we have had the most holy jubilee and other pardons and liberties announced in various cities, countries and places of Germany and Denmark, according to the letter and content of the letters given to us about them: Nevertheless, considering that many believers in Christ of both sexes, some because of the harvest of grain, grape harvest and other fruits, have had to do with it; some also because of the remoteness of the cities and places where the indulgences have been posted or proclaimed; partly also because of the plague, which prevails almost everywhere in large cities, where the Jubilee was scheduled (especially on the Rhine and in many other cities of Germany), the Jubilee could not well have acquired and enjoyed; others, however, due to the instigation of the enemy of the human race, may not have asked much to acquire such a Jubilee:

And that also, since the winter is at the door, since because of rough weather, danger and inconvenience of the way, frequent rain and snow, so everything is by the winter, reported Christian believers, who have not been part of the jubilee festival itself, also for the acquisition of the same without great harm to their persons, goods and households, can not well have gone away from their houses and villages in which they live.

And therefore, for the salvation of the souls of the faithful in Christ, and to save them from much trouble, expense and danger, it has seemed much more salutary and better to us that the little that the poor of means might want to spend, if they were to travel for the acquisition of the said jubilee from such villages and towns that are far away from the cities in which the jubilee is or will be, The poor, who have nothing, should not be able to pay for the jubilee, and that the poor, who have nothing, should not be able to pay for the jubilee, and that the poor, who have nothing, should not be able to pay for the jubilee, and that the poor, who have nothing, should not be able to pay for the jubilee, and that the poor, who have nothing, should not be able to pay for the jubilee. And that the poor, who have nothing, are also the more likely to participate in the reported jubilee, with whom one has to bear more pity than with the rich:

We hereby declare and wish that henceforth, due to the suspicion of the plague and obange

We have been moved and urged, in addition to the above-mentioned causes, to have the jubilee festival established in the above manner in small towns and large villages (hamlets), so that all subjects of our Legation may acquire such grace as they would otherwise acquire, if they, after having heard of our will and decree, do not commit any evil against it and prevent themselves. But we have been especially moved and urged, apart from the above-mentioned causes, to establish and have established the Feast of Jubilee in the above manner in small towns and large villages, because we read that Christ (whose deeds are our doctrine), when he was in this world and preached his law, did not so much preach his law in Jerusalem and large towns in Judea, as also in small towns and castles (villages), as Luc. 8, as he went about cities and towns; in which places it is thought that Christ won more of the people than in Jerusalem and large cities, in his measure, and that because of the envy and blasphemy of the chief priests and Pharisees and other rulers of the Jews in Jerusalem and other large cities, who feared that Christ's preaching and deeds and miracles that he did would weaken their prestige; Therefore they misinterpreted all the speeches and deeds of Christ, saying that he cast out devils in Beelzebub, the chief of the devils, according to Jn. 8, and in another place: Do we not say rightly that thou art a Samaritan, and hast the devil? (ib.) As we know that in the same way many things have been said against the pope, us and our commissaries, at the proclamation of the jubilee, to the destruction of the souls of those who spoke such things, and especially in some large cities, by instigating the devil, because they were afraid, because they feared that the proclamation of the Jubilee would cause them harm and damage to their authority and reputation, looking more to their own benefit and purse than to the salvation of souls, and were not afraid to fall under the ban contained in the apostolic bulls by such unjust interpretations, which prevented many from obtaining the Jubilee grace. Yes, which is even worse, some even wanted the Jubilee to end before the proper time, perhaps out of fear that the people (for what cause is not known, except an evil one; since said Jubilee can bring nothing but salvation, and consequently also to those who look more to divine than temporal benefits) might want to do something for the protection of faith and salvation.

give more of its temporal goods than it would have given if it had granted longer.

And because of the lack of proper announcement, and negligence of otherwise good commissioners, who are not experienced enough in this matter (although we think we have appointed only the most worthy prelates, doctors and other honest men), and also because of the fear of the plague and the need of the people, who then do not have much before the harvest of grain, wine and other fruits, many have not been able to obtain the said jubilee in the places where it was laid and ended before the time: We consider the salvation of souls to be of benefit, especially of those who at that time had not yet harvested grain, wine or other fruits, and because they do not want to be counted among the poor out of shame, have now refrained from acquiring the jubilee, hoping that after such a harvest they would be more able to acquire the said jubilee, as they are now without two. So that such would not be deprived of the so great spiritual treasure, which we have worked out for free for the highly famous German nation, which helped us unworthily to the Cardinals dignity, and for all other subjects of our legation, in such a way that no money, which is given or may be obtained for such a jubilee, outside Germany (unless a crusade and real war against these perjured Turks takes place, which we have desired and urged from our youth, and always strive for and still strive for, as God, the highly praised Lord, who knows that we do not lie, is witness to us; in which case the said money will be given and distributed to the brave and sturdy soldiers and other fighters who want to fight for the faith against the most perjurious and shameful Turks, and also, without doubt, more will be given by many godly persons of both spiritual and secular standing of this godly and powerful German nation): Which so high grace of the most holy jubilee, which we, as said, have obtained in vain, and which her holiness, our Lord, has bestowed, as far as is known, has not yet happened to any other people than the Hungarian nation, in view of its constant wars against the faithless Turks and the whole clergy of the highly famous German nation, through us in particular: Since we also had a sacred commission from the pope to distribute tithes throughout Germany, as has been done in all the kingdoms and countries of all Christendom, and since they have been levied and freely enjoyed without any objection; nevertheless, by God's grace, we have been able to

We have succeeded, by letters and messengers, in persuading our most holy Lord that His Holiness would have been satisfied not to write out the tithes in Germany, in view of our representation, by letters and messengers, that the money received from the Jubilee would be quite enough to raise a mighty army against the said cruel Turks; As they would have been, if we had been able to visit all the places of our legation, as we hoped, and would have visited them, if we had not been prevented from doing so by important tragedies, and if those who belong to the clergy as well as to the world had not wanted to support us in the proclamation of the holy jubilee.

So it seems necessary to us (I say) that the jubilee should again be instituted and proclaimed without much ado and ceremonies (except on feast days), even with or without the erection of the cross, at least in large cities, where the said jubilee has been suspended and ended before the end of the harvests and grape harvests against our council, which we mean by this nothing but the glory of God and the Holy See, and the salvation of souls, and the campaign against the bloodhounds, the Turks. For to such and no other end we have been sent by our most holy Lord and the holy college to the famous German nation as a legate, and have accepted such a legation for this purpose, and not for the sake of gain, as will become more and more apparent in the near future.

And since the end of the said jubilee, which we are charged with in the said Germany and other countries of our legation, is approaching, as is known, and we nevertheless wish that the believers in Christ of both sexes under our legation, who have not yet acquired it, or if they have acquired it, have fallen again through human infirmity or incitement of the enemy of the human race and its servants, may acquire and obtain it, and not be deprived of such spiritual treasure of salvation: We hereby declare and command, by virtue of the apostolic authority which we administer in these regions, that henceforth the Jubilee shall be established and proclaimed at the future Advent, or even earlier, without ceremonies (except on feast days), also with or without the erection of the cross, at the discretion of our commissaries, at least in the large cities in which the said Jubilee has been suspended before the harvest and grape harvest, as aforesaid. And that this jubilee, to save trouble and expense and for the greater convenience of the Christian people, is to be celebrated in the cities where the harvest and grape harvest have been abolished.

The faithful, by our in Christ beloved commissioners, the of the proclamation costs in said places, half to the archpriests and deans in the countryside, in which district construction of the churches of each place in which the of our legation they are staying, where the indulgences jubilee is proclaimed and the money paid in cash, and the proclaimed before did not take place, are to be same [jubilee] is over, and the third part has also been established and proclaimed, namely in the large and delivered or will be delivered into our commissaries' small towns, also in large villages and parish churches, hands before the jubilee is proclaimed again in said where, as said above, there is a number of about 500 places. Since then, we have not been able to hand over communicants, as such commissaries find it good to do, anything from the funds received in the said places for the and to proclaim such grace and liberty there, and to said construction of the churches for various reasons, appoint other blameless and conscientious people in their especially because for 24 months we have had great stead in their districts and borders, and to execute all that expenses, partly in legation matters, partly in the the apostolic letters entail, hereby giving power until the proclamation of the jubilee, with our commissioners, future feast of the Nativity of our Lord JEsu Christ, messengers and printers; of which funds it is the will of excluded. the pope, emperor and said most considerable council

And lest, at the instigation of the devil and his that account be taken of them as well as of the two other instruments, who with grumbling and blasphemy seek thirds. Therefore, those who seek or complain about the only gladly to hinder the salvation of souls and the work funds of the Jubilee in any other way than stated in the of proclaiming this most holy jubilee, thereby probably Bull, may note that no one can demand or take anything hundreds and hundreds of thousands of souls in from said funds, under penalty of banishment, as Germany, who before were on the way and in danger of contained in the Bull of said Jubilee. However, we are not eternal damnation, should have been brought back on the prevented from giving it away, and from honestly way to blessedness, as the commissars, preachers and rewarding the effort and assistance we have received in confessors know, who had to work at this Jubilee, know, or because of the proclamation of this jubilee. The other so that if the prelates and princes, as zealots for the faith two thirds, however, which will be left in the places where and salvation of the souls of the people entrusted to them, the jubilee has been proclaimed or will be proclaimed, knew and understood what spiritual fruit the indulgence after the end of the said jubilee, which shall last until of the Jubilee created, they would drive much more to it, Christmas, excluded, may be combined with the other and help so that there would be no one in their districts two thirds of the jubilee money, which has already been and dominions who would not acquire the Jubilee grace, received and paid, in the said places where the jubilee where there was some possibility; which may well be, if has ended. In other small places, however, where there these patents of ours are duly announced and posted. are not more than 1000 communicants, and the said

Lest it be said that we have omitted these commands jubilee has not yet been instituted and proclaimed, we are and patents, which are more apostolic than ours, not for satisfied that, after deduction of the costs incurred and the salvation of souls, but for gain (which is remote); still to be incurred in the said places on proclamation of because the Supreme Pontiff, as a most godly and the jubilee from the total sum of the jubilee and benevolent Lord, to whom the care of all the souls of the confession money, half of the third part of all the said both whole world is incumbent as a general shepherd, and we jubilee and confession money shall be applied to the seek nothing but primarily the salvation of souls, but not building of the churches of the reported places; But the remote profit in our legation; to the extent that such other half of the said third part shall be delivered into the blasphemers are not afraid to stone us over the good hands of our commissaries, to defray other great and work and to interpret the good evil, thus falling into the various expenses of our legation. For it is written that wrath and curse of Almighty God:

Christ and the apostles, when they preached the law, took Thus we order and will, and make known by these the necessities of life and had bags. Although the most letters, besides the curses and high penalties contained praised God is our witness, that if we could get what we in the apostolic bulls of this Jubilee, that of the whole third need for the proclamation of the Jubilee from somewhere part assigned to us for many causes, after deducting else, we would not spend a penny for it.

The costs incurred for this purpose, so that it will not be said to us even at the last judgment: Truly, I say to you, you have your reward! as is to be feared that it will be said to those who, in proclaiming this most holy Jubilee, serve primarily for the sake of profit, but not out of zeal for the blessedness of souls and the protection of our pure faith. However, in those places where the Jubilee has not yet been arranged, where there are more than 1000 communicants, the third part, both of the Jubilee and of the confessional fees, shall be taken for the expenses incurred here and there, as it has been taken in other places, according to the settlement made between the kingdom and us. In the larger places, however, we want the third part to be levied as well, after deduction of the costs, in the same way as above in the places where the Jubilee is now being proclaimed. As it is now proclaimed in the cities of Cologne, Liège, Maastricht (Trajectum), Münster and Speyer, also in this great city of Erfurt and many other places where it is to last until Christmas. As we then wish and command that it last until this time, for the salvation of souls, so that everyone may better prepare himself for the acceptance of God's grace and celebrate the aforementioned Christmas as befits, and St. Ambrose exhorts in a sermon on Advent, where he says;

We exhort you to do more almsgiving these days, to come to church more diligently, and to make confession of your sins in the purest manner, so that when the day of Christmas comes, you may celebrate it wholesomely. And the same thing Ambrose says in one of his sermons on Advent: "So then we must be pure in holiness, clean in discipline, and right in respectability, so that when we see the approach of the feast day, we may walk all the more properly. For if the women, when they celebrate any feast, are wont to wash out their garments, why should we not rather, when we want to celebrate the birthday of the Lord, wash out the stains of our souls with tears? Therefore, dear brethren, since Christmas is at hand, let us cleanse our consciences of all uncleanness, and cleanse ourselves not with costly garments, but with works. For fine garments may cover the limbs, but they do not adorn the conscience; though it is a greater shame to walk clean in the limbs, yet to walk stained in the senses. Therefore let us first remember the adornment of the inner man, that the outward garment may then also be in order; wash away the spiritual stains, that then the

earthly clothes look beautiful. But it is of no use to be resplendent with clothes if one stinks of vices; for where the conscience is dark, the whole body is dark. And especially because it is to be feared that such a spiritual treasure, which is given to all believers in Christ throughout, will not be found in people's lives, especially in those who still exist, when the year of jubilee is over in the city, as it is wont to be, and not elsewhere: It is believed that there will be little or no one, at least of those who come to their years, since human nature is capable of reason and wrong, who will not need this so great treasure or most holy Jubilee, and the liberties contained in its bull, namely 1. either of the quite complete forgiveness of the sins which they have committed, and about which the Christian faithful have been absolved by their prelates and pastors, who have indeed power to absolve from such cases as are due to them by right, but not from those which are reserved to the Holy See, nor have a quite complete thorough (*plenariam*) power to forgive sin, which God alone has conferred and reserved to the pope, or to the cardinals deputed by their holiness, who are *legati a latere*; or there have 2. also reported believers in Christ on the said jubilee, at least some of them, need dispensations from all kinds of irregularities, disgraces, stains or crimes, which are reserved to the apostolic see, and change of all kinds of vows, although great ones, over which dispensations and other reported things the pope alone, or those delegated by their holiness, has power; As the same power to dispense and change, and to do all things aforesaid, is given to us first, and afterwards also to the commissaries lawfully appointed or to be appointed by us or ours, and to all confessors, by virtue of the Jubilee.

It is also to be noted that, in order to acquire the same freedoms and plenary indulgences, there are few among our legation who would have gone to the city of Rome; either the danger of the way, or poverty, or old age, and many other obstacles kept them away. Therefore, blessed are those who, with heartfelt repentance, have sent or will send themselves in the future to acquire such indulgences, liberties and pardons. And blessed are those who, being hardened and having forgotten their salvation, do not want to acquire said indulgences and liberties, and who wish that after their death they may not be told that they are not to be pardoned.

I will tell you what was said to the rich man as he lay in torment.

In view of this, and in order to show that these patents of ours, or rather of the apostles, are primarily for nothing other than the salvation of the rich and poor, and not for profit: We declare by the present that those who have hitherto obtained indulgences and jubilee pardons, and have brought in the taxation ordered by us and by the Holy Roman Empire, to the box of others where the jubilee feast is situated, or will still bring in during the said jubilee feast, if they have fallen again from human weakness or otherwise, or should fall in the future; That (I say) such may and shall receive anew full pardon and other liberties contained in the bull of said jubilee (that also the confessional shall be omitted, if they have not had it), without giving a new appraisalment thereof; if only, in virtue of the jubilee, they shall confess anew in the places where said jubilee shall be appointed, and visit the churches or altars ordained or to be ordained for that purpose, and perform the penances imposed by their confessors. And this is primarily for the benefit of the poor; for the rich, and those who have an abundance of money, we do not want to close our hands when they want to pay new money for the purchase of new debts and sins, but rather we praise their good conscience and their prudent spending in the goods given to them by God; whether, when these fall again and want to purchase the jubilee anew, we could cheaply impose new taxes on them. However, it is not our opinion that they should give anything but what they voluntarily want to pay and give to the treasury, since all other freedoms for the poor, which we have already announced long ago, remain in their force and validity.

And because, as we have heard, there are some among our legation who have unknowingly married in the fourth degree equally, or in the third and fourth degrees unequally, and yet, according to the bull and our patents, have acquired the jubilee for the benefit of those poor, and others will still acquire it; and because of the guilt charged upon them by marriage in such forbidden degrees, have now obtained, and others will still obtain, by virtue of such jubilee grace, that they may be absolved in the divine court, but on account of poverty have not yet been able to obtain the letters of freedom in the temporal court, nor can they now do so: We, therefore, for the sake of the poverty and salvation of those who have so ignorantly married and obtained such a jubilee, do hereby

or in the future would like to acquire others, to advise and help; As their Holiness also desires such things more than we, hereby have commanded and commanded all our Commissaries and Sub-Commissaries, whom we have ordered and placed throughout all Germany, by virtue of this, that they shall give all and every name and surname of such poor persons, who before the date of the present of our letters, have married in the fourth equal, or in the third and fourth unequal degrees of blood friendship or affinity, unknowingly, or in the third and fourth unequal degrees of blood friendship or affinity unknowingly married, and yet have acquired the jubilee as stated above, and thus have allowed themselves to be absolved in the divine court (or their consciences), although an obviously recognizable obstacle would be if they are only real poor; that they send them (I say) at our expense from those of whom they can have knowledge; to whom we then promise to make out their dispensations for God's sake free of charge, and to send them back again at our expense, so that we may also enjoy the messenger to us out of our purse. As we then forbid our commissaries and sub-commissaries, under penalty of excommunication and deprivation of their benefits and salaries, to which those who act contrary thereto shall by deed be liable, without being able to be released therefrom other than by us or the Roman Pontiff, in the strongest possible terms, that in the above-mentioned case they shall be deprived of the said poor, who have married in this way, neither to solicit, demand, extort, or take the slightest thing, either outright or covertly, under any pretense whatsoever, from the said poor, who have married in this way, for the message (or report) to be sent to us, or otherwise, or that anyone should dare to do anything contrary to this, whatever he may pretend to do against it. But that also said poor, who have need of such dispensations in the temporal or external court because of marriage in the third and fourth forbidden degrees, shall pay something of an ecclesiastical tax for the preservation of such dispensations in the external court: We will and order that for every dispensation to be obtained as aforesaid, every subject of the realm and pauper who has need of the same shall be required to pray a prayer to God to be expressly ordered by our commissaries and sub-commissaries, or even the pauper confessors, for the happy prosperity of the Supreme Pontiff and the Holy Roman Church, the Emperor, all princes and prelates, all nobles, and for good harmony of the whole people of the Empire, that God may incline the heart of said Pope, Emperor, said princes, prelates, nobles and the whole people of the Empire to this His move against said perjured Turks. Hereafter

The said poor shall pray, according to the above, that God will grant us the grace to contribute much to the preservation of the harmony of the Emperor, the above-mentioned princes, nobles and the people of the Roman Empire, in order to bravely undertake the aforementioned campaign against the faithless Turks.

And that the said poor may be the more willing to make such prayers to God for the said pope, emperor and other princes and prelates, and the whole German people: so we give them, as often as they do it during our legation, and all other believers in Christ of our legation, 100 days of indulgence for each day.

But because some might doubt whether even our commissioners appointed by us, or further appointed by them, or those yet to be appointed, can or may proclaim such our letters, and all that is and is contained therein, without new commission: We, who wish to dispel such doubts, order and decree, and by virtue of this make known, that all and every commissioner, lower commissioner, and archpriest, dean and governor of the parish churches, or their administrators, who have been appointed by us for the proclamation of the holy Jubilee Indulgence up to now, and who are still to be appointed, are to be sent through the whole of Germany, Denmark and other countries which have been ordered to us, Denmark and other countries commanded by us, can and may make known the above-mentioned our letters and patents, and all that is contained and named therein, and have them proclaimed by others, without any further commission to be granted by us for this purpose, in all and in all parts, as if everything were mentioned word for word in their powers of attorney concerning the said patents. And because it would be difficult to get our present letters to all places, we want and command by aforesaid power that the copies, or also printed copies, with the signature of a public notary, be given complete credence everywhere in all and through all things as if present principal letters had been produced and shown. We also want and command our commissioners and the deputies or those to be deputized by them, and the preachers, to make known and have made known from the pulpit everything contained in the present order.

We also desire that the archpriests and deans in the countryside, and the pastors, vice-pastors, and other preachers of the divine word have a confessional from our commissaries for the proclamation of the said command: which, if they have had such because of the trouble taken for the proclamation of the holy feast of jubilee

we want them to have one in turn for one of their friends, whom they may appoint.

Likewise, so that all the faithful of Christ may take the more diligent heed of the promulgation of this mandate of ours, we give 100 days' indulgence to all the aforesaid faithful of Christ of both sexes who shall present themselves at such promulgation of the said mandate, as we also give to those who shall promulgate it. In witness whereof, and for the authentication of the foregoing, we have executed our present letters thereto, and have caused the same to be signed by our public notary public and by the said scribe, and have caused the same to be kept and affirmed with our appended seal. Given and done in the city of Erfurt, Mainzian district, the year after our Savior's birth 1502, in the 5th indiction, Nov. 8, of the papal government of our most holy Father and Lord in Christ, Lord Alexander, by the divine providence of Pabst VI, in the 11th year. In the presence of the venerable men, Messrs. Dionysii Jacobi and Conradi Udenbecks, clergymen of the districts of Besanyon and Cologne, our chamberlains, who have been specially called and required as witnesses thereto.

40 The instructions issued by Pope Alexander VI to Raymund Peraldus, together with the new instructions issued by the legate to Count Hermann von Kirchberg and others, as well as a letter from this legate dated Strasbourg, Aug. 30, 1502, concerning the popular uproar over the jubilee money demanded by Emperor Maximilian.

This document is located at the writing described in the previous number.

Translated into German.

To our beloved son Raymundo, of the title of St. Mary the Novice Priest-Cardinal of Gurk, our legate delegated to all Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Friesland, Prussia, and all of their countries, cities, towns, and villages, including those subject to and bordering on the Holy Roman Empire. Since the godless Turks, as is known and obvious to all, are becoming more and more powerful with great and obvious danger to the whole of Christendom, we consider that, as we have done so far, it is necessary to take measures against them in times to come and to persuade the Catholic princes to do so,

that they provide help, so that repentance does not come too late, and what was first neglected can no longer be recovered. And because we know that your prudence is very capable in prudence and experience, and is devoted to the preservation of the Catholic faith, and testifies to great zeal for this campaign; to this end it is also very well known to our son Maximilian, beloved in Christ, the most illustrious Roman king, and the princes of the empire, as well as the king in Denmark and the entire German nation: We have chosen your person, as being very suitable and useful for this trade, whom we would like to send as a legate and angel of peace to his royal majesty, the princes of the Holy Roman Empire, and to our King in Denmark, beloved in Christ, and other princes of the same nation and neighboring countries; in the hope that your prudent trade will bring peace and tranquility to all Christians, promote the faith, and bring great benefit to your own praise. Will you therefore, with the help of God, go to her Imperial Serene Highness herself, and bring her greetings and apostolic blessings on our behalf.

Secondly, you will diligently recite how, right from the beginning of our election to the apostolic dignity, our thoughts were always primarily directed toward protecting Christendom, as much as we could, from the terrible rage of the Turks, which is why, before two more years had passed, we often sent letters and messengers, and finally, for this reason, exhorted Her Majesty and other Christian princes to send their envoys to us with proper instructions. However, we have not yet succeeded in doing so, because of the divided Christian minds and cold-hearted laziness, which also caused our sins. Therefore, the cruel Turkish tyrant, thirsting for the blood of Christians, has become more courageous due to the Christians' negligence and quarrels, and since he, unfortunately! and recently on the shore in Morea he has conquered and razed two other Venetian cities, Modon and Coronna, which are very convenient for warfare, and has inflicted terrible defeats; he continues to set himself up against the Christians and rages and rages everywhere on the same shores, sparing neither sex, age nor rank, desecrating and defiling holy places, and through the victory becomes more and more defiant and threatens to penetrate deeper into Italy. If now his fury is not controlled, we will soon see that he besieges Italy, yes, invades it, with the utmost

Devastation and damage, God forbid! of the whole Christendom. And since in these matters you will not fail to do the least, you will admonish Her Majesty that she, as the supreme patron of the Catholic faith, and on whom everyone looks, and after whose example others seem to be guided, should take up this common cause for the benefit of Her Imperial Majesty, and show what zeal for God and the Christian religion and the pure faith resides in their Catholic and godly minds; Just as we have often seen from the same letters, in which he [the Emperor] has always declared himself willing, that it is easy for him to induce others to help him in time, if he himself first does so with his help. And in truth, her Majesty can acquire greater glory with nothing than in this now highly pressed matter of faith/ and with such great and near danger, which her Majesty, if she thinks about it rightly, can herself encounter, especially because of some sovereigns who are very close to these insolent and powerful enemies. Her Serene Highness should also know that we are anxious with all our might for this salutary and necessary move, and will not omit anything that is possible; for this reason we have also sent other legals to other Christian princes, whom we hope will be willing to do anything. And we shall never fail to join with our most venerable brethren, the Holy Roman Church Cardinals, with all the spiritual and temporal aid of the Apostolic See, but shall even go along with the same Cardinals in person, as we shall say below, if their Majesty but freshly attacks the cause. From this she will certainly bear an immortal praise among men, and an everlasting merit with God, but from us and this See a glorious prize. In order that her highness, together with other princes of Christendom, may the better and more quietly attend to the aforementioned matters, you will report to her that we have especially instructed your prudence, with earnestness, to all, both princes of the Holy Roman Empire and prelates and other princes, barons and lords of the German nation, and all others, especially the most Christian king in France (to whom, as you know, we are willing to send another legate in this and the common matter), that all strife and discord, which may have arisen and may arise among them against each other, be put away and reconciled. Which discord you will most diligently exhort Her Imperial Majesty to settle, that she direct her mind, as much as possible, so that the necessary cause is not thereby hindered.

and for the sake of their own discord, the common cause is left behind. Therefore, we want you to take care of the said Electors and all those to whom your delegation goes in our stead in time, so that, as we have now said, all strife and quarrels, where possible, are completely resolved, or at least put aside and calmed down for a long time. For Her Majesty and the princes themselves know very well how much love and peace among the Christian kings and princes among themselves serve this work of the Christian faith, and how necessary they are, and what harm disunity does, since, as has been said and is known, it has largely increased the power of the Turks and given them courage and encouragement, to the greatest and irreparable harm of Christendom.

As far as the aid in this matter is concerned, then, in addition to what the Christian princes themselves are to contribute and invest, their Majesty and Electors are to hear that we have decreed that tithes, a crusade and a jubilee (year) be established in her Majesty's estates and dominions and throughout Germany, as we have also done throughout the world. They shall also know that all the money received from this, even that which belongs to us and the church, will be used for the said work of faith, and for no other use, completely and undiminished, and will be used by Her Majesty, you and the Electors and Ordinaries (that is, ecclesiastics, (that is, clergymen who reside and always remain in the places) of the Oerter, competent and honest persons shall be chosen, who may keep the same in custody until, according to our and the royal and the electors' own command and will, such shall be used for the said use and the best of the faith. You will certainly assure Her Majesty of this.

But since it is well known to your prudence how eagerly and earnestly we care for such a necessary and salutary campaign against the Turks, so that we think of it day and night, and our thoughts and endeavors are concerned with it, and yet we have so far promoted little with letters and nuncios, even legates, which we have always sent to Christian kings and princes, because of our sins: so we want, in order to at least provoke them with our example to initiate and continue such a campaign, and hereby instruct you to report to the said Emperor and all the Holy Roman Empire's princes, prelates and barons in all of Germany and to assure them that we are of the firm conclusion that with our holy college, not only ours and the

We not only want to use the entire assets of the Church with counsel and action, but also to offer our own person as a sacrifice pleasing to God, and to dare to serve God and His Church with what is left of our lives. In which resolution and conclusion also, as you know, stand our most venerable brothers, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, who are around us; who in our secret consistory, after deliberate, mature council, unanimously decided and promised that they want to go with us in person on a fleet to be equipped for this purpose. Therefore, their Royal Majesty and reported princes, prelates and lords are to be assured by you in my name that we and our brothers, the Cardinals, ourselves will actually accomplish the conclusion, with God, in the way I will now say.

Since we have said that we want to go in person with the Cardinals, even though we are poorly experienced in warfare, since we have followed the sanctuary rather than the camp, we still want you to consult with their Majesty and the Electors about everything we have meant, which will serve the good direction of this business, and which will be very useful and beneficial to us. For since we have considered the enemy's power and great dominion, we consider that this campaign should include three special and strong armies, two on land and one at sea, which should all break into the enemy's lands in one month and, if possible, in one day at the same time. But since the Emperor Maximilian and the German nation do not have as good an opportunity and convenience to equip a fleet as a land power; and since, on the other hand, the most illustrious kings of France and Spain, and the Venetian territory, together with the other Italians, are more able to do so because of the seaports, harbors, and quantity of ships and galleys, as well as the men necessary for this purpose: It seems to us that one army on land should be raised by the King of the Romans and all Germany, which Her Majesty herself would like to lead; but the other army by the kings of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, with the Danes ¹⁾ and other believers in the same adjacent regions; but the third by sea by us and the kings of France, Spain, and the Venetian dominion, and other Italian lords, who, in that case and for the causes mentioned, would sooner raise a fleet necessary for this purpose.

1) Instead of "Wallachians," we have used "Danes. Cf. col. 162.

and arm them. To this end, we shall ask the kings of England and Scotland for financial aid, and we shall embark a good army of people on foot and on horseback in our fleet, and attempt to land and attack and damage the Turks. And since we cannot follow the army on land with the said Cardinals, due to age and other difficulties, we will go with the fleet, if only the said Kings of France and Spain, or one of them, as we hope, will come in person.

You will further inform Her Imperial Majesty and the Electors that we have come to this decision by inspiration of the Lord, because of the urgent and supreme need and distress of the Christian religion, which, where it is not encountered in time, seems to be the case for Christendom. Therefore, if we, with the most venerable of our brethren, the Cardinals, venture all our goods and persons ourselves, without regard to any cost, danger of life, or hardship, to attend this holy and necessary procession, we also hope that the Catholic kings and princes will follow our example with God the sooner, and prefer God's cause and their own honor to their other grudges and enmity. Therefore, we are all the more of the opinion that our presence in person is necessary, and hope with God that we will succeed in it, because we see that not only Their Imperial Majesty, but also the kings of France, Spain, Hungary, Bohemia and Poland, as well as other Christian kings, are quite willing, inclined and inflamed by themselves. The Spanish kings have already sent their strong and well-equipped fleet to the aid of the Venetians against the Turks, and it has already united with the Venetian fleet.

Afterwards, your prudence will also seek to find out how many people and men her imperial majesty will have in her German army, which must be strong and brave in view of the enemy power. And it will soon be necessary to inquire what her Majesty will give of hers to the German nation, apart from the money that the tithe, crusade and jubilee will yield, which is otherwise ours and the church's and belongs to us, but if we also want to add to it. For it is certainly due to their imperial office, since they are the highest among all Christian princes, as well as to the princes and nobility of the German people, that they, in addition to the above money, also give from their property

In such urgent need, they must provide abundantly what is necessary for the above-mentioned army, especially since, in addition to the common cause, which all must join, there is also the security of their state and their sovereigns, which, because of their proximity, can be constantly devastated, plagued and endangered by the Turks.

If Her Majesty were to ask: what would we then be willing to do if neither the King of France nor the King of Spain should come in person, as we wish? you will answer that, if none of the said kings should come in person, we would not leave Italy either, but would send with the said fleet a Cardinal Legate who would have the jurisdiction over it. We insist, however, that the said naval power and fleet be equipped by us and the most Christian king and the Venetian dominion and other Italian princes and lords. For if, for the sake of our sins, no general march could be made by all Christian princes, we and Her Majesty, if it pleases her as we wish, and the most Christian, as well as the Hungarian and Bohemian kings and the Venetian dominions, will make the said march against the Turks with a united force.

If her Majesty should further say that it was necessary for the sake of an assembly or imperial diet to be held with us in one place, that everything should be done with common counsel, your prudence can answer: that last year we admonished and requested all Christian princes and potentates to send their envoys to us with full power and instruction, and yet, as her Highness would know, expected them in vain and were unable to accomplish anything with them. Now, however, since the matter has become so urgent that the procession must be hurried, it would be highly dangerous to send it out and wait for the princes to meet at some place and to spend the time in consultation. For before we could agree on the place and the meeting could take place, the Turk could have invaded the Christian lands and interrupt our consultations, especially since her fleet would not go to Constantinople, as was thought, but to the port of Negroponte, in order to attack the coasts of the Adriatic Sea from nearby, if she so desired; In addition, it is preparing another new fleet and armies on land, in order to break into the Christians even more strongly with the approaching spring. Therefore, it is imperative that we do not allow ourselves to be invaded, and that we avoid all delays from the

clear the way. Such an imperial assembly, however, would not only be a most urgent matter, but would also require great expense and dispersion of money. The Mantuan meeting, which our ancestor Pius II, of blessed memory, had previously called because of such a move, is funny to us. We have seen that both the apostolic see and other princes have wasted untold money and expense in traveling back and forth without any benefit, and that we have finally parted without having achieved anything. Therefore we say: we must now dispense with all pomp and unnecessary expense, and whatever else would have to be spent on such an Imperial Day, as it could be used much better and more conveniently in this emergency for the aforementioned procession.

But if Her Majesty should ask about the war and the time of the war, you can answer: we are concerned that at least three years, beginning with the whole of the future April, namely the 1501st year, are to be spent on it, and meanwhile the people and all necessities for equipping said three armies, according to the above measure, are to be procured with all seriousness and zeal.

We also want you to act with the same diligence in these matters with all princes in particular, namely with the Electors and other prelates and princes of Germany, and to present to them not only the above-mentioned great need, and our desire and announced resolution to go in person with our brothers, the Cardinals, to this war, as mentioned above, but also to show them our letters written to them, and to try to persuade them seriously, that they do not break away in such distress of the church and Christianity, but apply their reputation and their efforts to the king himself, and where it is otherwise necessary, so that, with restraint of all other intentions, all discord is quenched and peace is established, so that this so necessary campaign is undertaken by the king and the electors and the German nation, in the above manner, unanimously with all their might and without delay, according to our wish. You will also remind them hereafter, and each of them in particular, that because they have been given the excellent privilege of electing the imperial majesty, they are all the more bound before others, and thus, according to the fortune bestowed upon them by the Lord, they will not only steer quickly and abundantly, but also, according to our example, appear in person, and follow the emperor's camp, and always want to assist their majesty, who is fighting for God, with counsel and action. Soon your prudence will affect each of them.

ask what he will contribute from his own income to the costs of the said German land power under the Emperor's leadership? Not only the reported Electors, but also the other prelates and lords must be requested and admonished to pay this tax, each according to his income and dominions. However, you will assure these same Electors, and especially the prelates, of our paternal love and special affection, and you will endeavor to maintain them in constant obedience and reverence for the papal chair.

As far as the foundation of the peace and the undertaking of the campaign are concerned, and our decision to go along in person, and other aforementioned things, you are to act and speak with our son Johanne, King of Denmark 1), beloved in Christ, of whom we have heard that he is now at war against the city of Lübeck: then you will exhort her majesty and ask her to accept peace with this city and all her enemies, according to the breve written to her, and to grant our salutary remembrance, and in this urgent need, putting everything else aside, to think earnestly of this holy procession. You will also do the same with our beloved son, the noble man Alberto, Duke of Saxony, who, as they say, is now waging war in Friesland, to whom we will also write our breve, which you will hand over to him. We hope that their Imperial Majesty and the Electors, and other prelates, princes of Germany, and the King of Denmark, will listen to your exhortations and, if they have considered the matter properly, will persevere in their Catholic mind and innate goodness of virtue; to whom you will promise all the best from us and from this Holy See.

The rest of what is necessary will be added by your prudence, according to the grace bestowed upon it by the Lord.

L. Cardinalis Caputaquensis.

[Instruction of Raymundus for the deputies sent by him to the Imperial Diet.]

The following are the instructions for the things that will be presented to the legate and, where necessary, will be presented in writing to the reverend Lord Hermann, Count of Kieburg.

1) Here, too, instead of "Denmark" in the old edition, it says: "Dacien". This passage seems to give us full proof that we were right to put "Denmark" instead of "Dacia" or "Wallachia" every time in the previous documents.

juris utriusque 1) clootor, UsMiw at the University of Heidelberg; and canon of the collegiate church at Heidelberg, also juris utriusque Doctor, Mr. Wolfgang Bocklin, before the highborn princes, church prince and other princes, also princely envoys, and the venerable in Christ fathers, bishops, and other prelates and nobles, who are at the same respectable Reichstag assembly at Würzburg [Nuremberg?] 2).

First of all, the above-mentioned envoys will present and justify the aforementioned legate as newly authorized before the aforementioned highborn princes and other gentlemen envoys who are from the aforementioned Imperial Diet;

They will also say that said legate has hurried with his journey to come to the announced Diet, against the advice of all physicians and surgeons in Erfurt. They will also say what prevented such a journey to the Imperial Diet, namely his illness in the foot and an ulcer that afflicted him on the left leg, and other many pains that have afflicted said legate since two months, in that he has had many pains internally and externally since he has been legate to Germany. Which hindrances hurt him more than anything he has suffered for two months.

They will also state the most noble reasons why the said legate wished and still wishes to be with the said lords and princes; namely, that he could do something with them for the good of the peace and unity of the whole empire, where possible, as it is necessary and extremely useful, not only for the welfare of the empire, but also for the salvation of all Christendom.

They will also say that the said legate has requested to come to the Diet, that he and the said princes should decide how the money received so far from the Jubilee and confessionals should be paid and kept according to the order and agreement reached at Nuremberg between the noble Imperial Assembly and him, the legate, or in other best ways as may be deemed good: That the legate is by no means meant, for the sake of someone's favor, love or fear of a living person, to deviate from the word given to the above-mentioned most noble imperial council; that the realm see that the legate desires nothing else from the same funds than what apostles are to have in the preaching of the law, namely the necessary subsistence.

They will soon also report the reasons why the empire would have to send its envoys and commissioners to pay the money of the jubilee and to reimburse the costs; of which also the printed article is to be looked up, in which the reasons are stated why said envoy did not hurry, as he should have, to have such money paid and to claim his third part. And they will also say what said legate's actual opinion of the reported third part is.

They will also say: what said legatees think, how to keep such funds.

Similarly, why the jubilee will not cost the tenth part of what it should otherwise cost, and what it cost under Innocentio.

The illustrious princes will also appoint some to hear the accounts of the envoy and his commissioners at the place to be appointed by the said lords, who have so far collected the funds of the third part in some districts, namely Cologne and Trier, since the said envoy or his commissioners have otherwise collected nothing or little in other districts.

Likewise, what way is to be observed, so that one obtains a right certainty of all monies received or to be received, namely that the expenditures of the third part are given to the commissioners deputized from the side of the empire, honest people, who do not seek their own; who then, together with the deputies appointed by the legate, and those to be deputized by all the archbishops in Germany, shall appoint all the commissioners appointed by the legate, and also those who have had offices of confession, to the episcopal sees and seats, so that they may come and account for all the monies received or to be received; with two certified instruments or writs, one to be sent to the Supreme Pontiff, as he wills and has commanded; the other to be presented to the Empire at any Imperial Assembly before the Legate departs again from Germany.

It is also to be ordered to all dioceses by apostolic and imperial power that they inquire in their districts, through their deans in the country and archpriests, in which and how many places of their districts the jubilee has been proclaimed, and how many confession slips have been distributed; for otherwise the accounts of the legate's commissaries will not be accepted. And the legate himself wants it this way, in his honor with the supreme pope and holy college, and for the discharge of said commissaries, and that the people, who have given their money

1) Thus, we have resolved "I. V." here and immediately following.

2) Nuremberg," it says in the "heavenly treasure trove," below, Col. 209.

The people, who have controlled the money only for their happiness and for the protection of the faith, see that the Supreme Pontiff, the Emperor, the Legate and the Empire do not seek anything else than that such money be kept and used for the purpose for which the said people have controlled it.

Also, in the name of the pope and ours, said our envoys will ask the aforementioned high-born princes that the pope and us be given an answer about the affairs of the holy crusade, with petition and objection before notary and witnesses, that if by delaying an emphatic conclusion to be taken by the empire for the protection of the faith and for the march against the faithless Turks (for which we have come to Germany, especially regardless of our age, If, God forbid, some harm should befall Christendom from the faithless Turks, such harm should not be attributed to the Supreme Pontiff, the Holy College and us, but to those who are entitled to take up arms against said faithless Turks.

Copia of the Sand letter,

so the Highest in God Father and Lord Lord niuncnks, Roman Legate 2c. some steles written, to excuse the Roman Royal. Majesty, that the Jubilee money, which fell in his Majesty's country, was not begged for by the said legate, then in order to help the King of Hungary against the Turks, from what men may have stowed away, his Royal Majesty may not have begged or understood anything of a natural nature.

Our greetings and all good wishes for the careful and wise practice of long and daily summons and requirements. As the King's Majesty has sent us for six months, to all and sundry where we have been called, and beforehand that such a call has been made, of all the afflictions that affect our holy Christian faith, and of a common sin, we have been moved to seek his King's Majesty's help. Majesty, and thus, as well as with much pain, we are suffering from the podagra, coming from Cologne up to His Royal Majesty in Vienna, Aldo His Royal Majesty. Majesty. has spoken and acted with us in all manner of matters concerning the deficiencies and shortcomings of the Christian faith and the common faith, and has held us accountable to others for our grave concerns and needs, the whole of Christendom is in, and before that the German nation, because of the remarkable and careful armament, which the Turkish tyrant and the rabble are daily preparing for the destruction of the common German nation, to which he is leading through Craben [Carniola?]

The king's majesty's will may even have a wrestling entrance in other countries, so that in the same places they will have to wait hourly and be concerned about what his king's majesty may do to stop such sudden and incursive damage, so that his king's majesty may be able to take action when he thinks he has the right to do so. will consider it necessary to appoint and arm a campaign against the first-dreaded enemy of Christendom, and to protect his paternal and inherited lands, through which, when they have been conquered by the Turks, the other part of the Turkish nation will have to face the same trouble and loss of their lands, and to pay His Royal Majesty a sum of money. Majesty with a sum of money brought together from the Jubilee relief, but at least from that which had fallen in His Royal Majesty's lands. Majesty's lands, with the promise that such money shall be given and invested from that time on, not only for the purpose of collecting such reasonable and necessary tribute, but also that His Royal Majesty may use it for the benefit of the land. The king's majesty may now require and request help for the land of Hungern, because the tower now occupies the noble city of Gaize, which is then a port of the land of Hungern, with such a painting, which we have answered to his royal majesty that we will gladly help in this matter and in the destruction of this noble and proud city of Hungern. The instruction and mandate which our most holy father the bishop, when we were sent to him by his holiness, has entrusted to us and seriously bound us, to which end his holiness has granted us a bishop's breve under the ring of the bishop, in which we are highly encouraged to comply with his holiness' command and will. In this way we were mistaken about the order and decision of the Holy Roman Empire, to which his Royal Majesty had personally been, which we did not need to resist in any way, nor did we need to break that same order, and even less did his Royal Majesty deserve it. His Royal Majesty was initially somewhat displeased by our answer and partly moved us with anger. His Royal Majesty has also, on many valid grounds, taken such an answer in the best possible way, adhered to our opinion, and has graciously and kindly remitted such a demand to us, and has also promised us that His Royal Majesty will never again accept this reward.

The Holy Father of the Holy Babylon and the Holy Roman Empire will do everything in his power to ensure that such a reward will be kept secure and unchanged. Until such time as, by unanimous and common consent, all the princes and rulers of the German nation have seriously and manifestly understood the deprivation of the throne, we have received such a pleasing answer from His Royal Majesty that we are now in good hope of ridding Christendom and the German nation of all concern and repugnance. As has been the case up to now, and thus with good will and courage, we have received the favor and grace of His Royal Majesty. We have left it to his Majesty, so that we may do enough for our first legation to bring about the holy jubilee for the salvation and salvation of many, in which neither the painful podagra nor other illnesses of our lives shall hinder us, if the love and brotherhood which we have for the protection of the glory and the whole German nation salvation and peace, would as we hope give our sick body for and for relief and time to do so, although some of the King's Majesty, the King's Majesty, and the King's Majesty, the King's Majesty, the King's Majesty, the King's Majesty, the King's Majesty, the King's Majesty, the King's Majesty, the King's Majesty, the King's Majesty, and our own evil-mongers and cutters, out of devilish pretensions, intending to deceive the common people out of their devotion and good Christian faith, have openly lied and falsely stated that we have, in spite of ourselves and the Royal Majesty, as secretly escaped. We know that the King's Majesty has not been abandoned by anyone, and we do not want to be held responsible for any such misconduct or misrepresentation at the time of our discovery, and we do not want you to be held responsible for it in the best interests of the King's Majesty, since we are completely willing to do anything that may bring you peace and good fortune. Given at Strasbourg on the VII day of September.

41 Report on what happened to Raymundus at the Consistorio in Rome on his return to Italy.

From Tentzel's "Historical Report," Part I, p. 104.

Raymundum, when he arrived back in Rome from his last legation with a lot of money from Germany, the Cardinals asked in the Consistorio: what the barbarians thought of Rome, if they were given such a rich indulgence? He answered: "The whole world complains

over the pomp and indulgence of the Cardinals, and if they do not see you improved, our Republic will be in danger. When he explained this with more, they all raised their brows and shoulders in the Italian manner, and in order to discourage him from speaking further about the Reformation, as a thing much hated by Rome, they had him mocked by the most audacious among them: You yourself are the cause that our order is badly rumored among the barbarians, since you have used so many servants, such precious clothes and food, such splendid household goods, that you and we have incurred nothing but disfavor as a result. Good Raymundus soon understood how much the bell had struck, and was silent from then on.

42. excerpt from the Joh. Paltz, Augustinian Order, *Doctoris decretorum*, of the monastery of the new work at Halle *Praepositi*, and *Archidiaconi* at Halle, a famous indulgence preacher under Raymund of Gurk, heavenly treasure trove of 1490, the *Coelifodina* of 1502, and its *Supplemento* of 1504.

The writing from which Kapp has made this excerpt in the "Nachlese nützlicher Reformationurkunden", Theil IV, p. 424, was first published in German in 1490 in Quart under the title: Himmliche Fundgrube, thereafter in 1502 in Latin as OosUtoclinu, and in 1504 a supplement to it.

Translated into German.

Sky Pit.

To the reader.

If you want to travel to Himmelsthür, dear reader, buy us and we will show you the way.

Below these verses is a large woodcut depicting a crucifix 2c. After the title, the following message is given of the difference between the Latin and German Himmelsgrube.

The Heavenly Pit is twofold: 1. a Latin one, which is more extensively compiled than the common one, and which is attributed to the most reverend in God Father and Lord, Lord Hermann, most worthy Archbishop of the Holy Cologne Church, Archchancellor and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire through Italy, Duke of Westphalia and of the Englands, and most worthy Administrator of the Church of Paderborn, for the important reason reported in the preface.

2. the common or German, formerly more briefly understood, under the names of the illustrious princes

and lords, Frederick, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and his beloved brother, Lord John, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen; namely, at the time of the Jubilee and Indulgence through Germany; by the most reverend Lord, understand Raymund, the then Legate of the Apostolic See through Germany D. 1490, but who is now, by the grace of God, most worthily exalted to the Cardinal dignity, of the title of St. Mary Novae Churches, and by the Most Holy Lord, Lord Alexander, Pope the Sixth, again deputed to Germany and Denmark anew, and abundantly provided with the greatest liberties and indulgences, for resistance against the shameful Turks.

After this difference the contents, which are only at the end in the other display, follow with the following words:

Contents in the pit of heaven.

The first part contains two things: a. First, a passion text that can be preached every year, and at the same time touches five errors of some who preach about it. First, an unreasonable entrance. Secondly, unseemly interference. Third, if they make too many parts, and at each again new parts. Fourth, when they make too high spiritual interpretations. Fifth, when they spare the crucifixion too long. There are also five errors of the listeners "touched on, b. Furthermore, it contains the fruits and various ways of thinking about the Passion or the Passion, or having thoughts about it. There are beautiful things about the holy cross, about the one who hangs on the cross, and about the one who stands next to the cross, besides what is already in the passion (or suffering) text.

Part II contains four kinds of thoughts: 1. whether one can sin with thoughts; 2. that one should beware of fivefold consent; 3. that one should not respect blasphemous thoughts; 4. when thoughts become worse and worse.

Part III contains four things about death: 1. why death was imposed on man; 2. why few achieve their natural goal in life; 3. how useful it is to remember death; 4. how death is willing to accept that guilt and punishment be remitted in Christian faith.

The IV. The fourth part contains seven consolations of the sinner, so that he does not perish at his end; and especially very consoling things of the last chastisement, as there are: 1. the infinite goodness of God; 2. the ineffable love of Christ; 3. the motherly love of the holy virgin; 4. the

The fraternal friendship and love of all the saints, giving seven reasons why the saints are favorable to us; 5. The benefits of the sacraments of Christ, dealing with three in particular, which are sacraments for the dying.

a. Of the Sacrament of Penance. There are beautiful things about the small repentance and its three stages, likewise about the great and right repentance; and how the priest of the new law can make a mere penitent (attritum) into a right penitent by his office, and free the sinner from the hellish gallows, and make one capable of receiving indulgences. And afterwards beautiful things of the priestly dignity of the new law in the sixth question of indulgences, b. Is dealt with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In addition to other beautiful things, the question is asked whether communicating under both forms is necessary for salvation, and is answered against the errors of the Bohemians; likewise, the use of the mass. c. The sacrament of the last rites is discussed, which is spoken of in particular because of many who err in the doctrine of this sacrament, to the detriment of souls and bodies.

6. the truthfulness of the indulgences of the church; of which seven questions are dealt with: a. whether indulgences are; b. what they are; c. by whom they are granted; d. in what way they are granted; e. whence they flow or come; f. to whom they are useful;

g. How it should be used. The use of confession slips and letters is discussed, and it is pointed out what the community of intercessions has in itself, which the pope communicates, and how such brotherhood is better and more useful than the mere indulgence.

7. the rich grace of the Jubilee. Ten questions are raised: a. Where the Jubilee originated; b. Why it was instituted; c. What happens in the Jubilee; d. Why it is kept in the 50th year; e. Why under the new law it is not always kept every 50th year; f. Whether it is good nowadays that the Jubilee be instituted by the whole church; g. What should be done to obtain the grace of the Jubilee; h. What should move priests, preachers, and confessors to promote the Jubilee. What priests, preachers, and confessors should do to promote the Jubilee; i. Whether one should believe that through the Jubilee and indulgences the souls in purgatory are properly helped, in which question many secondary questions can be raised and answered by the souls who find themselves in purgatory; k. Whether he who has obtained the Jubilee and plenary indulgence goes straight to heaven when he dies, without some punishment of purgatory.

The contents are followed by the letter to Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, which reads as follows:

To the most reverend in Christ Father and Lord, Mr. Hermann, most worthy Archbishop of the Holy Church of Cologne, Archchancellor and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire through Italy, Duke of Engern and Westphalia, and faithful administrator of the Church of Paderborn, Brother Johann von Paltz, humble professor of the Holy Scriptures, of the Order of the Hermite Brothers of St. Augustine, offers due reverence, constant love and untiring prayer.

When the other day your most noble lordship required of me that I preach some sermons (which I formerly preached at the time of the proclamation of the jubilee year, under the most venerable Lord Raymundo, namely the then legate of the apostolic see through Germany, a. d. 1490 2c. to the most illustrious Princes and Lords, Lords Frederick, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and his beloved brother John, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, as well as their noble Counts, and their excellent and manly knights and noblemen, also venerable prelates, and other people of both sexes who are devout, and at their request, reported sermons, I would like to translate into the noble Latin language sermons that have been compiled in a common or German tract, or rather to summarize the occasionally scattered Latin, from which I first took the German, so that it would be more pleasant for the scholars, and thus also more useful for others, which most clergymen of various countries, especially in Thuringia, Meissen and Hesse, who knew more about German, have already eagerly desired; but, because obstacles always intervened, did not obtain it: But now that such a great prince, who undoubtedly loves the Holy Scriptures very much, and is a great patron and mild benefactor of all, especially godly, clergymen, it is no longer appropriate to stand by it.

Accordingly, with divine help, I have been able to joyfully take on the burden that has been placed on my shoulders for the second time. I have kept the first name and order (of the work) in the translation. And because, according to the prince of the worldly wise topic. I. 6, all those who translate something translate it according to some equation: so I have titled this little work Heavenly Pit. For as gold is dug out of a gold pit, and silver out of a silver pit, which is dug out of Schneeberg (Monte nivis), of which I

The grace that was once the cause of equality can be found in great quantity, so a far more delicious grace can be dug out of the pit of heaven for all people.

Since the German work was divided into four parts according to the fourfold matter, the Latin summary is also divided into four parts in the same way. The first deals with the suffering of Christ and the different ways of thinking about the suffering of the Lord. The other is about thoughts and especially about blasphemous thoughts, how one should not respect them, but should do them from oneself. The third part is about the way to die well, namely, how even the greatest sinner can obtain forgiveness of guilt and punishment through the good use of death in Christian faith. The fourth part is about the most salutary effects of the last rites, against many dangerous errors that harm souls and bodies, and about other spiritual consolations, so that man does not despair in the end.

But why I prefer to collect these things for said most noble princes and lords than others, I say this: because these newly preached matters were more pleasing to their devotion. They also desired other things in other tracts; for example, the work of the seven flowers or feasts of the holy virgin. Virgin, which begins: Blessed is he who waits at my door daily 2c. And another under the title: Würzgärtlein ebenderselben hochberühmten Jungfrau 2c., therein in short speeches or little prayers almost the whole life of the holy virgin contain. Which little work the most illustrious princes have had brought to the people far and wide by their own at great expense, not only in writing, but also in print, and have hoped for the reward for it from the giver of all good.

If I then follow the above-mentioned matters, and in the work assigned to me follow your most noble glory, most excellent archbishop, I have not wanted to walk alone, because it is written Eccles. 4: Woe to him who walks alone, because if he falls, he has no one to help him up; but have relied on my superiors (or ancestors), especially my teacher and venerable father, Magister Johannis von Dorsten, of glorious memory, our holy Hermit Brothers Order of St. Augustine, the holy divine order of St. Augustine. Augustini, the holy God-honor in the praiseworthy university and Erfortischen Convent of the order of that order, now and then scattered writings looked around, whose footsteps I

I will follow him, walk with him according to the grace that has been given to me, and act more in Latin than I have done in German, in order to complete the work as I wish; so that, as the Lord Christ walks with us in the midst of us, all the words will exist in the mouth of two or three witnesses. Glory and praise be to Him for all eternity! Amen.

In arch O he explains what *quadragesima*, *septena*, *carena* are; and because these words occur frequently in *Ablaßdiplomatibus*, but are not intelligible enough to us, we will indent the passage.

What is *quadragesima*, *septena*, *carena* of indulgence:

Of the first type of the said teacher (*scil.*, of Dorsten), who makes a certain number of days or years, it is to be noted that such indulgence, so expressed by days and years, is also given sometimes by *quadragesimam*, sometimes by *septenam*, sometimes by *carenam*.

To know further (which one stated in the Basilean Concilio that it was taken and concluded from the supreme papal histories) that there would be a distinction among *Quadragesima*, *Septena* or *Septinaria*, and *Carena*.

For Clement I ordered such a penance for a mortal sin that the penitent should fast 40 days with water and bread; and the same 40 days he was excluded from the church, and went on it with bare head and ashes. Thereafter, a seven-year penance was imposed on him in such a way that on the other vacations (Mondays), he would eat 1) milk food once, on Thursdays a dish of fasting food, and on Saturdays three pieces of bread dipped in ashes. Within which seven years he needed neither meat nor wine, but water; also slept on no bed, but on boards, on the ground and stones; after which years he was able to enjoy the body of the Lord in the Lord's Supper. And this penance was called *quadragesimam* by Clement.

Innocentius, however, first ordered a *septenam* for a manifest mortal sin, in such a way that a penitent may need two dairy dishes and eggs on Sunday; on Monday a Lenten dish [*Feria secunda u. s. f. quarta, sexta*], on Wednesday again two dairy dishes and eggs; on Thursday bread and wine of the day once; on Friday likewise two dairy dishes and eggs,

as on the Wednesday; Saturdays alone bread and water once of the day.

On the Sabbath he went on pilgrimages through the churches and ate milk only once a day. After that he was allowed to communicate. And that was called *Septena*, or the week *Innocentii*.

Carena, however, was a temporal penance, which included the *Quadragesima* and *Septena* penances, so that the penitents abstained from common food and contact with people, and fasted with water and bread for 40 days. Then the seven-year penance was imposed on them, not only in bread and water, but at the priest's discretion, that they fast one day every week and recite certain prayers or do some good works. Which penance had to be ordinarily imposed for every mortal sin, as was done in the first church, to the sinner's terror. And this is called *Carena*, from the *Cariren* (or idleness) of the people, because they stayed the first 40 days in a secret place. But the gloss on the chapter: *Accusasti de accusato*, and in the chapter: *Accepisti de sponsa duorum*, says that *Carena* is common Italian, and means fasting with water and bread for 40 days. And the gloss seems to be of the opinion that *Carena* means only a penance of 40 days, therefore, because it says: it would be dealt with *äst.* 50. o. in the beginning; where only the penance of 40 days is reported, with concealment of the seven years. And the same can be seen in the confessional form of the pope, who makes the *carenia* into years, as the lesser into the greater. But what Peter Parisiensis, in the book called *verbum abbreviatum*, says, that this punishment is to be interpreted to those who have sinned gravely, as death-slayers and committed incest, indicates so much that it also includes the seven following years. But the pope speaks so doubtfully in the above chapters that one cannot really know whether *Carene* means 40 days with the seven years in addition, or only 40 days alone. For he says thus: 40 days, so one calls *Carenam*, with seven following years, you shall atone. For if this little word, namely "with seven following years", belongs to the first word, namely "calls", then one sees clearly that *Carena* means so much as 40 days with the seven following years; but if it belongs to the following word, namely "thou shalt atone", then it means only 40. But what the apostolic (man or pope) meant in this, I cannot say; only this I say, if *Carene* meant only 40 days of penance, then the bishops and cardinals could give *Carene*. But the bishops can only give 40 days of indulgence.

1) In the old edition: "seems to be Tuesday". This is an error that is often repeated by Walch, also in the dating of letters, that he takes *tsriu sseuMu* for Tuesday 2c., instead of: Monday.

and do not go over it, except for the consecration of the church, since they can give a year for the same day and act. And the Cardinals, according to proper usage, give 100. And a reverend man has told me that the Apostolic (Successor), in affirming the Cardinal rights (or liberties), designates and affirms this in particular, so that the people of the faithful are not deceived.

He is also of the opinion that faith is especially necessary in the matter of indulgences, namely because of the many infernal armies that assail them; in Arch R.

How to use the indulgence usefully.

Consequently, it is also to be said of the other piece, how one may use the indulgence usefully. For faith is very useful; as in all articles, so especially in the matter of indulgences, because of many infernal armies that assail it.

The following salutation to the archbishop is found in sheet S:

Most Reverend Father, Most Excellent Archbishop, Most Serene Prince! These two mites, which a poor widow threw into the treasure of Christ, and were cast from the silver of the double heavenly pit, namely the Latin and German, and were coined on the arrest of the two most illustrious electors, one of which was written in an ecclesiastical (Latin) language, and is now attributed to an ecclesiastical prince; the other, however, in the German language, was formerly suitable for a secular prince, are now at the same time placed before the eyes of your most reverend glory to examine them. And if, by the judgment of the wise, they are found worthy to be considered as bread to feed the hungry, I leave them to the love and understanding of your most reverend fatherhood (or fatherly love) to be devoutly chewed (enjoyed). However, with the addition that if anything praiseworthy is found in it, it will be attributed to the Most High, as the giver of all good, and to my ancestors; but what is ugly, disdainful and frail, will be overlooked by the godly reader with Christian patience. But because of simple writing [the authors of the documents add: in this he spoke very true] the matter is not to be despised, because under a hard shell often lies a good kernel, under coarse chaff a good grain, and under a despised bag the best gold. We have brought this about in our new monastery in the valley of Mühlheim near Coblenz, in the year 1500, around the feast of All Saints.

On this he makes some additions for the following reasons:

Now that I have returned from the new convention of the valley of Mühlheim to the actual convention [or of the fatherland, *nativum*] at Erfurt, I have learned that the most reverend Lord Raymund, Cardinal, the apostolic see's legate to Germany and Denmark, will return with a rich jubilee year and indulgence to equip a mighty army against the Turks' terrible invasion. In order that the preachers of the Jubilee may come to it the sooner, I have decided to add something about indulgences to what has been said above, and to add ten questions about indulgences.

There are ten questions, to which he also answers according to the order. In it, he remembers Raymundi Gurcensis several times, e.g. in the D. arc.

From which and other godly causes Sixtus IV. moved to grant the jubilee year with many orderly liberties to the church of Saintonge 1) in the Holy Roman Empire; which afterwards Innocentius VIII. with many other liberties, through the most reverend Lord Raymundum, then his legate, most orderly, salutary and timely travels almost through all of Germany and Denmark, has instituted and directed to work. In his jubilee year proclamation is quite credible, and there has been the experience that many more great sinners have been converted than in many years before. Now, however, after the Jubilee Year celebrated in 1500, the same Most Reverend Raymund, Cardinal 2c., was sent by the Most Holy Lord Alexander, Pope VI, to the whole of Germany and the Kingdom of Denmark in the following year, A.D. 1501, to all Germany and the Kingdom of Denmark with the Jubilee and great indulgence, because of the extreme distress of the Turk, about which he laments miserably in his letters; one of which he sent to the Lords Electors and Estates of the Roman Empire at their recent assembly in Nuremberg, inviting them to resist this terrible tyrant; The other, however, to the Swiss, in which he strongly exhorts them to take up arms against the perjured Turks, the contents of which letters I have decided to append to the end of this work with the Bull of the Most Holy Alexandri, because of their great usefulness and importance.

From what I have now said, many salutary lessons follow: 1. the jubilee year of the new law does not necessarily follow the jubilee year of the old law in the same number of years, but it does in the

1) In the old edition: "Saintonger".

The right and proper meaning. (2) That the indulgence was not newly invented by the new apostolic (successors), as some blaspheme, but was used ages ago. (3) Will it not be contrary to divine order, nor to the nature of things, if in the future the supreme popes set a lesser number of years for the establishment of the Jubilee, namely, from 20 to 20 or from 10 to 10 years, or at what time they find it necessary, for good reasons, to have the Jubilee preached, wherever it may be, because of many motives which are to be dealt with in the following question.

In this very arch is contained a strong punitive sermon against those who do not want to make use of indulgences. And since we have included in our scene of the Tetzelian Indulgence Convict, and the Lutheran contending against it, some such as Joh. Tetzel held about fifteen years after Paltzen, we want to add here a piece of this Augustinian sermon, and it will be seen from the correlation which of the two has surpassed the other:

From this it is seen (says Paltz) how much they err who, out of avarice and self-interest, oppose and speak against such indulgences. O foolish, ungrateful, wretched, and true disciples, yes, children of Antichrist! who prefer earth to heaven, temporal to spiritual, dung to heavenly pearl. O apostate children, you who despise the grace of God, put your own salvation in the background, and hinder the edification or benefit of others. O children of Babylon, you who resist God's order and will not escape His judgment. Was it not God's order that Jesus would die for the people, not only for the people, but also to gather together the scattered children of God? Joh. 11, 52. Why then do you resist the suffering of Christ, so that it bears no fruit among you? Why do you not let the lost, wounded and afflicted sheep be gathered, healed and refreshed in the world by the chief Shepherd, since no one is able to refresh and heal them in all things but the chief Shepherd?

I pass over what already in the 1730 under my presidio by Mr. Johann Peter Thümmlingen held Disputation de Ourine ftoru. Loloeieisius politieis euren, Rskorraationsln Initiiel! eomiuissis ruerito 8U8p6t>is p. 41. not. 2. that Father Paltz also considers Pope Clement IV's bull, by virtue of which he commanded the angels of Paradise to immediately take to heaven the souls of those who, wishing to enjoy his indulgences, would die, to be correct; and reports only so much that the two above letters of Raymundi, the Cardinal, to the German churals and princes, likewise that to the Swiss, are printed at the end, but the bull of Alexandri VI has been omitted. At the end it says:

Printed Erfurt by Wolfgang Schencken, A[nn]o MDVII. the 3rd after Judica.

The supplemeutuM Ooelikodinas (or Heaven's Pit) is published two years later by this same printer A. 1504 tertia wria p08t inoonvrit (that is, Tuesday). 1) Behind the title page is a letter from Cardinal Raymundi to our Paltz, which I do not repeat here because it is already included in my vmputiou de indulAtzutiarum qua68loril>n8 p. 18. not. (d) is incorporated. What Father Paltz wrote in the book itself about the matter of indulgences, that faith is necessary in this, he repeats here again in the arc B, when he speaks: lutelleetlm 6aptivaudu8 68t in odW^uium üdsi eirau materiam iudulMutiarum: one must take reason captive in the indulgence trade under the obedience of faith. He also has no hesitation in asserting in the following arc C that the pope can give indulgences on future sins.

To the fourth question (Paltz continues), whether the pope can, and it is also useful, to give letters of indulgence or confession for future sins? is answered: Yes, because of many causes: 1. because of the fullness of power; 2. because of human frailty; for though no one need undertake sin, yet every one has such to fear from weakness. And although one can live without mortal sin by the grace of God, no one can live without venial [or weak] sins, and consequently everyone must necessarily suffer the penalty of purgatory, which is to be paid here or there. And would God that no one would fall into mortal sin again! Which might well be the case with many, if the so corrupted flesh did not drive them to it, the devil beguiled them, and the world tempted them. But even if one were so brave and strong, he would hardly prevent himself from building wood, hay, and stubble on this foundation, according to 1 Corinthians 3. St. Augustine explains this in lib. de fid. et oper. Others build on the foundation of faith, that is, Christ, in whom they believe and whom they love above all things; wood, that is, a strong love of temporal things, which is nevertheless necessary; other hay, that is, a moderate love of temporal goods, which is nevertheless also necessary; other stubble, that is, the smallest desire for it 2c. But all these must be swept here or there; therefore the apostle adds: "Every work, whatever it may be, will be tested by the fire. But that one may be counted free from this trial by fire, it is good to buy letters of indulgence even for future sins, but without having them in mind deliberately, because we can hardly or not at all live without them. 3. it is good to buy such letters or confession slips because of the danger to souls. Because the souls of present

1) In the old edition "Wednesday".

Time are in great danger, because of abuse of the ban and episcopal power. For many of the present time turn the keys of salutary cure into keys of miserable extortions and miserable exterminations. That is why many keep silent about their sins and fear to fall into such pressures. Therefore it is good that the pope should come from time to time and save such, and leave behind them strong confession slips, by virtue of which they may freely confess to whom they please. (4) It is good to loose these confession slips, because it is so easy. For it is not difficult to solve such things. For who is so poor among the people who would not give as much or more to the body for the consecration or the prohibition of meat? In Rome, they have to give two guilders to buy a confession slip, and by no means in such rich form as the ones that one buys here, one of which is only set at the fourth part of a Rhenish guilder. Indeed, whoever would not have a confession slip should rather beg so much for it or pay so much for it, than miss such a treasure and afterwards have to suffer purgatory, which hardly anyone will avoid without indulgence. (5) It is good to redeem confession slips, because they are irrevocable. For such slips, if all else be right, are irrevocable, both by God's authority, in which they are given, and by papal fidelity (or truth), according to which they are so proclaimed; as it is also written in the confession slips that they are not to be revoked. 6. it is good to dissolve confession slips because of their usefulness, since it is said above in the first sermon of this supplement that the confession slip bears five kinds of fruit. Which are also put above in the first part of the Heavenly Pit pag. IV. in the sixth consolation reason of the sinner in the seventh question.

And because in the following sheet F there is quite an indulgence ceremonial, as such was taken into consideration under Cardinal Raymund, we want to repeat this. It shows first of all how the indulgence was introduced, the cross erected and taken down again.

But because the Holy Indulgence in the Church must be solemnly and properly instituted, reverently and devoutly continued, and gratefully ended at the proper time, before one proceeds to the fifth army of hell, which Lucifer is wont to send forth after the holy Jubilee year has ended, the consecrations (or ceremonies) of such indulgences practiced under the most reverend Lord Legate Raymund, at the two times when he was sent, shall be established in Germany under the following form:

The way to introduce or to apply the sacred indulgence.

On the day when the sacred indulgence is to be instituted in a place, the prelates, canons, priests, monks, with the secular (or common) priests must come to the church where the cross is to be erected, before seven o'clock. Then, after seven o'clock, they go in procession with the venerable Sacrament, if any, to the church where they have to accept the Commissarium or Plenipotentiary with notified indulgence. Which, when they come to that church, the cantor may begin: *Advenisti desiderabilis* [You have come, beloved one]. Under the singing, the confessors can ask the blessing from the Commissario, saying: *Jube, Domine, benedicere,*, command, O Lord, to bless. And he will give to each one a staff to absolve by force, according to the bull. After that, they will go to the procession, on their return, and two of them will read the litanies, so that the choir will respond. And when they have finished the litanies under way, they can sing the responsory at will. Which in total, when they come to the church, they can intonate with bent knees: *Media vita*. After which the Commissary can read the *Versicul* and the *Collecte of Sins*; then play and sing: *HErr GOtt, dich loben 2c.*, on the organ. And when one comes to the verse: Therefore we beseech thee 2c., the commissary shall come with the confessors to touch the cross and sing the said verse three times: first low, then higher, and finally still higher. At each intonation the choir is to respond and rise in tone as well. At the third intonation, they shall raise the cross completely and strike the stick or box; then the choir shall always continue singing until the end. Then the commissary may go up and preach the sermon, and then the high mass may be solemnly celebrated.

The consecration to be held daily with the praise of the cross after Vespers at three o'clock.

According to the decree of the most reverend legate, the praise of the cross is to be sung daily, and a sermon is to be added to it by the indulgence; in such a way that everything that is to be sung or read in the church, where the cross is aligned, is to be finished before three o'clock. And at three o'clock, when all go down from the choir, they shall arrange the procession standing around the cross; the commissary with the confessors shall come last. On the way out of the choir

the cantor begin the antiphons: O Crux, gloria etc.. When the in all end, two scholares, or pupils, with two wax candles standing before the cross with bent knees shall begin the verse: O Crux, ave etc., O Cross, be greeted, thou some hope 2c., to two times. The third time: Te summe DEus, trinitas etc., and the choir should first answer: hoc Jubilaei tempore, at this time of jubilation. The second time it shall answer: hoc gratoso tempore, in this gracious [pleasant] time! Thirdly: hoc passionis merito etc., by this of the suffering merit 2c. After this the Commissarius, or whom he assigns, shall read the verse and the Collecte, thus: Adoramus te etc., we adore you, Christe, and bless you. He answers: quia per Crucem etc., because you have been blessed through the cross redeemed the world. Let us pray: Gregem tuum, quaesumus Domine etc., We beseech thee, O Lord JESUS CHRIST, thou good Shepherd, look down reconciled upon thy flock, and upon the sheep which thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood on the cross, that they be not destroyed nor torn asunder by the devil's invasion; who livest and reignest with Father and Holy Spirit GOD for ever and ever! Amen.

The way to take down the cross in the Jubilee year.

First, the praise of the cross is to be kept according to custom, namely: O Crux etc., with its collecte. After that: Nôia vita, with the Collecte of Sins (as above in the Introduction). Then the organ or choir may intonate "Herr Gott, dich loben" 2c., and the priests from the choir respond. Then the commissarii and the confessors standing around the cross should sing: Salvum fac populum, Lord, help your people 2c., to three times. The choir will answer and continue to the end. And the Commissary will read the Collecte of the Holy Trinity in thanksgiving. After that the Commissarius will begin with the confessors: Haec sunt convivia etc., These are the banquets, so pleasing to the wisdom of the Father. Then the cross shall be taken down and placed on the box. At the end, the choir of scholars sings in a loud voice: Rex regum etc., O King of kings, rich above all 2c. To conclude, the preacher goes to the pulpit and begins this theme or lecture: And the door is shut 2c., that he may preach according to his understanding: that hitherto, through the keys of the church, the door of heaven has been opened to all penitents and to the souls in purgatory.

but now the door has been closed again by the removal of the cross. Since he will then continue according to his understanding and remind them that the cross should still remain on the box for six days; whoever has not yet put on or spent anything, or has not yet completed his penance, could do so during these days. Likewise, you can also announce a few days beforehand that the cross should be taken down on such and such a day; would they then come 2c.

This may be enough from the first edition of this book, from which it is sufficiently evident how much Paltz tried to make himself deserving of the indulgence system.

The other edition has a slightly longer title than the former. It thus reads:

Himmelsgrube, so die verborgnen Schätze der Schrift aufthut; wieder gedruckt, verbessert, und wo erst etwas fehlte, durch Zusatz ergänzet, und dilig nach der ersten Schrift [oder dem Druck] verbessert.

Behind the title is 1. above mentioned letter Raymundi to Paltzen; 2. the difference of the German and Latin Eoslitockinae; the letter to Churfürst Hermann. Then comes the work itself. It is largely the same as the first edition, and the additions made in the first edition are not indented in the work itself, but printed in the same order as in the previous edition. The type is larger than in the first edition, and the following is appended at the end:

You have now, dearest reader, happily finished and completed this newly printed, again overlooked, diligently corrected after the first defective and by carelessness very corrupted copy, and where the first copy was extinguished, with the author's hand and file again polished out heavenly pit. Read and reread it often. For it is she of whom is written what is written there: That her stones are iron, and from her mountains noble ores are dug, and treasures of the fountain spring of the living water, so into eternal life quillet. Elaborated with neat art and lovely print, by art and diligence of Baccal. Martin Landspergks, of Würzburg, citizen of the city of Leipzig, An. 1504, Thursday the 22nd of August. ____

43 Summa and excerpt from the bull given by our most holy father, Pope Julius the Other, for the protection of our holy Christian faith. Printed in 1510.

From Hottinger's "impartial guide" reprinted in Löscher's "Reformation Acts," p. 423.

To the high and mighty lord waltherr von Pletenberg, master vnd his knights-

The brothers of the chivalrous Teutonic Order, the highly praised young lady Marie in Lyfland: against the vulgar Russians heretics, and apostates or cut off from the Christian faith, and Tartars. This contains the most complete remission of all sins and atonement with God the Lord, like the remission of such holy devotions the previous holy cousins the bishops, or now our holy father the bishop, have given in times past to those whom the churches within and outside Rome have sought for it in the last Jubilee, even in the hundredth year; or were drawn to the aid and protection of the holy land or grave: Also all and any other graces given to them.

Vrsach diß ablaß nach Weisung der Bäbstlichen Bullen.

Our holy father the Bishop has noted from the various stories of some kings and other Christian princes that the Russians were heretics and cut off from the faith with the help of the unbelieving Tartars in past years, about the dispute and controversy that existed between the aforementioned noble Master and his brothers knights of the Order of the Teutonic Knights in Lyfland and the same Russians for some time, The same Master and his brethren of the Order of the Knights of Tutti in Lyfland, and the same Riga Archbishops and Bishops of Tarbat [Dorpat] and of Reual were attacked with fine weapons, and those with the sword, war weapons, and fowers: Also man and woman persons, also ecclesiastical and many religious in part in herte Dienstberkeit vnd gefencknuß led, and the others with sundering vnd vsserdachten penen vnd torture killed, also church vnd formation of the saints defiled vnd disinherited, The chalice, the church ornaments and the bells were smashed and carried away, the holy sacrament was also handled with the hands of church thieves, churches and other saints were constantly touched, and much damage was done to the Christians: So that not only a large part of the land of the masses has been conquered, and in these places the Christians, with noticeable care and skill, are no longer willing to take it, but also many places which belong to the aforementioned masters and knights, and also to some other churches and ecclesiastical persons, have been conquered, and are still being held by the thieves, as well as the said Russians with their adherence of the unbelievers do not hesitate to arm themselves, so that they raid Lyfland again, because this land is a forgem or a fortress, and serves as a protection and shield for other Christian lands, so that when they have conquered it, they can then conquer other adjoining lands to their own.

evil evil, and thus destroy and ruin the Holy Roman Churches and Christian faith. For this reason, in the comfort and confidence that our holy father the priest confesses to the divine goodness, and thus hopes that such an outrage of the evil ones may be stopped and hindered by God's help, his holy lord Walthern von Plettenberg has now appointed his master and his brothers in God the lord, that in such cases they want to fight against such unglorious ones for the release of Christian glory, as they have done so far with great glory and praise of God and Christian glory: And how much the Holy Roman Pontiffs and the knights of the Order of the Teutonic Knights in Lyflandt have been willing to do in such a way, but for constant and temporary warfare, according to the greed and opportunity of the matter, their fortune, rent and money [Gefall = income from taxes], they and their peoples do not extend to such disputes, but it is necessary that they be given relief and help by the Christians, so such remission has been given.

The following are the essential pieces and points of the official letter of indulgence or Bull content:

The first gives and grants, by the authority of our holy father the bishop, to all those of both sexes who have repented and repented, who reside in the archbishoprics of Mentz, Sollen and Trier, and Mynen, and in the same cities and bishoprics: or for the purpose of receiving favors and indulgences in such bishoprics and cities, so that they, within three years from the time of the opening of the same covenants and indulgences, in the course or journey against the said renegades in glory and inglory with the said Masters and Knights of the Order of the Teutonic Knights in Lyfland, or their guardians, or one of the same, which counsel they shall take, at the least six months by themselves, or another, or others, with the creed, at their own expense, if they are able, or who are satisfied only with the goods presented to them by the Master and the brothers of the Knights, or which are in the castle, the palace, or the tents, and the ends, where their armies or armies lie, offer, which they need for such a march or war, or which prouiant vnd others in them needful vnd helpful to fight, or so that they may wait for the war, by themselves, or others to intercede: Or who are not in these things, or can not do them, but who have some of these things.

churches or altars, which are designated by the official commissioners and governors appointed by his Holiness, or his decrees, to be visited within the dry years: And in the churches which shall be appointed for this purpose, to make an offering or payment of money, as they shall be appointed by the commissioners, the most perfect remission and pardon of all their sins, which they shall have repented of in their hearts, and repented of with their mouths, which remission shall be equal to that which is above mentioned.

The official commissary and his abbot have the power to determine the churches and the altars, and to appoint skilled priests, who have been appointed by the officials to absolve and absolve from their sins those who are in fear of them, and to absolve them from their sins, transgressions, laziness, and iniquities, whether they were already such things, for which they should visit the holy shrine in Rome, as well as from spiritual penances and banishments, and to impose on them salutary penances.

They may transform vows and promises, or fert [pilgrimages], or make [them], and change the vows to a hand ransom for this work, except for vows to be evaluated in order 1), or to keep chastity. They also have the power to do everything that the official penitentiaries and chief confessors were allowed to do in the new Jubilee Council in Rome.

One may dispute with the commissioners and their deputies about property that has been legally transferred, if one does not know to whom it belongs, or if it has been taken by means of wipers, if one does not know to whom it belongs, and if a wiper has taken wipers from another wiper, and the latter does not want to return his wipers. Also, if a man has a foreign good behind him, and does not know or doubt to whom he will give it. Also for goods, which were occupied by poor people or needy people in a community, and which were not specifically determined, to whom or to whom one may give something, for this sacred work and use, and for the purpose of giving it back.

The commissioner and his office bearer shall have the power to absolve and discharge from the sin of the spiritual worshipper, called Symony, who has been in receipt of ecclesiastical wardship or benefices in the court of the Conscience. And to absolve and discharge in the court of the Conscientz, also for paschal temporal court elected [consecrated] perphonies, which were fallen into ecclesiastical bonds and punishments, because that they were in battles, which were held against the aforementioned enemy. Also of irregularity, that they were unfit for

1) In the old edition: "orten" instead of "orden". It is the monastic vow.

If any of the ecclesiastical and divine embassies, on account of the law or other causes, have committed voluntary manslaughter within the limits of the aforesaid slaughter, and if any of them, by reason of the care of the church, are not fit to become priests, they shall have the power to dispense and remit by means of their rights, or by means of those who wish to be elected, and to allow the rights to be exercised by their ecclesiastical embassies: And the benefices, which they have taken over, as if they were to be taken over, together with the fruits, which they have received, also the benefits, which they have received in the time, when they have not bedded down their

fyben time,

They may keep and therefore revoke, but this only in the court and judgement of the Conscience or Law: with much further violence and content of the bulls so recently not reported here. Item they have the power to dispense and to convict of the errors and sins, which occur, magistrate's and criminal half they arose from real or unreal lypical works, 2) also of magistrate's or of justice open erberkeit, to latin publicae honestatis iustitia, who or other persons who have violated the law or the law of their own country, and yet have carried out the law of their own country, if such violation did not occur in court, or if no open revenue resulted from it. That they may transgress such persons, also absolve the ban in which they fall, and impose a salutary penalty, which shall extend to the work of this protection of the faith, and may moreover permit the same to remain, according to the provisos, even children who come of it, to be recognized in the court of the conscience.

Item with those who rightfully hold churches, monasteries or benefices, and rightfully may not be forced to recant due to lack of proof.

Item in the indulgence book is allowed, that persons so sickness, age, stupidity, or for other reasons do not want to sin the church or do otherwise, so that as obstet [as said above] the indulgence is to be recovered, where they so much as they delay a week with their fief, give into the ordered boxes, or otherwise according to the order of the Commissar, or his authorities, that if they are prevented from doing so, they may also, as if they were in charge of the churches, pay the penance, and also have the authority of the commissioners to occupy such persons in the places where such persons are, whom they may elect.

2) Instead of "become" with Löscher and with Walch "works" is to be read. Immediately following: "the marital bodily works".

Item, dwyl zweyfällig [zweifelhaft] sein mögen, wieviel ein yedenes zu erlangen des ablasses, ynnlegen soll, auch welche vnuermügligkeit, krankheit, oder hindernuß einen entschuldigt, dass er die Kirchen zubesuchen oder anders zu tun 2c. The commissioner and his deputies shall be allowed to decide on such doubts, and to decide on such doubts, and to let them lapse, if the matter requires it, but that such lapse shall be turned to other good works.

They also have their own rules for dealing with poor people so that they may be granted indulgences. Item: How to deal with great princes and other rulers, spiritual and secular, who are of great rank, both officially and lydally, so that they may receive the indulgence. Item, vß Vertröstung to divine mercy and bäbstlicher power volkommenheit, verlyhet in such bulls our holy father the Pope that if father, fathers, or other Christgloubige in time, so this indulgence weret, do handouts according to the order of the commissary or penitentiary, and visit the churches for those in purgatory whom they wish to help, so that such popular indulgences may comfort them in purgatory, in order that they may be relieved of their sins by the people. It is also the will of our holy father the bishop, through the same power of the people, that the Christian believers do their part in this matter, and occupy the churches as if it were their duty. Also their departed, parents, and benefactors; of all prayers, stubbornness, alms, fasting, divine ordinances of the measure, and customary customs: consecration [mortification], fasts, and other spiritual deeds [good deeds], which have been done in the Christianity and by all the members of it, are eternally liable. Item, so the commissioners and penitents have to give power of indulgence letters, which contain very great forcible and pardon, which a man may use all his life for the need, and bychtuätter have, according to their content, painted on the same bestplichen.

Item, for the sake of this indulgence and good work, so deteriorate and keep the time before the bishop, while this indulgence is in force, all other indulgences, even in letters of intent which his holiness or the bishop before him, have given, be it to whom it may. Also to the authorities of the Holy Trinity, as well as to the monasteries, convents, hospitals; also to Saint John of Jerusalem and the Holy Spirit, and to all the common brotherhoods, and they want them to be infallible at this time.

Item, his holiness also wants that from the questioners [Ablaßkrämer] shall not be demanded on the other indulgence, in time as this indulgence is, something almösen.

Item, the priest also wants and recognizes that in repudiation and fraud, or where he would repudiate in his holiness indulgence letter, this indulgence shall not be understood.

If there is any doubt as to how the words of the papal bulls are to be understood, the explanation shall be left to the papal commissioners who appointed the bulls and to his subordinate officials, and they shall be given as much explanation as is necessary, and such explanation shall be adhered to.

Item, so that such sacred work and commitment is not hindered, so our holy father, the bishop, gives to all and any sovereign rulers, bishops open, epts, also others of what standing, grade or nature they are, man and woman persons, by obedience and the judged ban, also the pen of perpetual punishment, also a fine, so the Commissari, so his decrees will therefore begeren, that they such proclamation in churches, bishoprics and cities, as thick is necessary, nor prove any fraud or deception, nor prevent anyone from following this indulgence, nor preach against it, secretly or openly, so that they shall not proclaim any other indulgence, which is now repudiated, or make use of it as long as this indulgence is in force, and the absolution of those who were in such breach should not be given to anyone else, except to our Holy Father the Baptist or his Holiness, before they are divorced from their beds, and they should be given and kept.

44 Christian Baumhauer's letter of indulgence issued to Adam Leuterer, June 6, 1508.

From Kapp's "Collection of Some Writings Belonging to the Indulgence," p. 32.

To all and everyone to whom the present letter will come before the face, wishes Christian Baumhauer, vsorstoruin äootor, Rector of the Parochial Church in Ruien, Tarbater, or Dörppter ^Dorpater] Dioceses, of the Most Holy Father in Christ our Lord, Lord Julii, by divine providence of this name of the other pope, Acolythus Capellanus, as well as of the same and of the Holy Apostolic See to the provinces of Mainz, Cologne and Trier, Meissen, as well as their cities and dioceses nuncio and commissarius, salvation and welfare in the Lord! We declare and know that our aforesaid Pontiff wishes to be known to all the faithful of Christ who reside in the aforesaid provinces, cities, and dioceses, in whatever manner they may be, or who may go to them from other places, and who during the time of their visitation are in need of help.

The Holy Father, in the course of three years, for the protection of the parts of Loveland, for the promotion of the holy crusade against the cruel penitent heretics and schismatics, who rely on the unbelieving "Tartar" for help, will have rendered a helpful hand according to our decree, in addition to the plenary indulgence of sins, as in a most holy jubilee held every hundred years, and besides many other graces and fortunes, which those who are disposed to obtain for themselves and for certain souls of the departed, have graciously permitted and commanded out of the abundance and liberality of the apostolic power: That both they and all their parents and benefactors, who have departed with love, shall have a share for ever in all prayers, intercessions, alms, fasts, supplications, masses, *horis canonicis*, corporal castsigations, pilgrimages, and all other spiritual things which are and may be done in the whole universal holy contending church and all its members. Moreover, he has also left it to those who are still alive and allowed them to choose as their confessor in the future, in case of other incidents, a competent secular priest, or one from a regular order, from whichever he may be; who, if they live longer, may be their confessor in the cases reserved to the said See, except when someone disturbs ecclesiastical liberty, commits the vices of heresy, rebels against the person or state of the Roman Pontiff, or against the said See, and conspires to falsify the apostolic letters of supplication and commission, invaded the lands and seas subject to the Roman Church, either medially or immediately, plundered, conquered and devastated them, personally insulted a bishop or another prelate, forbade the processes to reach the Roman court, delivered weapons and other forbidden things to the infidels; that once in their lives, but in other cases as often as it will be useful, they may be absolved of their sins, and that salutary penance may be imposed on them, as well as all vows, except when one has vowed to travel to the Holy Land, to visit the apostolic churches of blessed Peter and Paul, or to go to Compostello to St. James. Jacob, to remain celibate, 1) to become a monk, in other works of godliness; that also the confessor, whom each of them will have chosen, will grant them complete forgiveness of all their vows.

It is hereby commanded and decreed by our most holy Pontiff that the sins which they have repented of in their hearts and confessed with their mouths may be forgiven by apostolic power even once in their lives and at the hour of death, as often as they will be at the door, if they should not die that time; however, in this way that this confessor may apply the satisfaction which is to take place to another, also that in no way anything unlawful be committed out of a trust in the remission and forgiveness of said things. Our most holy Lord Pope hereby orders and decides that this indulgence, grace and gift shall not be included in any suspension or revocation, neither now nor in the future, but shall always be considered exempt, as is contained in the apostolic letter issued on this subject. And because the devout in Christ, Adam Lewterer and Margarethe his wife, have contributed godly from their goods to the above-mentioned work of the Catholic faith, according to the intention of the pope 2) and our decree, we testify by the present letter, by virtue of the above-mentioned apostolic power and the power herein entrusted to us, that they can and may avail themselves of the above-mentioned grace and indulgence, become partakers of it and enjoy it. Given at Dresden under our seal, of which we hereby avail ourselves, June 6, 1508.

Formula of absolution in life, so often re.

Have mercy on you 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you for the merit of his suffering, and I absolve you from all your sins by his command, by virtue of the apostolic power entrusted to me in this piece and granted to you. In the name of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen.

Formula of absolution and perfect forgiveness once in a lifetime and at every hour of death.

Have mercy on you 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you for the sake of the merit of his suffering, and I absolve you by his authority and that of the apostles, which is entrusted to me in this piece and granted to you, first of all from all ecclesiastical excommunication, great and small, if you fall into one, then from all your sins, granting you complete forgiveness of all your misdeeds. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

1) In the old edition: illegitimate.

2) In the old edition: Hohenpriesters.

Second Section.

The indulgences offered by Popes Julius II and Leo X for the construction of St. Peter's Church in Rome give rise to the Reformation.

A. The indulgences granted under Pope Julius II.

45 Cardinal Pallavicini's historical account of how the construction of St. Peter's Church and the continuation of the same, since there was no money, caused Julium II to issue this indulgence, reporting at the same time who were the general commissioners.

From Ualtavicini llistor. eoueil. Drikteat., lid. I, PSA- 4.

Julius II, who was completely exhausted by the very costly war waged to recapture the lost cities, and by the necessary repair of the seaports for the sake of the Turks, fell upon a mild and willing contribution of the faithful, by which they were to promote the construction of St. Peter's Church, which had already begun. He initially granted an indulgence of one year, but later extended the time according to his liking, and in order to obtain several indulgences and freedoms, he included the respect and reverence for the church buildings that he would choose.

Hieronimus Torniiellus, Vicarius citra montes, Ordinis Minorum, was appointed by the pope as plenipotentiary in twenty-five provinces, where he held the position of Vicarii; and since he died in 1508, he was succeeded by Franciscus Zenus on Jan. 2, 1510; and since the latter also died on July 23, 1512, this office was entrusted to Timotheus Lucensis and Alphonsus Matritensis, after several others, by this same mendicant order. July 1512, this office was entrusted, after some others, to Timotheus Lucensis and Alphonsus Matritensis, of this same mendicant order, and they were at the same time given authority to distribute indulgences in Switzerland.

46. letter of indulgence from Timotheus de Lucă for Dyting's deceased mother. 1513.

From Schellwig's "Prüfung des Pabstthums" printed in Löscher's Reformation Acts, Vol. I, p. 368 ff. This document, together with the two following ones, forms the

A whole, so to speak. The third, No. 48, should have been set first (as it is also set in Löscher, and as the date proves). But we leave it in its place, in order to preserve the agreement with Walch.

Translated into German.

For the deceased.

Because our most holy father, Mr. Julius II, Pope, wishes that by the help of the treasury of the Holy Mother, the Church, the souls of the departed who are in Purgatory may be freed from their punishments: so he has charged us, the brother Timotheus de Lucă, of the Order of the Minorites of the Observance, in regard to the execution of the bull and other apostolic letters which went out for the building of the church mentioned below, of the apostolic see nuncio and commissary general over all Italy, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Austria, and some other provinces, that he, the pope himself, has willed that all and every faithful of Christ, who, for the sake of their parents or departed friends' souls who are under the penalties of the purgatory, shall, for the building of the Church of the Prince of the Apostles at Rome, present a full alms, according to our ordinance, participate in the intercessions, fasts, prayers, masses, horis canonicis, disciplines, pilgrimages, and other spiritual goods which shall or may take place in the whole contending Church. And because the venerable Johann Dyting, moved by godliness, through the mediation of Brother Baptistă de Austria, apostolic commissarii, our subdelegate, has deposited an alms for the soul of his deceased mother, Elisabeth, in the box of said building, according to the contents of the bull issued in that case: Therefore, by apostolic authority, we order, by present, that for the soul of the aforementioned deceased, a complete indulgence be granted, for the complete relief of the punishment, and likewise, that she be helped by participation in all the charities described above. Given at Elwing, November 26, in the year of our Lord 1513.

47 Permission given by Timotheus de Luca to Johann Dytting to communicate wherever he wishes. 1513.

Permission to take communion outside the parish and without the priest's consent, as often as devotion drives him, except on Easter Day and at the hour of death.

To all and any venerable bishops, priests, monks and others who will see the present letter, Brother Timotheus de Luca, of the Minorite Order of the Observance, in regard to the execution of the Bull and other letters issued for the building of the Church of the Prince of the Apostles, although unworthy Nuncio and Apostolic Commissary General, wishes constant salvation in the Lord! According to the contents of the present, we certify and attest to you that through us, with the mediation of Brother Baptista de Austria, apostolic commissarii, our sub-delegate, the venerable John Dytting has been granted the freedom and power to celebrate the sacrament of the Holy Supper at any time, except on the feast day of Easter and at the hour of death, from a confessor whom he may choose by himself or by another, because he contributed to the building of the aforesaid church in Rome, that of the Prince of the Apostles, according to an agreement made. Such freedom and power to grant to the faithful in Christ has been granted to us and to our ambassadors by our most Holy Father, Pope Julius II, as is evident from the apostolic letters given in the form of a breve at Rome under the Fisherman's Ring, dated 12 Feb. 1507, in the fifth year of his pontificate. To certify and attest this, we have had the present executed. Given at Elwing, November 26, in the year of our Lord 1513.

(L. S.) I, Frater Baptista, who is named above, have signed with my own hand.

48: Timotheus de Luca's permission for Dytting to choose a confessor. 1513.

Translated into German.

To know to all and everyone who will see present letter that to the honorable Johann Dytting, Wlatislauischer 1) Diocese, together with his wife Agnethe, because of a kind-hearted contribution,

1) Instead of Wlatislaviensis, which we could not locate, Wohl would like to be read Vratislavisusis (Breslauer).

which, according to the apostolic indult set forth below, for the purpose of building the main church of the Prince of the Apostles in the city of Rome, be permitted and allowed to avail themselves of the benefit and freedom of the bulls and apostolic letters of our most holy Lord, Mr. Julius II, Pope, which went out recently, namely in the year 1513, the 13. January, 2) (according to the same letter, the permission or authority granted and given to the venerable father, Brother Franciscus Zenus of Milan, who belongs to the Friars Minor of the Observance, who is also a father to me, Brother Timotheus de Lucă, Vicar General on this side of the mountains, over the whole of Italy, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, Austria and other provinces of his jurisdiction, as far as the aforementioned friars are concerned, and subsequently to me Untenbenamten, as one of his apostolic authority, deputies and subdelegates, namely in the year 1412, the 28th of June, as far as this matter is concerned. June, as far as this matter is concerned) that he may choose a skilled confessor whom he wishes, be it a secular or a religious priest of any, even a mendicant order; who, after diligently hearing confessions, would be absolved of the excesses and crimes committed by them at the time of their election, as well as of all and any sins reserved to the Roman See; also of ecclesiastical censures, the absolution of which would be reserved to the said See; also of those reserved in the Bull *Coena Domini*; except those which they have committed on the occasion of an enterprise against the person of the pope, the murder of bishops and other high consecrated prelates, the falsification of the bulls or apostolic letters, the bringing of arms and other forbidden things to the lands of the infidels, on account of the alum of Tolfa, 3) and bringing things from the lands of the infidels to the faithful, contrary to the apostolic prohibition, but not under the hope and pretext of the present concession, and, if satisfaction is made, according to ordinary law, once in life, even on the deathbed, and as often as doubt arises therefore, grant absolution, remission and plenary indulgence; in the

2) This intermediate sentence, which is translated quite incorrectly in the old edition, we have put in parenthesis for the sake of easier understanding. - Franciscus Zenus died on July 23, 1512.

3) Near the town of Tolfa, in the former Papal States, in the village of Allumiera, there are important alum mines that belonged to the Papal See; for these the Pope creates a monopoly here by forbidding the import of Tolfa alum.

However, in cases and censures not reserved, although they would be reserved cases for others who are under the pope, as often as he may require, he may grant absolution and impose a salutary penance; indeed, he may change all and any vows made by them at that time (only those that go over seas and the vows of monasticism and chastity excepted) into other works of love. Likewise, that by apostolic power granted to him by this letter, he is able to administer the sacrament of the Holy Supper to the aforementioned needy at all times of the year, except on the day of Easter and at the hour of death, either by himself or by another. However, these confession slips do not extend to the conversion of those vows or the absolution of sins that were committed before the acceptance of them, because they are to be absolved or dispensed from the vows made and sins committed at that time by those ordained to do so; afterwards they will help them for the future.

However, the pope forbids the ordinaries to interfere in any way with the absolution, dispensation and similar concession made in the above-mentioned cases, or to harass such contributors, or to take them out, under the penalty of excommunication, as a sentence pronounced, and 500 ducats, that they may freely avail themselves of these powers and pardons, because in both foro, namely contentioso and conscientioso, foretold transformations, absolutions and dispensations shall be valid, notwithstanding the statutes and apostolic ordinances and letters of all and every one of our forefathers, the Roman popes, especially Paul II. and Sixtus IV, which, together with all that serves for the contrary, are expressly and sufficiently repealed by the present letter. To certify the best, I, Brother Baptista de Austria, this very Jubilee Commissary of the Order of Minorites of the Observance, subdelegate and deputy to the Superior, have signed with my own hand and handed over the present letter sealed with the seal. Given at Elwing, the 25th of November, in the year of our Lord 1513.

Formula for total absolution, after previous confession. Once in life and in any danger, even in the real or probable hour of death.

Have mercy on you 2c. And after the words of the general absolution, the priest says:

Again, by the power granted to you, but entrusted to me in this piece, I absolve you from all sins, crimes and transgressions, as great as they may always be, and have been committed by you so far, also from all censures, in whatever way you have charged them upon yourself, also from those which are reserved to the apostolic see, as much as given to me power. And again, by plenary indulgence, I remit to thee all the punishment in purgatory which thou hast deserved, according to the above; I also restore thee to that innocence and purity which thou receivedst in holy baptism, so that when thou departest from this temporality, the gates of punishment may be closed to thee, but the door to the joys of paradise may be open to thee. But if you do not die this time, this pardon shall nevertheless be sure and valid for you if you are in mortal distress elsewhere. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, amen.

The formula of absolution, which is to be used as often as necessary.

Have mercy on you 2c. May our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you through the merit of his suffering. By this and by apostolic power, which is entrusted to me in this piece and favored to you, I absolve you from all your sins and censures. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen.

Formula due to change of future vows.

By this very power, I transform the vow or vows vowed by or for you into another or other works of love (which shall be expressly named), and release you from the same. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

49: Plenary indulgence granted to the Swiss by Pope Julius II. 1511.

From Hottinger's psutack. kicssrt. ruise, p. 514.

Translated into German.

Beloved Sons! Apostolic greeting and blessing! When we heard a few days ago that you had come down to Italy against the French, not only to avenge the wrong done to us by them, but also to protect us and the Holy Roman Church, whose cities and oratories they, contrary to

We have written to you out of paternal love, praising your deeds and actions, and exhorting you to continue in the war you have begun; we have also granted you complete indulgence and forgiveness of sins. Now, however, we have also been advised to send to you our beloved son Matthaeum, of the title of Cardinal Priest of St. Potentiana, of your nation, our and the Apostolic See's legate, so that you may continue the war with all the more courage and hope and defeat and overpower the common enemies of yours and of the Holy Roman Church, as well as the heretics and the red spirits that they harbor. Furthermore, the legate himself will deliver what has been promised to you according to the settlement reached between us, and because of the dangerous ways could not be delivered to you until now, upon his arrival, and do everything else necessary and required for your honor and benefit, as you will hear from the beloved sons, Anselmo Count, pastor of Uri, our acolutho, and Ulrichen vom Hohenstein (alto saxo), or one of the two, and deliver such faith. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, the 26th Dec. Anno 1511, of our Papacy in the 9th year.

50: Emperor Maximilian I forbids the imperial city of Memmingen to continue paying indulgences to the Dominicans in Augsburg. 1515.

From Schelhorn's amoenitat. litte rar., tow. VI, p. 312.

We Maximilian, by the Grace of God chosen Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire, in Germania, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. King, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Brabant, and Count Palatine 2c., offer to our and the Empire's dear faithful, Mayor and Council of the City of Memmingen, our grace and all good. Dear faithful! It has come to our attention that the Order of Friars of Augsburg has in various times obtained from Papal Holiness an indulgence and indulgence for the building of their monastery there in Augsburg, on your and several other towns of ours and the Empire, and in virtue of this indulgence have contributed a considerable sum of money to it, and shall continue to do so. Since this has happened without our, as the Roman Emperor's, knowledge and decree, and since those of the Holy Spirit in Saxia at Rome have also acquired such indulgence and indulgence, which we have then received from the Holy Spirit, we are not obliged to pay it.

The Holy Spirit, considering that such money shall be used only for the entertainment of the poor and needy for God's sake. And for divine services, and no other things, at their request, on your and some other our and the kingdom's cities, previously admitted. Accordingly, and so that by such preaching or other indulgences our and the kingdom's subjects may not be exhausted, and those of the Holy Spirit prevented with their indulgences: We earnestly recommend you, with avoidance of our severe disgrace and punishment, and want you to put all the money, which the named preachers or anyone else, outside of those of the Holy Spirit in Saxia, thus obtains, into arrest and prohibition, and that until further notice no one follow our order, Nor henceforth let such indulgences and indulgences of the preaching monks, nor anyone else, but our knowledge, be further publicized, issued, posted, or proclaimed in your city, but send them to us, and against this do no other thing, lest we be caused to act against you in any other way. In this you do our favor and opinion. Given in our city Inspruck on the seventh day of the month Martii, after the birth of Christ fifteen hundred and in the fifteenth, of our kingdoms of the Roman in the thirtieth and of the Hungarian in the fifth and twentieth year 2c.

Emperor Maximilian I revokes the above mandate. 1515.

From Cyprian's preface to des Myconius digtor. rskormat., p. 13.

We, Maximilian von Gots Gnaden, Exalted Roman Emperor at all times Merer of the Empire, in Germania, in Hunger, Dalmacia, Croacia 2c.. King, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Brabant, and Count of the Palatinate 2c., offer to all our and the Empire's Princes, Prelates, Counts, and Saints, in the provinces of March and Cologne, who have heard of these things, and are requested by this imperial letter of ours, or a true copy thereof, our grace and all our good! Dear, highborn, wolborn, noble and firstborn, dear new [nephews], grandparents, electors, devotees, and faithful! Whereas on the seventh day of the month of Marcii, next Verschinen, we send out our commandment letter to all of you and others, that we place all money, which the brothers of the Order of Preachers at Augspurg, obtained from a Papal Indulgence, for the construction of our monastery there, in arrest and prohibition, and that on our will

But if no one is to be told, nor to have it published further, this has happened for no other reason than that the same preachers have not been permitted to use the Indulgence in the Holy Roman Empire, with our as the Roman Emperor's permission, But because they now, through the Exalted, Empty, our dear devout Doctor Johann Fabri, Preacher of the Order, as Commissarii of the Indulgentz, have made our excuse that they have not asked us for it out of ignorance and no contempt, We have also found that the indulgence we have obtained is lawful, we have herewith revoked our letter of commandment, which we earnestly command you to give to the aforementioned brothers of the Order of Preachers, or to our attorneys, the above-mentioned indulgences, according to the Papal Bulls, in your territories, publicize, issue, advertise, and proclaim them, and what there is of them, let them do so themselves in error, and let nothing prevent you from doing so, and you do so with our sincere consent. Given in our and the kingdom's city of Augsburg, on the three and thirtieth day of April, Anno etc. Decimo quinto, our empire of the Roman in the thirtieth, and of the hunger in the sixth and twentieth year.

**Ad mandatum Domini Imperatoris proprium,
per Cesarem Sernteiner.**

Collation vleißig übersehen und verlesen ist diese gegenwärtige Copi durch mich Jacob Moclin, Bürger zu Augspurg, von Päbstlichen und Kaiserlichen Gewalt ain 1) offen Notari, gleich luttet dem Orginal, das bejahe ich mit meiner eigenigen Handschrift.

B. The indulgences granted under Pope Leo X.

1. written out in Rome itself.

52. bulla of the most plenary indulgence for the construction of the Church of the Prince of the Apostles in the city, which recently went out from the apostolic see. 1517.

From Cherubim dullnruni pontit., pars X, p. 38.
Translated into German.

Leo Bishop, a servant of the servants of God, to all believers in Christ who will read this letter, salvation and apostolic greeting!

Having attained to apostolic majesty, though unworthy, by divine grace:

1) In the old edition: "am".

Among other things that we have always been concerned about and have diligently striven to accomplish, we have also found the care for the salvation of the Christian faithful and the completion of the construction of the cathedral church of the prince of the apostles in the city. For that is most incumbent upon a good shepherd, both to build the heavenly court and to make the flock entrusted to him blessed; but this is found most necessary, to rebuild the church, which is the head of all churches and the throne of the apostolic see. Pope Julius II, of blessed memory, has always been anxious to accomplish both, which is why he has granted plenary indulgences and many spiritual gifts to stimulate the faithful to works of godliness and to lend a helping hand to the construction.

Because we are following in the footsteps of our ancestor, and it is sufficiently known to all Christians that St. Peter was made prince of the apostles by our Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the power to bind and loose souls was given to him by divine grace, in the words: "You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. And we too, although unworthy, have become successors of the same Heavenly Key Bearer, and sit in the holy church of God in his place, considering that, although by virtue of the apostleship commanded to us by God we have to take care of all the churches throughout the world in such a way that the churches, as houses of God, are not only maintained in their buildings and carpentry, but also, where necessary, repaired, it is especially incumbent upon us to take care of the cathedral church of St. Peter, the prince of the churches of the world. Peter, the prince of the apostles, all the more care and diligence: that, as St. Peter himself was made prince of the apostles by our Savior, so also his cathedral church, which was mostly torn down by our aforementioned ancestor in order to build it up anew, thus among all the churches of the city or the world needs such, be provided with proper and necessary buildings, rebuilt and expanded, and also afterwards maintained in such new construction, expansion and better condition. Moreover, it is also decided that the assets of the church, the Holy Mother, which has to bear so many necessary costs, are not sufficient for the completion of such construction; and that the construction itself will not be completed without God's will.

The Minorites, in their concern for the salvation of the souls of the faithful (especially those in the twenty-five provinces in which the Servant General observes): we have, out of concern for the salvation of the souls of the faithful (especially those who are in the twenty-five provinces in which the Servant General of the Order of Friars Minor *observantiae regularis*, as they are called, is on the other side of the mountains, and which are to be counted according to the custom of that Order; including all of Italy, Sicily, beyond Pharus, Corsica, Candia, Cyprus, Rhodus, up to Jerusalem, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Hungary, Austria, Bohemia and Poland, except the land of the Archbishop of Gniezno, likewise the islands of the Mediterranean Sea), and considering that, although the Christian faithful themselves, who live in these lands and islands, would gladly devoutly wish of the indulgence granted on account of the said building, they nevertheless, because of the vastness of the others, have no opportunity to go personally to the said building, or to deliver by other godly alms to the box ordered for this purpose, nevertheless fatherly decided, in order to promote their souls' salvation and the said building in time, according to the example of our Saviour (who sent his apostles to various parts of the world, to preach the Gospel and to win souls to the Father), in good faith of the Almighty God's grace, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, his apostles, and of all the saints' merits, also with good knowledge, forethought, and fullness of apostolic power, to all the faithful of Christ of both sexes, be they of what state, dignity, degree, order, office, or majesty they may, also to the spiritual monks of all orders, and other seculars, in all countries (except the aforesaid Gniezno) and aforesaid islands, and who come thither, so doing true penance and confession, provided they end within One Year, to be reckoned from the promulgation of the present our letter, and as follows, and so then further, according to our pleasure, the churches in said countries and islands, over which our beloved son Christopher of Forlivo, of the title of St. Mary of the Celestial Altar, has the right to consecrate. We have elevated him to the dignity of Cardinal because of his good life and praiseworthy morals, and for these and the other things described below we have appointed him as our Nuncio and Commissario in the said countries and islands for the year in question, and then further at our pleasure, together with those whom he himself or through others may still appoint and appoint,

according to the said nuncio and commissarii, or the salutary order to be ordered by him, or the salutary order to be further ordered by them in their stead, which he shall submit in this case, and into the boxes set for the purpose of the said building by the nuncio or commissario, or subcommissary to be appointed, according to the order and institution of the nuncio, commissary or the notified commissaries to be ordered or further ordered by him in his stead, to actually lay Christian alms, complete forgiveness of all their sins, and to proclaim as many and such indulgences as in a jubilee year, so that they obtain as much of such indulgences and forgiveness of sins as if they personally visited all the churches of said city and outside of it, which the Christian faithful are accustomed to visit for the sake of standing prayers, every day during Lent and throughout the year. And that they may also act with said commissaries, or those appointed in their stead, or again appointed by the same, that they may take a secular or monastic priest from all, even the mendicant orders, as confessor, who, upon their attentive hearing, may confess of all sins, transgressions and misdeeds, however high and terrible they may be, committed by the confessor; also of the cases and curses of excommunication reserved to the apostolic see; also of those which a person has committed by arrest, and which have been carried out with the consent of the parties on account of the interdict, and of which otherwise the indictment would be reserved to the apostolic see (with the exception of conspiracy against the person of the supreme pope, murder of bishops or other high prelates, and forcible laying of hands on them and other prelates, forgery of apostolic bulls and letters, bringing arms or other forbidden things to the infidels, (1) and the alms from our *tola*, 1) as well as what is brought to the faithful by the unbelievers against our prohibition, once in their life, and of the cases not reserved, always, as often as they desire, grant complete indulgence and forgiveness of all sins, impose wholesome penance, and administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (but without the governor's and own priest's detriment), and change all the vows vowed by them beyond the sea; except those to enter the monastery and to remain single, unless their validity is still in question.

1) Compare note 3, Col. 227. Here in the old edition *aluminurll* is given by: "those about alums and our tulph".

if the person would have been in duality, or if the person would have become unfit for monastic life due to age or illness, or such cause, or if he would have married according to the vows; In which cases we also want the vows to be changed, with the dispensation that the marital debt of the person who married contrary to the vows can nevertheless be discharged, and that he is no longer obliged to enter the monastery after his redemption, but cannot marry the other time; and that everything that is paid from such change of the vows is added to the work of said building.

And furthermore (one may act) with those who in ecclesiastical orders or benefices are defiled with the abomination of simony, if they steer to such work because of their transgression of the rules in this case; if such have been under the ban hereof, and yet have performed mass and other sacred offices, although not in defiance of the keys, or have otherwise maintained divine service, or in any other manner, even if they have improperly usurped church goods at the previous instigation or otherwise; with the exception of bigamy, bisexuality; But as for premeditated murder, if it is secret, that one did not serve at the altar, only in the court of conscience to give release or redemption for it, and to erase all stain or censure of incompetence and disgrace, so coming from it; that they maintain office in the received order, and thus enjoy the ecclesiastical benefices, which are to be regarded as conferred on them anew from then on, and the fruits enjoyed from it, if they also refrain from the canonical hours of prayer and other divine service, by the settlement made:

Similarly, one may act on what has been wrongfully taken and is uncertain, or has been acquired by usury and usurpation; also on what is certain, which one usurer extorts from another, and which, since he should pay the interests, he would not be willing to pay; or which one would owe to some church, which the Roman church should inherit according to the common law. Likewise about goods that come into one's hands, and those who have them do not know or doubt to whom they are to replace them, as well as if what they took were no longer there, or they had gotten it (to whom it belonged). Similarly, about those who have been consecrated or bequeathed without special designation, only for the benefit of the poor and other holy places, or for the marriage of girls, and for masses and other religious services, that their own names and persons have not been noted: both about those past

and to make a settlement for the future, so that if anything is paid for the said construction to the same nuncio and commissary, or to those ordered in their stead, or he alone would still like to order, and placed in the boxes themselves, they shall then be completely free from such goods left to them or otherwise wrongfully come into their hands, or obtained by usury, and whatever else they come to, that they do not know or doubt to whom they should return it, as has been said, and may not return such. And what before the promulgation of the letters of our forefather, Pabst Julii himself, was uncollected through such indulgences, even if it was left and given to the ordinaries, but as something uncertain; or what otherwise came to them, and what was claimed by the ordinaries themselves, or in their name, after the promulgation, and paid to them, in whatever way it may be; and what was not due as a debt before the proclamation for certain or uncertain persons and objects, but became a debt after the proclamation; also what is bequeathed, given, or otherwise accrues to the ordinaries themselves, as aforesaid: This is to be freely reclaimed, collected and collected as something that does not belong to them by the commissario and subcommissaries, or those he further appoints, also by ecclesiastical excommunication and fines and other appropriate legal remedies, also with the involvement, where necessary, of secular power.

The same shall apply to all those who have been promoted to the holy or priestly order without any other dispensation before the appointed time, and who have served in the said order. Likewise with those who, in case of affinity, blood friendship, or fleshly or spiritual relationship, arising from right or sinful kinship, are between the baptized and godparents; except for the single or multiple degrees; or by any other impediment to common respectability and justice, or by whatever impediment it may be, knowingly or unknowingly, in the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity and affinity, and by illegitimate intermarriage, if it is only secret, also in the first degree of consanguinity, married, and with carnal intermarriage completed, if only such impediment had never been pending, or could otherwise cause trouble.

Also with those who married in the fourth degree of consanguinity or affinity and did not complete it by fleshly union, that they be free from such guilt and sentence of banishment, of which they would otherwise be guilty thereby, but

that, according to the nature of the guilt, salutary penance directed to such construction be imposed on them, and that they henceforth no longer do such things, nor advise, help, and serve others to commit such things, and otherwise be reminded of what is to be done in this connection: that they thus enter into marriage anew, and in this way may remain free and without sin, and their children produced or yet to be produced from such marriage be considered legitimate, namely in the court of conscience alone. Also, as for others than those married in the third degree of consanguinity and the fourth degree of affinity, as stated above, whom we want to be counted free in both courts in this case and freed to marry again publicly; and that the same Cardinal, and to whom he especially entrusts his place in this, although in the fourth degree of consanguinity and affinity, and an obstacle to public respectability and justice exists, may dispense with such marriages.

Likewise, to deal with those who have been promoted above in an improper manner, because of such impropriety and incompetence of which they have been guilty, since they were in charge of the said order of office; also with those who have come to it too early, and are twenty-three years old, that they may also attain to the holy priesthood and serve at the altar. Likewise with all those who, whoever they may be, have property of churches, monasteries and ecclesiastical benefices, of whatever kind they may be, and in the absence of judicial proof cannot be forced to return it, even if it could be proved. Likewise about all goods and legacies, and what else has been bequeathed as inheritance, for compensation of stolen and ill-gotten goods, and may still be bequeathed or granted in the future during the appointment of our Nuncio and Commissarii, as is done by the present letter. Likewise about all wills, donations on account of death, codicils or other last declarations of will, by whom and where they may also occur and during this appointed commission, be it for which church, holy place or persons it may be, certain or uncertain or absent, that because of their absence nothing is to be learned from them, and that otherwise they must also be refunded, but that the persons to whom they would have to be refunded are now no longer entitled to accept the same. Similarly, about everything in wills, donations on account of death, codicils and other last declarations of will for the redemption of the prisoners, even if they have been given to St. Mary of Mercy (de

mercede) or the Holy Trinity, the redemption of the imprisoned friars and St. Eulalia of Barcelona; also over inheritance and goods of the clergy and laity dying without a will, so as to have no legitimate heirs, even if the thus consecrated belonged to the said redemption of the prisoners by apostolic benefit. Likewise over all money and other things, so at noon meals and Gastereien and public spectacles, with certain celebration, by reason of vow, statute or use, it is in which place it may, be put on, or during the Nuntii and such Commissarii authority might be put on. All of which we hereby propose for this construction, and condemn the objectors all to the ban sentence and penalty of 500 ducats of gold by the deed itself. Likewise, concerning the restitution of such goods of the churches, monasteries and benefices, we want that against a certain part or sum of them, which are to be used for such construction, those who possess them thus, are counted free from all further restitution, and that they possess them henceforth without hindrance. And that the Nuncio and Commissarius themselves, or those whom he authorizes in general or in particular, may have the power to exclude all doubt, both about the persons to whom freedom to choose a confessor is to be granted, if this already includes entire communities of cities, towns, castles, villages or other places, also colleges, which with all their individual persons, namely said communities, castles, villages and colleges, castles, villages and colleges (if only the confession slip is not drawn on other persons than those who were stated and named in such parishes and colleges at the time of the issued confession slip), would have to decide, dissolve and interpret the lot count of the above-mentioned cases, or one of them, and the dispensation over the same or one of them, as all other doubts. And those who die without confession, whether they have otherwise confessed under a year, if they have only shown signs of repentance at the hour of death, shall nevertheless be free to be buried in a holy place. And they (the Nuncio and Commissarius) shall condemn the objectors to the penalty of excommunication and 500 ducats, which shall come to the building; also reduce and estimate the sum of money, for obtaining such indulgences and other objections, and for freedom to choose such confessors; also allow those of nobility, priests and graduates, a funeral altar, which they may keep with due honor and reverence, and on which (at ge-

(The church is to be held in proper and honorable places, even if they are not holy or ecclesiastical, which may be bound by a common or special interdict of apostolic or ordinary authority, if only they have not given cause for such interdict), before daybreak, but toward daylight, in their presence or in the presence of their trusted servants, according to the contents of the chapter *Alma de sentisut. Excommunic. l. 6.* they may celebrate masses and other religious services either themselves, who are priests or will be priests at that time, or have them celebrated by other priests, and at the time of such interdict they may attend the service, receive the sacrament and other church sacraments without any disadvantage (except for Easter Sunday), and their bodies may also be buried according to the Christian church manner, but without chasuble.

Likewise, that during fasting and other forbidden times, eggs, butter, cheese and other dairy food, also meat, be used, eaten and consumed with both (that is, the physical and spiritual) doctor's advice, without conscience scruples, in all freedom, (said Nuncio and Commissarius) shall have freedom to grant: (who shall also have power) at the time of a general indulgence, even if it were imposed by apostolic authority, to open one or more churches for the proclamation of such indulgence, and to exempt the same, one or more, from the indulgence, and to hold divine service at open doors, and to have the bodies buried. Similarly, all oaths, be they in commercial contracts, instruments, lists, and prescriptions (except for those taken in the manner of the chamber), are to be enacted solely for their effect, and to be absolved from all perjury, but without harm to a third party. Likewise, all indulgences, including those usually proclaimed by the mendicant orders from the middle of Lent until Easter, and which we as well as our ancestors and the pre-notified See, or its authority, be it churches, monasteries, hospitals, also our (Hospital) of the Holy Spirit in Saxia in the city; likewise of St. Augustine's Order and other holy orders of the Holy Spirit in the city, Augustinian Order and other holy orders, congregations, brotherhoods, whatever they may be, and for whatever use they may be established from spiritual and secular persons, also granted to individual persons; also the complete in life, and all liberties, which any person, whatever his rank and dignity, even if he had the honor of the Cardinals or the office of Legation, over the above-mentioned cases or one of the same has been granted so far (except as much as the preservation of the poor and miserable persons in Saxony).

the Hospices of Rome and St. James in Galicia and the Kingdom of Portugal. We have the right to revoke or suspend the rights of the monarchs in the countries in which these hospitals are located, and which have their borders according to our chancery usage, as well as in some other places, both with regard to the campaign against the Turks and heretics, if they already contain clauses of reservation against all revocation and suspension (said freedoms): when and how often and at what time it seems good to the notified nuncio and commissario or their rulers and sub-rulers to revoke or suspend them. All and any of which (indulgences) we hereby suspend until the said time at our discretion, and declare and pronounce suspended and dormant, with prohibition of all alms collections otherwise done by virtue thereof, and order all and any of the local ordinaries, abbots, and other spiritual and secular persons, whatever their rank, dignities, orders, orders, and sovereignty or honors, to pay a penalty of exile and a fine of 500 ducats, so that they may be guilty of the same penalties by the fact that they do not hinder the proclamation of the said indulgence and the cancellation of the other such indulgences in their churches, cities and districts, where and as often as the same are necessary, or demand something under pretext of the proclamation, or even accept or demand from those who give willingly, and use deceit and trickery in reported matters or otherwise; nor prevent those who seek to benefit from such indulgences and to obtain their benevolent assistance, from doing so, in whole or in part, outright or in a crooked manner, in express words or tacitly; nor even, for themselves or through their vicars or officials, any treasurer of any order, monastery or brotherhood, or hospital, including ours of the Holy Spirit in Saxia, or St. Antonii, or other relatives. Antonii, or other administrators, freedom to build churches: Rather, we want them to find all such alms collectors, who in their jurisdictions, without letters of privilege, want to collect such alms from the Commissario and his rulers, whom he wants to order, with their belongings and goods, which we propose for the said building, and faithfully to the hands of our beloved son Bernhardt, St. Mary in Portiuncula Cardinaldiacons, said building administrator (and supreme overseer), and that they do not in any way dare or undertake to take those who have obtained dispensation and lot counting from him or his agents.

The commissioner shall not be entitled to contest or hinder the power of these letters to obtain dispensation or absolution from the commissioner himself or his appointees and subdelegates to be appointed by them, or to demand some penalty for the case in which the above-mentioned dispensation or absolution has been granted, for the past and the future, according to canonical, imperial laws, statutes or usage.

However, we forbid the aforementioned alms collectors, with the same penalties, not to dare to collect alms in a certain way, nor to let their goods, as reported by the Commissarius and Subcommissarii, or their administrators, because of their (the coffers') fault, thus wither away, be beaten and sold to the said building, presume again in some way, or reclaim from the buyers, accountants (*decorioribus*) or commissioners, sub-commissioners, or their appointed people. And command, by the same ban and penalty, all preachers of the divine word of all orders, also the beggars, that, as often as the reported Commissarius and his officers ordered by him or their administrators request it, they exhort the above-mentioned believers in Christ to the taxation of said construction; and also, if the said Commissarius and his appointed sub-commissarii have them reminded of this, to refrain entirely from preaching (on the days on which the said indulgence and the abrogation of the other are proclaimed by them or by their order); and the said commissioner and the said rulers shall nevertheless have power to command and interpret all and any of the aforesaid, also to all and any of the aforesaid persons, under the same penalties, as often as they think fit and good; also to annul all oaths, such laymen of both sexes as they may desire, that they may remain with a society, fraternity, or number of some persons, and have done something certain, on account of such fraternity, society, or number, in regard to the said (other) indulgences, liberties, or alms-gatherings, always or for some time, and to absolve them therefrom in some manner; to restrain the blasphemers, contumacious and disobedient by means of ecclesiastical excommunication and other strong legal means, and also, if necessary, to call in the secular arm, and to drive them to couples; and also to institute public processions or parades to the said end, and to have the people and all clergy of all orders, even those who are otherwise exempt, assembled with the ringing of bells for the performance of such works, since then reported assembled clergy under penalty of the

The governor is to precede the ban and leave the commissioners and sub-commissioners the honorary office of initiating the indulgences themselves; likewise, after prior satisfaction, he is to release and remit the said ban and punishments, and also to restart the indulgences that have been initiated.

That also the copies and confession notes in said lands, islands and borders, which are written by the said nuncio and commissario or their appointed and further to be appointed rulers, and he signed or only provided with his seal, be granted faith, for this we give by apostolic power, by virtue of this, power and freedom, and will and command such.

And that the more the souls need other help, the more their salvation will be promoted, and they will not be able to obtain it: We want and grant, out of the said apostolic power, from and out of the treasure of the Church, the holy Mother, to the souls who are in purgatory, and who have departed from this world united with Christ through love, and who deserved during their lifetime that such help should come to them; because we want to help such souls, as much as we can with God, with compassion, out of divine grace and full apostolic power: that if some parents, friends and other believers in Christ, out of pity for the souls themselves in Purgatory, which are kept for the reconciliation of the punishments according to divine justice, during the commission of the Nuntii and Commissarii, contribute to the work of this construction any alms (according to the discretion and disposition of the Nuntii and Commissarii and the authorities ordered by him or to be further ordered), the most plenary indulgence, as an aid to the souls themselves in purgatory, for which the alms intended for them, applied in a godly manner, as above mentioned, will benefit them as an aid through the cancellation of the punishment; and all and every believer in Christ of both sexes, both clergy and monks, as well as seculars, shall lend a helping hand from the same abundance of power and clemency, if they lend a helping hand to the building of the said cathedral church; Likewise, all their deceased parents, benefactors, deceased in love, shall participate in all prayers, masses, canonical hours, flagellations, pilgrimages, and other good works that may be done in the whole universal holy contending church and by all its members, without the aforesaid apostolic statutes and orders, letters of liberty and pardons, even those called the great sea, which the same Order or its persons in general or in particular, under whatever kind of expressions and points it may be, may also have in such a manner.

The only thing that can prevent them from being abolished is that they have been granted by the apostolic authority of their own accord and with good knowledge and from the fullness of that authority. As which we (whether already for their abolition or invalidation otherwise from themselves, or their contents, special, expressly named and own, also from word to word, but not by common or plain clauses or points, from which it could be concluded, clear written message, or otherwise a completely explicit form of speech must be taken and kept, which we all want to be named and incorporated here as well as possible, but otherwise leave them in their power and dignity at another time) only for this time especially and expressly set aside with such our knowledge and complete power, and not let anyone benefit from them; as well as all others which contain the opposite, or if some or their orders have been conferred by the very See, that they may not be condemned by apostolic letters to interdict, suspension or banishment, according to apostolic letters which do not give clear and express notice of such conferment from word to word.

But because it would be difficult to bring the present letters to all places where it would be necessary: We have decided by the aforementioned authority that their copies, signed by one or two notaries with their hand, and sealed with the seal of the nuncio and commissarii, or their sub-commissarii and administrator, if he wishes to set one, or of a prelate, or of a person in ecclesiastical dignity, shall be delivered with the same unquestionable faith that would be delivered to our present letters, if they were to be identified and delivered.

We also want that those who, in the money received from this indulgence, make some misrepresentation, likewise those who, in the above-mentioned matters, or on the same occasion, speak ill of the Commissario and the rulers to be appointed or further appointed by him, or of their order, or say that they have bought the said indulgence and liberties, and made a bargain and settlement with us or with someone else, since they, as obedient sons, have taken the trouble and expense of the said construction for nothing, by the act of which they are to be immediately condemned, and cannot be released from it by anyone other than us or the said commissary, or those specially authorized by him for this purpose, and only at the hour of death; and that the present letters shall not be valid after one year, and whatever else we may decide.

Therefore, no one should dare to invalidate or counteract this deed of ours, decree, order, award (of funds), suspension, declaration, prohibition, prohibition, command, benefit, annulment, will and conclusion (or in all matters where something has been commanded, raised 2c.). But if anyone undertakes such a thing, let him know that he incurs the wrath of Almighty God and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, Anno of the Incarnation of our Lord 1517, Sept. 13, in the 5th year of our papacy.

Jac. Sadoletus.

Cyprianus.

Which letters, after having been diligently read, we have received from the most worthy Father and Lord, Mr. Christopher of Forlivo, of the title of St. Mary at the Altar of Heaven Priest Cardinal and of the whole Minorite Order of Regular Observance General Servant or Ecclesiastic in twenty-five countries. We have been asked by the Most Reverend Father and Lord, Mr. Christoph of Forlivo, of the title of St. Mary at the Altar of Heaven Priest Cardinal, and of the whole Minorite Order of Regular Observance General Servant or Minister, and of the aforesaid indulgences in the twenty-five countries contained in the aforesaid letters, to order them to be kept together with the original itself by our final notary, and to have them kept; To all of which we have attached our decree or order, and for the greater certainty of the foregoing have printed our usual seal in such present. Done in Milan, in the house of our (episcopal) see, January 11, 1518, and of the papacy of our most holy Lord Pabst in the 5th year. In the presence of the reverend Freduli Magnardi, canon of Cererat and priest, Johannis Quirici de Ferrariis, canon of the collegiate church of St. Ambrosii of Iglevano, in the diocese of Novara, as witnesses called, obtained and requested for the above. The copy was made by Baptista, Bishop of Bosro and Comes Scriptor, and the Notary Joh. Thomas of Cavallis, Milanese and Imperial Notary.

The Jesuit Maimburg's report of Leo X's true intention in offering the indulgence shows that he was not concerned with St. Peter's Church in Rome, but that he wanted to give his sister, who was married to Prince Cibo, the proceeds of this indulgence as a bridal treasure.

It can be said with truth of Leo X that he showed all the qualities of a great prince, but did not have all those that belong to a great pope. Therefore, following the inclination of his nature to have everything splendid, he sought to carry out the magnificent construction of St. Peter's, which Julius II had begun. But he had completely exhausted the papal treasury by his inordinate expenditures on splendid things of every kind, which were more befitting for the most powerful monarch than for the governor of one who professes that his kingdom is not of this world. Maimburg [1. C. Sect. 6] continues, that is why, following the example of Julius, he took recourse to indulgences, publicized them everywhere, and allowed those who would deposit the money for the construction of St. Peter's Church to eat eggs and cheese during Lent and to choose a confessor. It must be confessed in accordance with the truth that the popes who followed Leo were much more cautious in dispensing this spiritual treasure, and that at that time some things happened that would not happen now, and through which it came about that Leo's indulgences, which in themselves were very good, became very hated, especially in Germany. For it is reported that Leo immediately and without hesitation attributed to his sister, who was married to Prince Cibo, all the revenues of the indulgence in Saxony and the neighboring countries up to the Belt, and this so that he would give the family of Cibo a reward for the great means of help that were offered to him in time of need. For Leo was expelled from his fatherland Florence and lived in exile in Genoa. There are also writers who claim that this indulgence, in order to obtain cash, was auctioned off and awarded to the highest bidders; These buyers, in order not only to recover the money they had spent, but also to enrich themselves from this shameful trade, would then have hired such indulgence preachers and merchants with considerable money, whom they considered suitable to persuade the common people to pay the indulgence as much as these miserly and church-robbing merchants would offer it. It is certain that at the time when Urban II proclaimed the indulgences for the Crusade, the quaestores, who were appointed to receive the gifts of the faithful, were gradually challenged and corrupted by avarice, so that they finally committed great abuses in the exercise of their office.

The letter of indulgence issued by Bartholomew Farratinus as Leo X's commissary on Nov. 18, 1515, at Rome. Commissarius, Nov. 18, 1515, at Rome.

From Kapp's "Collection of Some Writings Belonging to the Papal Indulgence," p. 46.

Translated into German by LI. Joh. Erh. Kapp.

To all and every venerable secular priest, and of whatever orders they may be, also to the regular mendicant orders, Bartholomew Farratinus, Canonicus of the chief church of the most noble Apostle in Rome and Commissary ordered to the things described below, wishes salvation and blessedness in the Lord! So that the obtained spiritual gifts of grace, which our holy father and lord, lord Leo, by divine providence of that name the X. Pabst, voluntarily, to invite the faithful of Christ to the works of godliness and mercy, and to lend a helping hand to the chief church of the chief apostle in Rome, according to the contents of the apostolic bull of a plenary indulgence on account of that church, issued under the date: Rome, in the thousand five hundred and fourteenth year after the incarnation of the Lord, the 10th of Jan, in the other year of our papal reign, that the good Lord Bertoldus, of the Bamberg diocese, may enjoy and rejoice in it for the blessedness of his soul: We hereby testify that this Bertoldus, because he has offered something out of his abundance of love to the said church and has lent it a helping hand, has, according to the said bull, obtained complete and free authority to choose a skilful confessor from among you; who, after hearing his confession diligently, shall tell of the misdeeds, infirmities and sins committed by him, whatever they may be and however great they may be, also of the cases which are reserved to the apostolic see, even if they are of such a nature that the apostolic see should be consulted for counsel; likewise of ecclesiastical punishments, if they were awarded by a judge at someone's request, to which, according to the agreement of the parties, one would be subject because of an ecclesiastical prohibition, and the absolution of which would be reserved to the said See; nor less from those cases which are reserved in the *Bulla coenae Domini* (to be read on the day of the institution of the Lord's Supper), with the exception of the enterprises intended against the person of the highest priest, the killing of bishops or other prelates, the laying of violent hands on them or other prelates, the falsification of the papal documents, or the violation of the constitution of the church.

The following are the penalties that are imposed on the unbelievers for the alumnae of the Holy Scriptures and the apostolic letters. Rom. Church, and [things,] which one has brought from the unbelievers to the believers against the apostolic prohibition: once in life, and in the cases not reserved, as often as he shall have demanded such, and in the hour of death, as often as it should be doubted, impart to him plenary indulgence and forgiveness of all his sin, impose salutary penance, and administer Holy Communion (except on Easter Day and in the hour of death) at all other times of the year; as well as to annul all the vows he has made (except the vows to travel to the Holy Land, to enter the clerical state, and to surrender to chastity) for the benefit of the said building (if the confessor will have contributed from his fortune); but if he does not contribute anything of his fortune, to change it into other works of godliness; as also all oaths in contracts, instrumentis and obligationibus (except those made in the manner of the chamber) can and may be abated, all according to their effect. That also equally said electing person may eat and enjoy eggs, butter, cheese and other dairy foods, as well as meat, during fasting and other forbidden times, freely and without any scruple of conscience, according to the advice of both physicians; that also, if said person will be of nobility or a clergyman, he/she/it will have a supporting altar, which he/she/it shall hold with due reverence and honor, and on which in for this purpose comfortable and honorable oertens, even if they are not holy and by ordinary power are subject to a church prohibition. Furthermore, that they, before it is light and bright day, but at daylight, in their and their housemates' presence, either themselves, if they will be a clergyman at the time, read mass and administer the other services, or have them administered by others; that they continue to attend services at the time of such a church ban, and their body (but without Leichgepräng) be buried in the graveyard. Finally, that they receive as much and the same indulgence and forgiveness of sins, which the persons, if they personally attended all the churches, which are in the city [Rome] and outside of it, every almost day, and are visited for the attainment of the stations of said city; namely, by going to one or some church or churches, according to said commissarii or other commissarii, of one or some, which one would like to deputize and subdelegate for this purpose, wise and to be established about this.

The Pope and the Pope's order, devoutly went, and in the boxes, which for the purpose of the said building were to be set by them, Godly alms really put in, would obtain, by apostolic power, which is granted in the said letter, can and may obtain; all and every statutes, ordinances and apostolic letters of all and every Roman popes, our ancestors, but especially the bulls of Paul II. and Sixtus IV, which are expressly and sufficiently contradicted by the said letter, as well as all other things contrary thereto, notwithstanding. Incidentally, this above-mentioned most holy lord forbids in the above-mentioned letter the *Ordinary*, as well as all and everyone, under the penalty of excommunicationis latae sententiae (the conferred sentence of excommunication), even in the case of loss of 500 ducats of soluble gold, which are to be used on the aforementioned building, so that after the indulgence granted, confession heard and absolution obtained from the aforesaid cases, to interfere in any way, or to hinder or disturb the contributors, so that they may not freely use, obtain, and enjoy the aforesaid obtained gifts of grace. To certify this, we have drawn up the present letter and affixed our seal to it. Date Rome in the Porticu of St. Peter. In the year following the birth of the Lord 1515, and in the 6th day of the month of Novembris, in the third year of the papal reign of our most holy Lord Leo, by divine providence of that name of the tithe.

The above-mentioned Bartholomew, Commissarius, signed it with his own hand.

Form of a perfect absolution "after previous confession.

Have mercy on you 2c. And after the words of general absolution, the priest says: And again, by apostolic power granted to you and entrusted to me, I absolve you from all the sins, infirmities and misdeeds you have committed so far, be they as great as they may; also from all the punishments you have deserved, in whatever way it may be; also from the cases reserved to the apostolic see, as far as power is given to me. And again, by virtue of a plenary indulgence, I forgive you all the punishments you owe to suffer in Purgatory for the sins committed, and restore you to the innocence and purity you received in Baptism,

So that when you depart from this world, the gates of punishment will be closed to you and the door of paradisiacal pleasures will be opened. And that if you do not fall at that time, nevertheless, when you will be in the time of death, this grace will be kept for you unharmed. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen.

Lucas, notary, signed it.

55: Letter of indulgence and brotherhood of Francis of Tripontio, which he sold as commissary of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Saxia de urbe in Rome on 27 Feb. 1516, so that the collected indulgence money could be used to feed the whore children laid to rest in Rome, among others.

From Kapp's "Sammlung," p. 65. Translated into German by M. Joh. Erhard Kapp.

For the deceased.

To the praise and glory of Almighty God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. For the maintenance of the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Saxia, Rome, and of the poor, sick and foundlings therein; for the repose of the faithful souls who are purifying themselves in the holy purgatory, so that they may be completely freed from the punishments of the same by the mercy of God and the power of the great Roman Pontiff, our most holy Father in Christ and Lord, Lord Nicolaus, by divine providence of that name the fifth pope, after having granted indulgences to the people who are still alive, has granted a plenary indulgence to the souls of the deceased, for which alms would be given according to the good pleasure of the commissaries; namely in the following words: If anyone among them will give the said quantum to this hospital for the souls of the father and mother or other deceased, who have departed from this life in sincerity of faith, unity of the holy Roman Church, in obedience to us and our ancestors, the Roman Pontiffs, in a contrition and perfect confession (if one has had time and can confess): To all these departed in Christ, we leave, out of God's mercy, in which we have a greater trust in heaven than we forgive out of His power on earth, all the punishment which they may receive after this life.

For the cleansing of sins they deserve to suffer, out of the foretold power and mercy in the Lord, and forgive them such. This indulgence has been confirmed and approved by our most holy Father in Christ and Lord Leo, by divine providence of this name of the X. And because Johann Bürger has given the alms set forth in the bulls for the souls of Conrad Bürger and Margarethen, Conrad's housewives, then these souls receive, per modum suffragii, per petition, plenary indulgence and complete forgiveness of all sins. According to the content of the apostolic letter. Hof Regnitz, the 27th of Februarii, in the year 1516.

For those who are still alive.

In the name of the holy and inseparable Trinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen. This is the indulgence given to the Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Saxia at Rome and to its benefactors and confreres. In particular, Honorius, the fourth pope of that name, gives the magister and the friars and procurators the power to establish and absolve from all kinds of usury, robbery, murder-burning, except when it happens in the churches; as well as from other things obtained in an evil and illicit way, if the right lord is not found. Likewise, they may confuse all vows, except when someone vows to go to Jerusalem; as well as absolve from the vigils that have been omitted by clergymen. Likewise, Bonifacius permits absolution from usury, capital murder, oppression of the poor, and incest, as well as from all the others mentioned above, like Honorius. Likewise, he forgives the seventh part of the expiated penance to the benefactors, makes the benefactors and confreres partakers of the indulgence of the stations of Rome and the consecration of the holy Roman church, and wants them to have their share in those who go on pilgrimage to the promised land. He also gives perfect forgiveness in the hour of death to those who give alms. Likewise, Urbanus, who is called the Fifth Pope, gives the benefactors and confreres the power to choose a confessor who can absolve them completely once in life and at the hour of death from all cases, including those reserved to the apostolic see. Likewise, he puts all those under a great ban who want to hinder or disturb this salutary work by reserving absolution to himself or his successors. Likewise, Pope Sixtus IV allows that all the

Christian believers of both sexes, both ecclesiastical and secular, who are written in the book of the brotherhood, may choose a secular or unregulated clergyman as their confessor, who, after hearing confession from the persons who have chosen him, shall once, if they live longer, absolve them from all and any crimes and sins, as well as from banishment and ecclesiastical punishments, even on the occasion of a simony, which is to be obtained on obtaining the order, or benefices, or other cases, which are reserved either specifically or generally to the Roman Pontiff or Apostolic See, and for which the See itself might reasonably be inquired (except heresy, rebellion or conspiracy against the person or state of the Roman Pontiff or the Apostolic See, as well as personal offense against a cardinal, patriarch, archbishop or bishop of the Holy Roman Church, and priestly murder), and at the hour of death may receive perfect forgiveness of all sins, even those that have been exempted; so that if they have not died at that time, this or another confessor chosen in this way may repeat such, but in other cases as often and as much as it will be useful. Likewise, the clergy, enrolled as confreres, may obtain absolution and dispensation from any irregularity (except bigamy and willful death) in the foro of conscience from the confessor they may choose. Likewise, the said confreres 1) may annually, throughout the whole Pentecostal Octave, choose a confessor who may absolve them completely from all cases, also from those reserved to the Apostolic See, except those exempted from the foregoing. Likewise, the said confreres who are enrolled in the brotherhood and have been excluded from it, have the papal blessing; and if they die at the time of an interdict, even if it has been imposed by the apostolic see, they shall be buried without funeral pomp, if they have not been the cause of the interdict. Likewise, the said confreres have a yearly share in two and thirty thousand masses and so many psalms, and in all the goods that happen and can happen in the whole Order, both in life and after death in eternity. Also Pope Leo X. fixes all and each of the things now described, approves of them, extends them, and permits such things anew, as with more

in his and all other Roman Pontiffs' letters.

We, Francis of Tripontio, of the holy and apostolic Hospital of the Holy Spirit in Saxia at Rome, by apostolic power commissary to Germany, inform and know all and every venerable clergyman, as well as the regulars of every order: How on the day set forth below, Johann Burger, beloved in Christ, together with his wife Catharinen, and two sons Matthias and John, moved by devotion, have joined the holy brotherhood of the aforementioned hospital, and have been inscribed in the book prescribed for this purpose, and they also receive all the gifts of grace and complete forgiveness of their sins, which have been given to the confreres by the Roman Pontiffs. Also, by apostolic power entrusted to us, we make them partakers of all early Masses, fasts, chastisements, offices, alms, and all other good things that happen and will happen in the whole Order, both in life and after death. For the purpose of further confirmation, we have drawn up the present letter and affixed it with the seal of which we hereby avail ourselves. Given at Hof an der Regnitz, the 22nd of the month Februarii, in the year of the Lord M.D.XVI.

Formula of absolution.

Have mercy on you 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ deigns to absolve you from the merit of his most holy passion. And I, by his and his holy apostles Peter and Paul's power, which is entrusted to me and granted to you, absolve you from all bonds, both great and small, of banishment, suspension and interdict, if you have fallen into them, and restore you to the holy sacraments of the church and unity of the faithful. I also absolve you completely from all your sins, which you have confessed, repented and forgotten, as well as from the cases reserved to the apostolic see, as far as the keys of the holy mother, the church, extend, and as far as it is granted to you and entrusted to me. I also restore you to the innocence and purity in which you were when you received Holy Baptism. I also forgive you all the punishment that you owe to suffer in purgatory. I will close the gates of hell for you and open the gates of paradise for you. Also, all the good you have done, or may do, will increase your happiness and divine grace.

1) "Confreres" put by us instead of "confessors" in the old edition.

And if he is a priest or clergyman, it shall be said: I absolve you also by this very authority from the Officiis and Vigils omitted by you, as well as from Simony and Irregularity, if you have committed any.

But the sick person shall be told: And if thou shalt not die of this disease, even so shall absolution be perfect unto thee, until thou draw thy last breath. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

John of Rome, by order of Mr. Francisci, Commissarii. Conrad Müller

wrote it.

56. M. Enoch Widemann's news of this Tripotinus.

From M. Enoch Widemann's Höfischer Chronik, which is in the Rathsarchiv zu Hof, printed in Kapp's "Sammlung", p. 66.

In February 1516, a Roman traveller, Franciscus Tripotinus, who had been wandering in Germany for almost a year, arrived here at the court and received a rich indulgence for all sins, disgraces, vices, and wickedness, such as burning, robbing, murdering, killing, committing incest, oppressing poor orphans, neglecting church services, usury, and also salvation from purgatory. 2c., to all those who have given substantial alms for the maintenance of a hospital in Welschland, in Saxia de Urbe, where poor people, and whorish and foundling children put away by the clergy should be educated (as this Hudler has handed over notes about this to the people without shyness). That Germany therefore had to help the Welsh with its money, and raise their whore children, as if it were a work especially pleasing to God, so that heaven could be earned, and the torment of the sheaths avoided. From this it now appears clear whether D. Luther had an untimely zeal, since he turned away from the papacy by God's intervention and attacked with his writings such impudent boys (as monk Tetzl was in the Mark), who not only shamefully cheated Germany out of money, but also gave cause with such letters for all kinds of atrocious sins and disgraces, which God forbade in His law.

2. by the general commissions in other countries as well.

a. Joh. Angelus Arcimboldus and Christoph de Forli and their subcommissaries Tetzl and Samson.

57 Hermann Bonni Relation, how Arcimboldus was seen with his indulgence in Lübeck in 1516, and had silver cauldrons and frying pans made there.

From the eoruvevkio eüronie. Uudee., x. 134. This book is printed in 1678 in Dctav.

Anno 1516 Pabst's Leonis X. Legatus and Executor indulgentiarum, Johannes Angelus Arcimboldus, came to these countries, and finally also to Lübeck. He was brought in with great pomp and a splendid procession, and he collected a great deal of money in these countries through the letters of indulgence; however, this subsequently caused much confusion, because all of Germany was divided into different religious opinions. He had a whole silver service made for him in Lübeck, as well as silver kettles and silver frying pans, from the indulgence money collected in Denmark, Sweden and Lower Saxony; he had a bill of exchange merchant, a citizen of Cologne, named Antonius the Nale, with him, who immediately had to transfer this indulgence money to Augsburg and Italy by bill of exchange. This Antonius der Nale was strangled at night in a whorehouse in Lübeck, then secretly thrown into a puddle, and thus found dead.

58: Emperor Maximilian's order for Arcimbold to lay out his indulgences in Meissen. 1516.

From Tentzel's "Historischer Bericht," Vol. I, p. 102 reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. I, p. 387.

We Maximilian, by God's grace chosen Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire, in Germania, in Hungaria 2c., confess that we have allowed and permitted the venerable, our dear devout John Arcimboldo, papal legate, knowingly with the letter, so that he may publicize and use the papal indulgence in the monasteries of Meissen and Camin, and have and take all the money that falls from it,

We sincerely commend this to our princes, the bishops of Meissen and Camin, and want them to follow the aforementioned papal legate with such jubilee money without confusion. This is our serious opinion. Given in our castle Ehrnberg, on the 27th day of August, Anno 1516, in the 31st year of our realm.

59 A letter of indulgence signed by Tetzel's hand, feria tertia post Lamperti Anno 1516.

From Hottingen's xrirnit. Heickelb. S. 29.

To the devout and beloved in Christ JEsu, Petro Currificis and Anna, his wife, we Bartholomew, the undeserved Prior of the Order of Predicants, wish salvation and abundant grace of God! Since your godly devotion, which you bear especially towards our Order, justly requires that we graciously communicate to you the benefits bestowed upon our Order by the most holy grace of the Savior: For this reason I give you the grace that you may be especially made partakers of all the masses, prayers, sermons, vigils, mortifications, 1) fasts, labors, and the other good works which our Lord Jesus Christ will have performed by the friars of our convent, both in life and in death; so that by the help of many voices you may earn both here the riches of grace and there the reward of eternal life. Next to this I will and decree that after your departure your souls shall be committed to the prayer of our fraternity, as soon as your death shall have been made known to us. For its authentication and testimony I have preprinted the seal of my priory. Given Tuesday 2) after Lamperti in the year of the Lord 1516.

Johann Tetzel.

60. memoirs, instructions and statutes of the venerable father, Mr. Johann Angeli Arcimboldi, *Juris utriusque Doctoris*, Brobst of Arcisate, of the apostolic see *Protonotarii*, and of the most holy in Christ Father and Lord, Pope Leo X, *Referendarii*, and to the

1) "Mortifications" put by us instead of "moderations" in the old edition. In Latin, eastiZutionnm will be found.

2) tvriu tertiu post l'Anperti is given in the old edition by: "the third Feyertag after Lamperti".

Cologne, Trier, Salzburg, Besancou, Bremen, Upsal and the same; likewise Cambray, Dornick [Tournay], Teronane, 3) Arras and Camin, cities and districts Nuntii and Commissarii, to proclaim and distribute the indulgences and liberties for the building of the cathedral church of the Prince of the Apostles in the city of Rome; which the said Commissarius agrees to keep unbreakably, under the penalty named in such apostolic bull of indulgences, set by the Most Holy Our Lord, and pronounced by his sub-commissarii and sub-deputies, as well as all and any preachers and priests who may be appointed or yet to be appointed in the work of the aforesaid Holy Indulgence.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Theil III, p. 176. Translated into German.

First of all, the reported provost and apostolic commissary orders that said confessors or penitential preachers, whom either the commissary or the subcommissarii appointed or to be appointed by him shall be of a tender conscience, people of good life and at least mediocre learning, who know how to distinguish between good and evil, leprosy and leprosy, that is, sin and sin, and that they are willing to promote the glory of Almighty God and the Holy Apostolic See, and the salvation of the faithful who wish to confess to them, and to drive the people to the acquisition of said indulgences and liberties, and to solve the confessionalia, according to their ability; and that said confessors and penitential preachers are bound to vow and swear into the hands of the Commissarii or one of his deputies to keep what is set forth below; and that they also, as soon as they are chosen as confessors, consider themselves bound to keep everything described above or below in the same manner as if they had promised it with a bodily and proper oath.

Likewise, he decrees that in all places where the cross is raised for said indulgence, as long as it is erected, daily, or as often as the Subcommissary deems fit, after Vespers and the Completorio, the praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the cross, according to the manner customary in the respective places, shall be sung by the clergy.

3) See the first note to the following number. "Teronane" will have come in by double reading of lornueensem and omission of LLorivensem.

and the penitential preachers, with white staffs, and the subcommissary standing in their midst, shall be solemnly and devoutly offered before the cross. And when such stationes have been performed, the Commissarius or Subcommissarius shall join the confessors and penitential preachers in the sacristy, for the resolution of any doubtful knots and scruples that may occur.

Likewise, the subcommissarii shall see that all confessors and penitential preachers have a place in the church where the cross is erected, according to their dignity, as they hear confessions, and follow the penitential preachers in Rome therein; and that their chairs stand in proper places of the church, with their names and surnames in large letters, and the pope's coat of arms printed on such chairs. Nor shall they hear confession anywhere else than in the church where the cross was erected, except for persons who are prevented, such as the sick, the aged, and pregnant women, and others of the like, even those of nobility, and if it seems good to any of the said sub-commissioners that some persons and cases of conscience be heard in confession in other places besides the said church, but which are suitable for it, it shall be left to their consideration.

Likewise, in every parish and large city where the said liberties and indulgences have been proclaimed, as long as the cross is erected, there shall be at least three sermons a week throughout the year, namely on Sundays and other feast days of the week; or if there are no feasts, on Wednesdays and Fridays 1) (*feria quarta et sexta*). During Advent and Lent, however, only one sermon is to be preached at the proper hour, and two on feast days in the church, where the cross will be erected. The preachers should know that they are bound in their conscience to explain the bull and its articles to the people in their sermons, together with the immeasurable benefit they can obtain for their souls from such indulgences; and also the liberties contained in the bull, with the exception of all scruples; but only according to the texts in which the cases are contained in which they can obtain absolution or dispensation. And they shall first of all promote the salvation of the Christian souls, then also the benefit of the Roman Church, for the building of the main church of St. Peter, that also the preachers as well as the confessors shall be instructed by it to some extent, and all shall learn what they have to look at and do primarily.

1) Here in the old edition *tsria Quarta et sexta* is given by: "Thursdays and Saturdays".

The preachers should take care to instruct the people that the present indulgence has its full power and validity, so that they will go about acquiring it all the sooner when they hear from the preacher's word that everything is correct and certain; That the most holy Lord, our Lord the Pope, has full and perfect power to grant the same plenary indulgence for the living and the dead, and the forgiveness of all sins and punishments that one might suffer in purgatory, and all the liberties written below, because he, by handing over the keys from the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ to St. Peter with his successors, said: And what thou art on earth 2c. is the governor of GOD on earth; and whoever doubted this authority doubted the Christian faith and would not be a Christian. Furthermore, they will explain the urgent, indeed, emergency causes why the Most Holy One, our Lord, was moved to grant such an indulgence as is written in the beginning of the bull, namely, because the church of St. Peter and Paul, which is the head of all the churches of the world, was taken down to the ground by Julio, of blessed memory, with the intention and intention of building another, new one, the like of which does not exist in the whole world. As it is reasonable, because it is the head of all others, and with it the seat or residence of the Pope, and innumerable bodies of martyrs and other saints lie there, which in such cremation are always disfigured by rain and hail (weather). As a result, the same unburied and irrigated heap cannot remain lying there any longer without great disgrace to their holiness and to the whole of Christendom. But since the church itself has been started with such costs, and the income of the whole Roman church would not be sufficient for its perfection, its holiness has had to seek the accession of the believers in Christ, and has thus provoked them to it with the indulgences, which are St. Peter's own treasure. But since it is proper that their goods be used for the benefit of the Church, all the faithful of Christ should be exhorted to contribute to it, because St. Peter offers them his treasure and the kingdom of heaven. By and by, the said preachers and confessors will finally come to the matter itself, and present that in the present bull there are four main graces, each of which can be obtained separately, without the other.

First of all is [the grace of] perfect forgiveness of all sins. About which grace nothing higher can be said, considering that the man who, through sin, is deprived of the divine

And that all the punishments which one should suffer by right in purgatory because of sin committed and divine majesty offended, are thereby forgiven him, so that when he then dies, he leads straight to heavenly glory. And although nothing can be rewarded according to dignity in order to acquire such grace, it seems that in order to entice everyone the more to acquire it, the following can be well observed or arranged:

First of all, everyone who has repentance in his heart and confesses with his mouth, or who has repentance in his heart, with the intention of confessing in due time, should visit at least seven churches set apart for this purpose, where the coat of arms of the pope is affixed, and in each church devoutly say five Pater noster and five Hail Marys, to the glory of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which our redemption was effected, or the Miserere, God, have mercy on me 2c, which psalm is extremely useful for obtaining forgiveness of sins. The sick, however, and those who are otherwise incapacitated, shall visit seven altars, which the commissary or subcommissary shall appoint in the church where the holy cross is erected, on which shall also hang the coat of arms of the pope, with like devotion and prayer. And if the persons are so ill that they cannot well come to such a church, their confessor may appoint an altar in a suitable place, according to his condition, that they may visit such and acquire the indulgence with prayer in the same way as if they visited seven churches; but for those who are lying in bed, some prayers and some devotional image may be arranged. And in the case that someone else asks to be excused from visiting the said churches and altars for one reason or another, the confessors may well allow it, according to the cause involved; but that, on the other hand, a greater tax be levied. However, in order that the tax for building the main church of the Prince of the Apostles may be increased, the confessors and penitential preachers, when explaining to the confessors the power and merits of plenary indulgence, must first ask them finely: What and how much they would like to give according to their conscience? so that they can then persuade them to pay the tax. And because the status and devotion of people is so varied and diverse that the reported Commissary cannot consider everything and set certain rates according to it, your paternal dignity has meant that according to the conscience of the people, they should be able to give more.

My louse therefore a difference to meet that about said attendance of the churches all Christ believers of both sexes steer approximately in the following way, namely:

The kings, queens and their sons, archbishops, bishops and other great princes, shall pay only 25 Rhenish florins.

The abbots, high prelates of the cathedral churches, counts, barons and other wealthy lords and their wives shall each pay 10 such florins.

Other prelates and lesser nobles, and governors (that is, parish priests) of large estates, and all others who earn 500 such (Rhenish) florins from permanent income or goods, or otherwise commonly during the year, shall pay 6 such florins.

Other citizens and merchants who collect 200 guilders shall pay 3 similar guilders.

Other citizens, merchants and craftsmen who have their own income and family, at least one such guilder. Other lesser, who have something in their own income or from their trade, half a similar florin.

The others, according to the confessors' state of mind. Which confessors shall examine very carefully how grievously, often, and how long the confessors have sinned, also their state, fortune, and conscience; and if they wish or are able to give more, they shall exhort them to do so, but if they do not wish or are not able to give more or so much, they shall not let anyone, if only to promote the building of the church, as much as they can, without mercy, because here the salvation of the faithful in Christ is sought so much as the promotion of this building. And those who have no money, may repay it with prayer and fasting. And what is said of men is also understood of their wives and adult sons, who may have *peculium*. And it is to be known that reported wives, so that they otherwise cannot manage without the will of the men, can nevertheless steer to this use of their given or contributed property, or other property coming to them by right, even against the will of the man.

b. The other main grace is the confession slip. Whereby the preachers and confessors shall particularly state and declare what most important and great liberties are given them: especially to choose a competent confessor, who shall absolve them from all banishment pronounced by a man, on the consent of the parties, and from all grave crimes otherwise before the apostolic see.

The priests may release the sins they have retained, once in life and at the hour of death; but at other times, as often as necessary, and once in life and at the hour of death, they may grant complete remission of all sins, and change all vows, except those of monasticism, chastity, and Jerusalem [pilgrimage], which have been publicly or solemnly vowed, into other godly works; likewise, they may administer Holy Communion at all times of the year, except at Easter and at the hour of death.

The third main good or grace is the communion of all goods of the church. And the said preachers and confessors will indicate a high value of the same: namely, that those who control such St. Peter's building and their deceased parents, who are different in love, may now and forever have a share in all prayer, intercession, almsgiving, fasting, supplication, masses, canonical hours of prayer, mortifications, pilgrimages, and all other spiritual goods that happen or may happen in the universal holy contending church, and by all its members. Which two main goods, the confession booklet and the community of all goods, the aforementioned Commissary, for the greater convenience of the believers in Christ, has set out a certain summa and ordered to be given to them, so that they are included in the confession booklets; therefore, it should be brought to their attention what goods of grace they obtain from the confession booklets.

The aforementioned Commissary also wanted that, in order to entice the believers in Christ to purchase them even more, and not to exclude the poor from such gifts of grace because of their poverty, each confession slip be distributed for the fourth part of a Rhenish gold guilder; however, so that four of these make one such guilder; Unless those of nobility or wealth, out of devotion or weariness, want to give more, which several shall then be placed in the indulgence box, above the ordinary treasury; or if the like are to be lent to a college or monastery of male or female gender, then their number and wealth must also be taken into account. For if they live on their own income, they shall give 10 or at least 6 such florins. Similarly, only one person is to be written on the confession slips, unless husband and wife, who are in one flesh, and father and sons, who are still in paternal power and have nothing of their own, are to be counted as one. The others shall make individual confession slips for their friends and relatives as they wish. The poor, however, will be taken care of in their own time.

shall be granted. The four mendicant orders, however, which will have to deal with the matter, shall receive the same free of charge for each convent or monastery of the place where the indulgence is announced. They can therefore write the confession note themselves and have all the brothers' names put on it, and it will be made out in the proper form. But they have to note that they cannot be given completely free of charge, according to the bull. They may then endeavor to acquire such by promoting the work with sermons and confessionals, encouraging and exhorting the faithful to steer diligently, in the certain confidence that they and other brothers and monks, whatever order they may be, may enjoy the grace of the said confessionals, choosing special confessors as they will 2c., regardless of what other liberties and statutes their orders, even if confirmed and affirmed by apostolic authority, may say against it.

It is also to be noted that in order to acquire said two main graces (or rights), it is not necessary to go to confession or to visit churches, but only to solve the confession slip. And although some think that they are already well provided with confession slips, because they have others, the preachers and confessors should teach them well that so many and high graces are bestowed upon them therein that the faithful in Christ may never tire of them, but as much as the overflowing and mild apostolic See bestows for the salvation of souls, they should also redeem them and never neglect the apostolic graces that make souls blessed. Furthermore, they should know that two great graces are included in present confessionals, which do not easily occur in others, namely the redemption from the ban, which is also pronounced by a man, and because of the communion, which the confessor to be chosen may administer. The matter described below is also to be well remembered and well explained and presented to the believers in Christ: namely, that in all confession slips only once in life and at the hour of death is absolution from the cases reserved to the apostolic see, and complete forgiveness of all sins and indulgence given; therefore, as many times as they have confession slips, so many times in life can they be absolved from such reserved cases and obtain complete indulgence. For it is good to have several confession slips, because of the frailty of the human race, which is all too inclined to sin; and thus, as often as one angers God in the reserved cases, so often can he obtain redemption by the authority of his governor. And thereupon the

Preachers and confessors should indeed do this, and make it clear to the people that during this indulgence the confession slips they have or will have are of no use for its proclamation, because their power rests (or is stopped) in the meantime, but afterwards, when it is over, they regain their power.

d. The fourth main grace is for the souls in purgatory, because of the complete forgiveness of sins; of which the preachers and confessors should also explain the power and virtue well, and at the same time imagine that, since the dead cannot help themselves, those who enjoy and hold their goods are obliged and guilty to ask for their reconciliation, and to invest some of the goods left to them for the salvation of their souls. Therefore, he is to be considered most ungrateful who perhaps possesses a large amount of the deceased's goods, if he does not want to spend a little for their benefit and best. And it is most unjust that the poor deceased must be plagued with such heavy penalties of sin for so long, since he could get rid of what he left behind with a little money, and of which, for example, his inheritance, without asking for it. For no one will doubt or reasonably contradict that such a complete indulgence, at least by way of petition or as an aid, will be granted to the souls in purgatory, for whom alms are given, for the complete remission and annulment of their punishments.

Therefore, with these and similar reasons, they will be driven to pay taxes for their parents, relatives, friends and benefactors. Which tax shall be according to the first taxation of the feast of jubilee, so occupied for the living. However, Christian believers should know that the more they receive charity and property from the deceased, the more they are obliged to pay taxes. In this case, there is no need for repentance in the heart and confession with the mouth, because such grace is based only on the love in which the dead differ and on the tax of the living.

(2) After these four principal graces, some of the liberties mentioned in the bull must be touched upon, and especially those about or from all vows; except chastity, monasticism, and Jerusalem [pilgrimage], of which vows this is to be understood, nevertheless, if they have been solemnly vowed; for otherwise they may be turned to the good or into the building of the said cathedral church; which liberty is to be made known to the people by the preachers and confessors. But the penitential preachers and confessors shall note,

and they are hereby forbidden to take the great vows, namely (of the pilgrimages) to the threshold of St. Peter and Paul (in Rome), and to St. James in Compostell. Jacob in Compostell, and all other such vows (in which the expense of traveling now and then, with offerings or other complaints of the vows, may amount to more than 10 Rhenish gold florins), but they shall report them to the Lord Commissary, or in his absence to two of his sub-commissaries, or if there is only one, to one, but otherwise, as said, to two at the same time, and make the conversion tax with them or him. In other cases, however, they may transform themselves. And this is to be observed at all times by all sub-commissioners as well as confessors, that at least the travel expenses otherwise necessary for the fulfillment of such vows and the offerings, which they would make in the process, are brought to the treasury; unless they would have cause to remit something of it, which is respectfully left to their good pleasure, if only it is not less than half. There shall also be counted the hardships and burdens that he who has vowed such things would necessarily have to take upon himself if he were to perform the vows, in order to then pay the tax to the treasury in such a way as he would like in his conscience to be relieved of such hardships and troubles; and some prayers and fasts shall be laid upon him over and above such tax, according to the judgment of the confessors.

The other liberty concerns dispensing and dealing with those who commit simony and act contrary to the rules, both over the prebendaries or spiritual goods, or offices themselves, and over the fruits unlawfully enjoyed under both courts. The preachers in the pulpit should touch moderately on this freedom, as far as the simony merchants are concerned, so that the people are not annoyed, and only say in general what kind of freedom it is. Which, however, may be further carried out by those who unjustly enjoyed the fruits of the prebends. For there are many ways in which one's conscience may be violated in the case of such unjust and evil enjoyment of the fruits raised: namely, if one neglects the sacerdotal duties; for then they are liable to restore the same fruits or revenues, according to the time when they neglect the canonical hours. This also applies to what is distributed daily to the canonicos or canons who actually stay there. For if they do not keep their hours properly, or do not wait for their hours and other divine official duties, or otherwise violate the

If the confessors have acted in violation of the church ordinances, they must return the unjustly enjoyed gifts to their court of conscience, or to God. Concerning this freedom, all confessors are forbidden that they do not violate it at all, but that they act jointly with the said Commissario, or two of his sub-commissaries, or (according to the above) only one, if there is only one; then a settlement may be reached with them (such sinners). Whereby the sub-commissioners must note that many are in such debt, and that the simony collector has no beneficium (or prebend), and consequently such is open; consequently, through such freedom, he again becomes partaker of the prebend in both courts. For such grace they shall pay the income of one year of such prebend, which they bought by simony. The same shall apply to those who have acted contrary to other rules, that they pay the income of one year. It should also be noted that if the benefit of the body (real estate) or prebend is small, and on the other hand the distributed endowments or donations or offerings, and other extraordinary additions are rich (fat), a larger assessment should be made according to these; to the extent that the orders can also be dispensed with, that they can wait for service therein.

But as far as the income of the beneficiaries by simony or in any other unjust way is concerned, diligence shall be done, and they shall be urged to give more, as much as is possible; namely, about half, the third or fourth part, or even less, if the unjustly possessed would not be so great or reasonably excusable, which depends on the conscience of the sub-commissioners. And if they would not be capable of any benefits in the accepted orders, then one sees to the worse or more unfortunate kind of irregularity that they give 12 or 10 or only at least 6 Rhenish florins.

The third liberty is to act on what has been wickedly taken, so that one either does not know, or knows according to some cases set below. For example, if one usurer owes something to another, or if one owes something to a single church, it should fall to the Roman church by right. Similarly, in such things as come into someone's hands, be it in whatever way, and yet do not know or doubt to whom it is to be returned. Likewise, in things left to the poor of Christ in general, or to a church without endowment. The preachers should explain such cases to the people, so that they may understand them correctly, especially in the following cases

In the first case, because of the stolen uncertain goods, because many are in this debt, especially merchants, who often cheat people they do not know in some way, if they sell higher than the goods are worth; or sell evil for good; or take something more than the value is, if they borrow for a while, or in some other way, of which there are countless. For in all such cases restitution should be made, and yet one does not know to whom or where. Likewise, all other cases of certain good are to be explained, especially if one should pay a certain amount of money to holy places or the poor in general, and perhaps cannot pay the whole sum in a timely manner, because then he can settle with the commissioner or sub-commissioners on an honest basis, and get rid of the payment of the whole sum.

In the case of this third type, the preachers of repentance must be careful, and they are hereby commanded not to count them out, nor compare themselves with them, unless their consciences amount to about 20 Rhenish florins and less. If it is more, however, they must diligently investigate such consciences, and inquire into the relevance of the trade and the debt, and then let it reach the Commissarium or the Subcommissaries, at least two, as said above. Which sub-commissioners, after careful consideration of all circumstances with the confessor, should urge the debtor to pay the whole sum, if possible, or half or the third part, with the idea that without compensation they cannot be saved. And if he does not want to or cannot, or another valid cause would otherwise be, it is left to the consciences of the sub-commissioners that they can still let up a little more, in order not to leave the soul of the confessing person entangled any longer.

The fourth liberty is to dispense with those who have been ordained before their age, without dispensation, on account of irregularity, and that they may maintain in the received order of the ministry. This pardon may also be proclaimed to the people by the preachers; and the confessors are forbidden not to count them out, but to report it to the commissario or subcommissaries, as reported above, who shall deal with such as have been thought at the other liberty of others guilty of such irregularity. But if they have no benefices (or spiritual goods), they may deal linder with them, that they give about 6 such (Rhenish) florins.

The fifth freedom is to dispense,

who have married in a forbidden degree of blood friendship or affinity. And it is to be noted that here is a carnal and a spiritual hindrance. In the first there are four forbidden degrees. The intermarriages in the first and second degree of affinity, namely by secret but not public (or nefarious) fornication, can be exempted from the sin and the forfeited penalty of banishment and dispensed with in the court of conscience alone, and the fruits born or to be born can be declared legitimate. And because this point is not clear enough in the bull, an example is set here, so that it may come right into the heads of all, or become understandable. If one had slept secretly with Bertha, and then engaged himself to Clara, her sister, and also slept with her, the pope allows that this case may only be dispensed with in a court of conscience. And this for a good reason, because a consummated marriage must be more valid than that secret mixture of whores. If, however, their intermarriage were to become public, and one knew of their affinity, the pope would not want to dispense with it, because of the public outrage, and in this he allows a dispensation in the court of conscience, because if such whore intermarriage were to come to light, it would be challenged and divorced by process. But if it remains secret, they can always live together in marriage, and the children inherit their estates.

And in these two things preachers should be careful not to let themselves out too much, lest the people be offended; and lest anyone who does not believe that someone can commit such a thing think that, hearing it, they are immediately granted forgiveness and redemption. Rather, in such cases the preachers in the pulpit should only speak of it in general, and indicate that all sins of the flesh can be forgiven, because God is not sparing in grace, because it is greater than all the sins of the world, even the most grievous. But the confessors are to question the confessors carefully and gently and thus bring them to confession; and when they have given them due punishment and warning, they are to impose salutary penance on them according to the bull; and when they have informed the commissioner or sub-commissioner, as aforesaid, of the crime and the criminal, they shall make a taxation with them, which they shall bring to the caste or box; which, according to other taxes imposed in the same cases by said sub-commissioners and confessors, shall be left to the equal judgment or good pleasure.

What closed in the third and fourth, together

If a man is married or divorced, he shall be dispensed with in both courts (of complaint and of conscience), and he shall be declared to be remarried and the children obtained to be legitimate. In these two matters, however, the penitent preachers are forbidden, as mentioned above, as in which the sub-commissioners must proceed in such a way that.

If they are in the third degree and rich, and have married unknowingly, they shall give 15 such Rhenish florins to the box.

If of medium wealth, 10 if poor, 5 if quite meager, as much as you can get.

But if they had married knowingly, they would have to pay much more, at the discretion of the sub-commissioners. And it is to be noted that by this freedom to dispense in the third degree, it can also be dispensed with if the contracting (or married) parties were in the second and third degree at the same time, because of the legal rule: that in as many degrees as one is of tribe, in the same they are also distant from each other; therefore they are also to be considered as people in the same degree. However, they shall give something more than if they were badly in the third degree, which the sub-commissioners will determine at will.

But if they marry in the fifth degree, the rich shall give 6, but the poor 4 and 3 florins.

The other obstacle is spiritual affinity, except for the single or multiple degree between the baptized and the exalted (*Levatum* and *Levantem*) alone; other degrees can be dispensed in both courts. But, as said, the penitents shall not enter the trial court (*foro contentioso*), but shall consult with the commissario and subcommissaries, who shall proceed with them as is said in the fourth carnal impediment. In all said cases, the confessors may dispense or count out in the court of conscience. Likewise in other works of incest and adultery, fornication, and others; but they shall consider the magnitude and length (or age) of the crime, and the nobility or wealth of the sinners, and after such all set the assessment as they find equitable in their consciences.

The sixth liberty is to settle with those who have wrongfully appropriated goods of the churches or monasteries, but cannot be urged to restitution by the courts, because those to whom it is to be restituted have no deeds or other necessary evidence; for those in such possession may not be restituted by the courts.

If such writings were available, they may nevertheless settle; and if the settled money has been delivered to the cashier's office (or box), they are free from further compensation against said churches. And that they can then keep such things completely unprohibited is conceded in both courts.

The preachers must proclaim this freedom to the people, and the sub-commissioners must see to it that it is properly declared. And the preachers must be careful to do this, because it is very important to rid the consciences of those who withhold such things. For it is not to be believed that those who have had such things for so many and so long years would now want to disown them with shame and disgrace. Therefore the apostolic see, which thirsts for the salvation of souls, proposes a way by which they can be brought to relieve themselves of them with the benefit of the head of all churches (that is, St. Peter's Church). The preachers are also to touch the case, if those who have taken such things do not know for sure whether the goods belong to a church, but are only in doubt about it: that in that case it can be compared with them all the sooner. In this part of the liberty, the penitential preachers (or confessors) are completely forbidden not to settle in this matter on their own, unless, as aforesaid, only a sum of 20 such florins, but to consult with the appointed commissioner or sub-commissioners. Which sub-commissioners shall indicate to the one who has such church property: that without reimbursement no salvation can be hoped for, therefore they should at least agree to half. However, the sub-commissioners may, according to their convenience, let up to the third or at least fourth part, as it seems to them that the confessors would like to be treated. But they shall not lack diligence, because it is a most important case or point.

The seventh liberty is to seize and rightfully receive, for the benefit of the reported building, all goods, things, and monies which have hitherto been bequeathed, in whatever will it may be, to all uncertain churches and holy places, and such uncertain or absent persons, of which no science can be had, for the replacement of any stolen property, and which may still be bequeathed within the said two years; which the Most Holy, our Lord Pope, has bequeathed to the said building. And it is to be noted that between this indulgence or pardon and the above third one is the difference that there is no property left behind for the sake of the

stolen or stolen away occurs, and thus the pope does not draw to St. Peter's building, but only gives freedom that those who should give it to uncertain churches, holy places or poor in general, can, if they want, instead of paying uncertain churches or poor, enter into settlement with those who are ordered to act because of the building. In this present case, however, what is left behind for what has been stolen or stolen will be drawn on for the building in question, and can thus be seized by the building merchants or the executors. Likewise, the pope shall draw to the said building all goods that are illegally possessed by others; but those to whom such goods would have to be restituted cannot claim them again in any way. Likewise, all property which should be used for the release of prisoners, and which has been or may be bequeathed by anyone for such release, during said two years. Likewise, all goods that should be applied to banquets or other ceremonies by vow, custom, statute or law.

With such liberty, the preachers are commanded, under the penalties contained in the bulls, to announce, declare and indicate to the people all such cases, especially of that which has been left to replace what has been taken, under penalty of banishment, as below, and 100 ducats to be applied to the said construction, that all, who know something of such cases, and the notaries in particular, who are required for the last wills, give notice to the Commissario or the sub-commissaries beforehand, within eight days, from said notice, *respective*, so that such goods may be seized by the Commissario or the sub-commissaries themselves. From which ban they cannot become free, as if they 1) report such from the beginning; and that then reported sub-commissioners proceed to their seizure. However, they may deal with the owners or debtors themselves, for example, that they take half, third or fourth part, as it wants to go best, and let it be done according to the nature of the persons and the debt, and they find it good in this case (the confessors, however, may beware that they take hold of this freedom, where it amounts to more than 20 florins, as aforesaid, nor also in the way, as follows, of the cash 2) themselves), and then release the debtors from all further compensation.

1) Here we have erased "not".

2) "themselves" inserted by us.

As for the preachers in particular.

Likewise, the preachers are commanded to remind often in the pulpit that all indulgences, even if they have been granted 1) by the Roman Pontiffs or others, are revoked, according to the Bull and Summaries (or Notice); except for those which the reported Commissary deems it good to renew and grant, and which he has already renewed, and still wants to renew.

They shall also exhort the believers in Christ with the aforementioned reasons that they diligently contribute to the aforementioned building and solve the confession slips. Similarly, they shall point out to them that no one shall deliver any money to the confessors or sub-commissioners for the purpose of obtaining indulgences or settlements made or to be made in the aforementioned cases, but that they shall deliver them to the treasury, if possible, with their own hands or by their own messengers. And if they are settlement monies, they shall be placed in the box with their own hands or with their own messenger (but in the presence of the subcommissarii or another person appointed for this purpose). Otherwise he shall know that he has not gained the indulgence, nor been freed by virtue of such settlement; but rather, if he knew this, and yet, out of contempt or good will, delivered said monies into the hands of the subcommissarii or confessors, he shall know that he has incurred the sentence of excommunication. The sub-commissioners and confessors, however, who accept such monies in some way into their hands, or otherwise deal with them fraudulently, shall be liable to the penalty of banishment, according to the bull, and in addition to 500 ducats fine to the above-mentioned building, as contained in the bulls and in the summaries of said commissarii with more. The said preachers shall also declare all and any blasphemers and slanderers, or other objectors to the said indulgence, by force of the said Commissarii, or rather by apostolic, as banished, accursed and outcasts, who, if the said Commissarius or the sub-commissarii will have science of it, will draw them to even harsher punishments and proceed against them.

As for the confessors in particular.

Confessors and penitents should also know that they have the power to absolve from all sins, however grave they may be, even in the cases reserved to the apostolic see, except those mentioned above. But is

1) "self" set by us instead of: "only".

In the reserved cases, if the misdeed is very great and the criminal is an official person and of great property, they shall talk to the sub-commissioners, and with concealment of the name and surname, merely with naming of the crime and the same protractedness and atrocity, and the criminal's property, they shall need their advice. Also in such grave misdeeds, that e.g. Murderers, murderers of princes and next of kin, death-rowers (parricidae), church robbers or desecrators, and others who commit such abominations, shall be admonished to public penance, where possible, and it may be done without danger before secular authorities, that on the day of penance or confession they go to the confessor naked to the clothes on their legs or shirts, slowly and devoutly, and ask for forgiveness before the cross, and receive the chastisement (scourging) in the Roman manner from the penitential preachers, remembering that our Savior Jesus Christ was not ashamed to let himself be stripped naked in Pilate's palace for the salvation of men, and to be beaten with cheek strokes and cruel rod strokes, and to endure such punishments until death. And if such public penance will not be convenient and imposed, they shall compensate the same with the greater tax. The confessors shall also, when counting the number of those released from the bonds of the ban, take care not to interfere with the external trial court, but shall refer them to the commissary or the subcommissaries themselves, and in the court of conscience shall diligently consider the cause why the banished persons were entangled therein, and the time during which they remained hardened or deaf in the ban; and if the matter is important, consult with the commissioner or sub-commissioners, and then at the same time, according to the relationship of the matters and the time of hardening, set a valuation with them, and then count them loose. Likewise, as often as reported confessors are summoned by the commissioner or sub-commissioners, they shall appear before them; and if they hear anything to the disgrace or detriment of said indulgence, they shall disclose it and be diligent to promote the same indulgence.

The sub-commissioners and confessors should also be careful that they do not accept anything for the jubilee or for the comparisons, but have it placed in the boxes by the believers in Christ with their own hands, as stated above, under the above-mentioned penalties. They shall also not induce the confessors, apart from the said tax, to give them anything for the Sacrament of Confession or for

If something is given to them voluntarily, they may take it.

The confessors should also swear in the above manner that they will listen to confessions with the greatest care, and that they will look more at the conscience than at the bag. And let it not be done, as sometimes happens, that some, out of avarice, seek only their gain and hurry over, without sufficient examination of the sins and the circumstances that have been involved. And it is not to be thought that such as are satisfied in their consciences deserve indulgence, when they afterwards remember that they forget even very gross sins, because of negligence on the part of the confessors, who did not properly inquire into the sins and their circumstances, which made them greater. Therefore, confessors should take care, as I said, that it concerns their conscience.

As far as the sub-commissioning scenarios in particular are concerned.

The sub-commissioners of the said indulgences, when they deliver the present reminders to the preachers and confessors, shall demand the above oath from them, and shall be extremely concerned that they perform all that has been described above faithfully and in fact properly and emphatically; they shall also see to it and take care that everything is observed exactly by the preachers and confessors, as far as each one in his place is concerned; otherwise they may take action against it, as seems good to them. Likewise, that the revenues of said indulgences and liberties be not diminished, but that all money be placed in the boxes to be ordered for this purpose, as the preachers have been commanded above to proclaim, and as is ordered in the Summaries; Except for the money for confession slips or confessionals, where a certain tax has been set, they may accept it in their hands, and from the income they may subsequently render due account to the Commissary, and see to it that, under penalty of banishment and 1000 ducats, which are to come to the said building, confession slips are printed by no one but the printer, whom the said Commissary will order, so that they may render due account. Likewise, they shall see to it that in every place where the cross has been erected, there is only one who distributes the confession slips, who writes in a booklet all the names and surnames to whom confession slips are given. And if they give some out for free (without money), he shall put the reason with it, why and to whom he gave such. And in all the confession slips

he shall sign his name with his own hand. The booklet is then to be handed over to the reported commissioner so that no fraud can remain hidden, but that a proper account can be kept of everyone and everything.

Likewise, in order to remove all suspicion of fraud and delinquency, the reported Commissary orders that at least three keys be made to all boxes ordered for reported indulgences. The third key shall remain with the local bishop, or his vicar, or dean, or parish priest, or other person in ecclesiastical or secular dignity, as the Subcommissary shall find most convenient. Likewise, the Subcommissarii are commanded in the same manner that, when the indulgence has been proclaimed, they shall, as soon as possible and in the very first letter after such proclamation that they may write to the Lord Commissarium, commemorate such proclamation as having been made, indicating the cities, parishes and countries, likewise in which district and on which day and month the cross has been erected. Otherwise, if they do not do so, they will be suspected of deception, and an injunction will be issued against them. And when the time comes to open the said boxes, they shall be opened in the presence of all those who have the keys, and of some other trustworthy persons, as the mayor or other secular or ecclesiastical servants, as may best be done. And no one shall touch the money until it has been counted in the presence of the persons named, and if it (the money) is not known, it shall be appraised by persons of understanding.

1) If they have been counted in Rhenish gold florins, the sum has been drawn, and the booklet has been added, and the account of the confession slips distributed in such a place has been made and set to the same gold florins, an instrument or record of it is to be made by a public and legal notary, in which the presence of the above-mentioned persons, and in particular of the rentmaster or his deputy, is to be recorded, so that the money can then be deposited in a safe place, or the money is to be kept in a safe place.

1) The counting of the indulgence money may have been connected with not insignificant difficulties at times. We take from Körner's "Tezel, der Ablassprediger", p. W, the findings of the counting of the same in Frankfurt a. M., which took place on June 15, 16 and 17, 1517:

The court shall order that the case be delivered to the said High Commissioner, as he shall order and command. In cases where the lot is counted or the dispensation (exemption) is granted in the external court of action, the sub-commissioners reported shall also see to it that, for the assurance of the lot-counted and exempted, they deliver to them patents or open letters of testimony, and send the names of those who have requested the same, with the nature and character of the cases, to the Lord Commissary where he is in the vicinity, or also to the city under whose jurisdiction they will be; for in whatever city he may be, a seal and letter may well be made out in good form.

Similarly, notified sub-commissioners shall comply not only with the special sub-commission issued to them, but also with the common commission or the commission issued by the apostolic see, in order to maintain the latter's authority and prestige. To promote its use and advantage. Therefore, they shall not only attend to their own commissions, but also to those of the other sub-commissions, and assist them wherever they can and may. However, they shall be cautious and completely removed from annoyance, so that they do not give the people the opportunity to speak against the indulgence, and they shall behave well among themselves. To which end they are to be ordered that no sub-commissioner, at least half a mile away from the cities and large towns, which are assigned to other sub-commissioners, put up the cross too close in the same way, so that there is no confusion; and if such a thing happens, the offended person is to report it immediately to the Lord Commissary, who will then make the appropriate order.

The rest may be done by the reported sub-commissioners and confessors with their own understanding, skill and diligence, so that they will not deserve anything less from Almighty God and St. Peter and Paul for such a great work.

Form of lot counting and total forgiveness.

May it be merciful to you 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolves you through the merit of his suffering. And I absolve thee also by this and the apostolic power committed to me herein and conferred upon thee: first, from all sentence of great and small ban, if thou hast fallen into any; then, from all sins repented of, confessed, and forgotten, and grant thee complete forgiveness of all thy sins, and remit to thee the penalties of purgatory, as far as the keys of the holy Mother of the Church extend.

If some special redemption or release (dispensation) has to take place, it can be remembered in particular; e.g. from the death stroke, church robbery, irregularity and the like, I redeem you, forgive you and release you 2c. In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, Amen.

This is the first time that an indulgence by Arcimboldus has been communicated from the original in German. 1517.

Only at Walch.

Johannes Angelus Arcimboldus, Doctor of both rights, Prepositus of Arcisate, Protonotarius of the Apostolic See; and of the most holy in Christ the Father and of our Lord, Leo, by divine providence pope of the tithe, referendary, as also to the provinces of Cologne, Trier, Salzburg, Bremen, Besancon and Upsal and of the same cities and dioceses, so also to the cities and dioceses of Cambray, Dornick [Tournay] of the Morins, 1) Arras, Camin and Meissen, not less to the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, for the construction of the main church of the most noble of the apostles of the city, appointed nuncio and commissar.

1) In the heading of the previous document, instead of "the Moriner" it says "Teronane". The latter is wrong in any case. In Latin it says: Llorinsussm (Löscher, Ref.-Acta, Vol. I, p. 376). The Morini were, according to Caesar, a people in northern France on the Canal. - In the next number we are offered "Morin".

63 fl. of Frankfurt coins and Mainz pennies, 27 aldus on the florin;
18 fl. in rollbats and crossbearers, 15 on the fl.;
35 fl. in old turnesen, 27 aldus on the fl.;
5 st. Schreckenberger, 7 on the fl.;
62 fl. in gold, good and proper;
3 fl. in Frankish coin;
3 fl. in Würzburg shillings;
3 fl. in medium Meissen groschen;
21 fl. in Räderalbus, 26 on the fl.;
29 fl. in medium wheel albus, as well;
4 fl. in bingen Hellern, 27 aldus on the fl.;
9 fl. in gold, not quite right;
2 fl. Rhenish;
3 fl. in gold from the lower forbidden lands;
1 fl-wrong;

268 fl. in sum.

About this 13 blaffert Strasbourg coin and in different and foreign coins: estimated at 4 fl. Gold and 2 old Turrnesen frankfurt.

rius, wishes the Lord beloved in Christ.... Priest of the Utrecht Diocese and of the liberal arts Magistro, also of the holy divinity Licentiato, constant salvation in the Lord!

The sincere and zealous devotion that you have shown for the Holy Roman Church, for the Apostolic See and for the important construction of the main church of St. Peter of the City (for the promotion of which we hold the Commissariat of the Most Holy Indulgence). Peter of the City (for the promotion of which we hold the commissariat in matters of the most holy indulgence favored for this purpose), since you have contributed to its renewal in accordance with the order issued by us, according to the riches of love, cheers us up and urges us to lovingly pardon you, so that you can cast off the burden of sins and the burden of transgressions, and obtain peace of conscience and salvation of souls through the grace of God; as well as that we are inclined to listen to your humble requests, especially to those which, according to our understanding, are made out of a burning devotion. Therefore, in consideration of your humble and reasonable requests, we also permit you to choose a secular priest, or a religious priest, of whatever order he may be, even of the mendicant orders, as your confessor, who, after carefully hearing your confession, will forgive you for the errors, crimes, misdeeds and sins you have committed, however gross and heinous they may be; even for those which the said apostolic see has reserved to itself, if they were of such a nature that this see should be fairly consulted about them, and because of the ecclesiastical censures which have also been imposed by a man on an operation, and into which you would also have fallen, with the consent of the parties, into the interdict whose absolution would be with the said see alone: except if thou hadst secretly stalked the person of the pope, laid murderous hands on bishops and other high prelates, and used violence against them and other prelates; falsified apostolic bulls and letters of indulgence; brought arms and other forbidden things into the lands of the infidels, and the judgments and censures pronounced for the alum of the Holy Mother of the Church, and for bringing things from the lands of the infidels to the faithful contrary to the apostolic prohibition: once in life, and in such cases as this See has not reserved to itself, as often as you may require, as well as at the hour of death, to grant plenary indulgence of all your sins, and duly absolve you from them, impose upon you a wholesome penance, as well as the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at other times of the year.

The church shall be sufficient for all the times, except Easter and the hour of death, and all the vows made by you (except the vow to travel to the promised land, to enter the monastery, to remain single) can and may be transformed into other godly works. Moreover, as long as you live, you shall be granted to have an altar with due reverence and honor, on which you may perform at altars which are suitable and honorable, at all times of the year, except Easter, also at such altars which have been charged with an ecclesiastical interdict, by whose power it may be, If you have not given the opportunity for such an interdict, with the doors closed, without the presence of persons under ban, not even with the ringing of the bells, and if the events occurring at the same time should require it, before daybreak, but as it begins to be day; so that neither you nor the priest who performs the sacred act in the manner now described can be counted a sin, either himself or through another suitable priest, be he secular or a religious priest, of whatever order he may be without distinction, even if he belonged to your known household, inasmuch as he, or any of them, cannot give cause for such a jnterdict, say mass, or have it said. Also, where you have a church or some churches that you choose for this purpose, you may devoutly pray for indulgences at certain stations of the city of Rome] during Great Lent and also on other days when one goes to the churches of the city and outside of them because of the unbelievers. (where one performs one's devotions standing or kneeling), in the same way as long as you live, just as often and just as much indulgence and forgiveness of sins as you would be granted if you visited said churches personally every day. Furthermore, you shall be allowed that your body may be buried with a pall at the time of the interdict, by whose power it may be decreed, where you have not given cause for this, in a manner usual to the church. And of this we pardon you by apostolic power, that we may be sufficiently and specially provided for this purpose, by present. Also we make you and your deceased parents, departed in sincerity of faith and in union of the holy mother, the church, of all and every masses, prayers, holy practices, fasts, discipline, stations, alms, intercessions and all other spiritual goods, which are done and

The Lord will do this in the future in the general holy church and the members of the same, by virtue of this same apostolic power. However, you should take care that you use this pardon of saying mass before day sparingly, because it is fitting that, since our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who is the radiance of eternal light, is offered on the altar, this should not be done in the dark of night, but in broad daylight. Finally, we grant you, together with the members of your household and family that you have at present, as long as you live, the Lenten season until Palm Sunday inclusive, and on other days on which the use of milk foods is forbidden (because, as we have heard, olive oil does not grow in your area), (because, as we have heard, olive oil does not grow in your region), butter instead of oil, and cheese, without anyone's freedom, even if both doctors agree, 1) to eat eggs and meat at the time when you are sick and weak, and at the same time, during the big week, it is forbidden to eat milk foods ever and always. Notwithstanding all mutual ordinances, which the above-mentioned our Lord Pope in all letters of our authority has not prevented and has not let stand in the way. To certify this, we have had the present letter drawn up and kept with our attached seal, which we use here. Given in Cologne in the year 1517, the 19th of the month of May, of the Papal Dignity of the Most Holy Lord N. in the fifth year.

Formula of absolution after heard confession:

Have mercy on you 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you by the merit of his most holy passion, and I, by virtue of the power of him and of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul and of our most holy Lord Pope, who have been entrusted to you in this piece, absolve you first of all from all church censures, in whatever way you may have fallen into them; then from all your sins, wickednesses and errors committed up to now, they may be as terrible as they like, also from those which the apostolic see reserves for you, as far as the power of the keys of the holy mother extends. They may be as terrible as they like, even from those which the apostolic see has reserved for itself, as far as the power of the keys of the holy mother, the church, extends, and remit to you by plenary indulgence all punishment which you would have deserved in purgatory because of preconceived sins, and accept you again into the holy sacraments of the church and into the unity of the believers, into the

1) Thus by us instead of: "where the Medicus in both williget", which is in any case a Uebersetzungsfehler. The opinion is: if both the spiritual and the secular physician consent.

Innocence and purity, in which you were when you were baptized: so that when you die, the gate of punishment will be closed to you, and the door to the heavenly paradise will be open to you; even though you will not die, this grace will still apply when you are in mortal danger. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

Thomas Henrici
wrote it.

62 A somewhat older letter of indulgence under Arcimvold's name, issued by Tetzl to Andreas Hummelshayn, April 24, 1516'.

From Höpfner's 8axoinu svanAsloia, p. 73 reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, p. 376.

Translated into German.

Johannes Angelus Arcimboldus, juris utrius- que D., Provost of Arcisate, apostolic protonotarius and referendarius, and to the Cologne, Trier, Salzburg, Besancon, Bremen, Upsalian lands, and theirs, likewise to the cities of Cambray, Tournay, Morin, Arras, Camin, Meissen and their districts, for the establishment of the plenary indulgence on account of the great building of the cathedral church of the most noble of the apostles, bearing the keys of heaven, in the city, nuncio and commissarius, appointed by the most holy in Christ the Father and our Lord, Mr. Leo, Pope the X., as is contained in more detail in the letters omitted under the lead mark of the same our most holy Lord Pabst, wishes Andreas Hummelshayn, beloved to us in Christ, constant salvation in the Lord! Since it is the godly devotional zeal that you, as we have recognized, bear towards God and the aforementioned cathedral church, because you have lent a helping hand for the continuation of this tremendously great work out of rich love, in accordance with the apostolic pardon: Therefore, by the apostolic authority given to us, we grant you the power to choose a competent secular priest, or a religious priest from any order, including the mendicant order, as a confessor, who, when he has heard your confession attentively, will absolve you of all your transgressions, sins, crimes and misdeeds, however great and grave they may be, even if they were otherwise reserved to the apostolic see, and of such a nature that one would first have to ask the apostolic see about them; likewise of ecclesiastical censures, which have also been pronounced by men at someone's request, or in which, because of the consent of the parties, an interdict can be made.

and whose absolution would be reserved to the said See: (excepting cases of persecuting the person of the supreme pope, of killing bishops and other high prelates, of laying violent hands on them and other prelates, of forging apostolic bulls and letters, of supplying arms and other forbidden things to the infidels, and excepting the judgments and curses of excommunication into which one has fallen by inducement of the alum of the holy mother of the church, and by things brought from the unbelievers to the believers, contrary to the apostolic prohibition) once in a lifetime, but in such cases as are not reserved, as often as thou desirest, and at the hour of death grant plenary indulgence and remission of all thy sins, and perform wholesome penance, also administer the Sacrament of the Supper (except at Easter and at the hour of death) at all other seasons of the year; and transform all the vows you have taken (except for those beyond the sea, including the vows to enter the monastery or to remain single) for the benefit of this building. However, in such a way that during this commission and proclamation with the said commissioner or sub-commissioners of him, about the transformation of the said vows to the benefit of the said building, the settlement takes place. And hereafter confer upon you and your deceased parents and other relatives, who in true faith and unity differ from the Holy Mother of the Church, communion of all and every masses, prayers, divine offices, fasts, flagellations, hourly prayers, alms, intercessions, and all other spiritual goods, which ever and ever shall be done in the universal holy contending Church and by its members. In witness whereof we have hereunto made this letter, and have hereunto affixed our usual seal. Given Wurzen Anno 1516, the 24th of April, of the Papacy of our most holy Lord in the fourth year.

63 A letter of indulgence that Tetzl, as Arcimbold's subcommissary, issued to the priest and sexton in Schmiedeberg, Meissen diocese, because of the host that had been removed from the monstrance, which was nevertheless kept and well sealed. 1516.

From Seckendorf's Hi8t. I'utüer, lid. I, p. 15, § 6 reprinted in Löschers Ref.-Acta, vol. I, p. 393. Seckendorf notes that Arcimbold's and Tetzl's titles also precede in this writing.

Translated into German.

To our beloved in Christ, Jacob Rynau, priest, and Severino Weiß, sexton of the parish church in Schmiedeberg, of the Meissen district, everlasting salvation in the Lord!

You have lamentably brought to our attention that, since on Tuesday in the Octave of the Feast of Corpus Christi of this year, after the end of Vespers and the Completorium, you placed the Holy Sacrament in its usual place in the church itself and locked it, and subsequently found the lock and straps intact and unbroken and opened them, you could not find the aforementioned venerable Sacrament; Therefore, to help your soul, you humbly ask us to help you in this case in time. Therefore, we, who seek the salvation of all, absolve you, who have compared yourselves with us according to your little ability for the benefit of said building, from the sentence of banishment, which you may have forfeited because of such an oversight, out of apostolic authority, which we administer in this region of Meissen. We hereby order all and everyone who is concerned, under the ban and punishments in our power, not to dare to challenge you, who are thus absolved, or any of you, in the least on account of the above. In witness whereof we have caused this letter to be executed, imprinted and authenticated with the seal of the said building. Wurzen A. D. 1516, the 1st of June, of the pontificate of our aforementioned most holy lord, the pope, in the fourth year. Hermann Berboem, pastor in Dorsten, Cologne diocese, signed it.

Hottinger's account of how the sub-commissary of Christopher de Forli (Forlivius), Bernardinus Samson de Milano, fared in Bern, Switzerland, in 1518.

This and the next following writing are from Hottinger's IÜ8t. 666168IN8t. V. 1. 866ui. XVI, tOM. III, 6LP. 2, p. 160.

When this indulgence merchant was admitted to the city of Bern, he made himself popular especially with those who regarded the papal orders as oracles; and hung up the "diplomat" of his commission and the coats of arms of all Swiss cantons in the church of St. Vincentii. He himself said mass in the presence of many people, so that he could bring money to the church of St. Peter, which was his concern. He did not easily deny indulgences to anyone; he often handed out paper and parchment diplomas, but to no one in vain. To those who did not have much in the way of property, he opened the door.

He gave his rich treasure of indulgences for two batz, the others, however, had to pay more. The rich, who wanted to have indulgences for themselves alone, gave one crown thaler; but those who wanted to share this papal pardon for whole cities or offices, had to bring more.

Before he left Bern, he had the citizens of the city summoned to the great church in the afternoon with all the bells, and by Henricum Lupulum, of the Collegii Canonicum, the standing as a Mercurius in the middle of the choir altar, announce a threefold papal pardon. First, from the superfluous treasure of Christ and all the saints, he gave forgiveness of all sins, of guilt and punishment, to all those present at that time who would kneel and confess their sins and pray three Our Fathers and Hail Marys, thus bringing them to the sanctity and incorruption they receive in baptism. Secondly, he opened the door of purgatory and said that whoever went around the greater temple praying three times a day could deliver a soul he wanted from purgatory. The third pardon is the richest of all; for after all had prayed with bended knees five times both the Lord's Prayer and the angelic greeting for the deceased, he exclaimed aloud: from that moment on all the dead of Berne, they may have died where they will, were freed at once both from hell and from purgatory and transferred to heaven. As he departed, he widely recommended the freedoms and indulgences he had granted to the lords of Bern, for which they had cause both to thank God and to show their filial obedience to the Roman See. After he had distributed confession slips among the council and citizens of the city of Bern, he departed hospitably, and even with a larded bag.

This is a narrative of Samson's boldness and what he had to deal with, especially with Henr. Bullinger, the dean of Bremgarten in Switzerland, who bravely resisted him.

Samson went from Baden to neighboring Bremgarten and visited both the pastor, M. Nicolaum Christianum, and the mayor there, who were quite willing to accommodate him. The dean, however, Henrich Bullinger, seriously opposed such a daring enterprise and did not want to let this money cutter in. When he had to rely on the indulgence bulls, as well as on the

The dean said: "I do indeed hear that this authority was given to you in Rome, and that you received permission from the dean to interpret your old rumble; however, you have never yet given me the consent of a proper bishop; rather, the care of souls belongs to me, not to the council or any other low authority. You put religion and conscience in danger, and you will not get me to look through my fingers and let the people be robbed of their property by these useless and futile bulls. But, the monk said heatedly, the Pope's reputation is even greater than that of a bishop; therefore I command you in his name not to deprive the people of these Roman pardons. I," replied Decanus fearlessly, "would rather do anything else and forfeit my life than have you impose your deception on my community. So then, you beast," the Italian continued, "I lay upon you the terrible ray of banishment, you who so boldly despise the Roman see and so deliberately resist the command of the authorities themselves; you will not be freed from it until you buy off the punishment of your audacity with 300 gold florins. Therefore, Decanus turned his face away from the deceiver, and as he was leaving he said: "I hope that I have done nothing that is not connected with my office, of which I will also give an account if it is necessary. By the way, your ban is unreasonable, for which I am not greatly distressed. At this, Samson became even angrier, and said: "Audacious beast, I will go to Zurich in a hurry, and complain about your bold and foolish show in the assembly of all Swiss cantons; such injustice has not been done to me by the entire Swiss country. Also to me, said the Decanus once again quite boldly, the entrance to the Swiss lords is not closed, before whom I may be unafraid to present myself.

A letter of indulgence issued by this Samson on Nov. 15, 1518.

From Hottinger's pkutaä. ckissert. mise'illnsar., x. 550.

Translated into German.

Leo, Pabst X.

To all who will read this letter, let it be known and known how we, in accordance with the form of the Apostolic Grace reported below, are to be held accountable

The Holy Father has granted Burkhard Würtz, Johann and Anna, his parents, with their compatriots, 1) to use, enjoy and benefit from the benefaction and apostolic pardon (by the pope under the lead in Rome at St. Peter's, for the purpose of building the cathedral church of the prince of the apostles in the city, by our most holy Lord Leo, the X. pope, the year 1517, Sept. 1, 1517. Pope, recently in the year of the Incarnation of Christ 1517, Sept. 13, and of his Pabbacy in the fifth year) of the power and commission issued by said our most holy Lord, the most reverend in Christ Father and Mr. D. Christopher of Forlivio, of the title of St. Mary at the Altar of Heaven Cardinal. Mary at the Altar of Heaven Cardinal Priest, and general servant of the whole Order of Friars Minor, over twenty-five countries included in the Bull, among which are also the whole of Italy, Sicily, Corsica, Candia, Cyprus, Rhodus, up to Jerusalem, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, Poland, and the islands of the Mediterranean Sea: 2) (And the like also in the same manner and form of power and general commission, which of his own motion and good forethought has been further conferred and extended to the honorable friar Bernardum Samson of Milan, of the Minorite Order of the Observance friar, to the districts and oerters of the beloved sons, the Swiss in the twelve cantons and their confederates, as well as to the cities of the districts and oerters in Valtelin and Cur or of the Grisons, as can be seen from the charter issued in the form of a breve at Rome at St. Peter under the fisherman's ring the 15. Nov. Anno 1517, of the Pabstthum höchstermeldten unsers allerheiligsten Herrn Pabst in the fifth year given letter) namely in below-mentioned pieces:

That persons registered above may choose a competent confessional priest, secular or monastic, from all, even mendicant orders, who, after diligent

In the first hearing of their confession they shall be absolved from all faults, sins and misdeeds committed at the time of their election, be they what they may, if they were otherwise reserved to the apostolic see; as well as from all ecclesiastical excommunication, the counting of which otherwise also belonged to the said apostolic see; also from that which is otherwise exempted in (the bull)

Coena Domini (except in those cases where the person of the pope has been stalked, bishops or other prelates have been killed, hands have been laid on them or other prelates, bulls or apostolic letters have been forged, weapons or other forbidden things have been brought to the unbelievers, (If the prelate or the prelate has brought weapons or other forbidden things to the unbelievers, has brought the alum of the tolfa from the unbelievers to the believers against apostolic prohibition, and thus has forfeited the ban), but not under the hope and pretext of this granted grace, and without the otherwise due penance or satisfaction, in life once, as well as in the hour of death and as often as there is doubt (or sorrow) about it, to grant ransom and pardon and complete indulgence; in the unreserved cases and parts of banishments, whether or not they are otherwise reserved by the pope to other subjects, as many times as they desire, to grant redemption and impose salutary penance; also to change all vows that have escaped them (except those about the sea, the vows of monastic life and chastity) into other godly works; likewise all oaths taken in all trade and commerce, bonds and letters (except those concerning the chamber), at least only so that one cannot sue on them 2c., [ad effectum agendi, or of the outward deed and effect at night, and may be counted free from it, as also from all perjury.

That also now reported voters eat, enjoy and use eggs, butter, cheese and other dairy food, also meat, during the Great Fast and at other forbidden times, with the advice of both physicians, freely, safely and without grief of conscience.

Also, at all times of the year, likewise at Easter and at the hour of death (but without any harm to their own rulers and priests), the sacrament of the evening meal, where they may wish, and may be devoutly received by any secular or monastic priest.

Likewise, that those of nobility or priests have a portable altar, which they shall keep with due reverence and sanctity, on which they shall also keep in proper, honest places, whether they are not holy, and subject to the church interdict, whether common or special, both by apostolic or ordinary power (if only they themselves did not give cause for such interdict), even before

1) Samson had written in another Bernese copy with his hand to it: The Magnificus and High Noble Lord Antonius Spilmanu, with his wives D. Dorothea Rossin, with their daughters and father Aegidio, with their whole family.

2) What is included here in () is not in the Bernese Bull, but instead of it: and consequently to me, as the one deputized and appointed by him by virtue of such apostolic power 2c. In the margin, however: as also said of our most holy Lord Nuntio and apostolic Commissario General to the gentlemen of Switzerland, as the apostolic letter, which was issued in Rome at St. Peter's on Nov. 15, Anno 1517 in the form of a breve, reads. (This is written in Samson's hand.)

The priests of the church shall have the right, when it is daylight (or when it begins to be daylight), in the presence of themselves and their household members, according to the manner of the Chapter: Alma vom Bannurtheil L. 6, to celebrate mass and other divine offices, either themselves, if they are priests or will be priests at the time, or to have them celebrated by other priests; they may also attend such services at the time of the interdict, and their bodies may be buried in a Christian manner (but without a funeral service or vestments).

And that they also receive as much and the same indulgence and forgiveness of sins (as they would, if they visited all the churches of said city and outside of it, which are otherwise attended by the faithful of Christ, 1) (of the standing prayers of said city, in person, if they namely visited one or several churches or churches, (if they devoutly visited one or some churches or churches, according to the same nuncio or commissarii or the sub-commissarii to be appointed or to be further appointed by him, and put a Christian alms in the boxes to be arranged by them for the purpose of said construction) by the power granted in said apostolic letter.

It is also granted by apostolic authority that whoever receives such a confession slip and offers a helpful hand to the work of the said construction according to the order of the Commissarii or the Commissarii appointed by him, will share in all spiritual good that will ever happen in the whole general contending holy church for eternity; that all apostolic statutes, orders and letters of all ancestors, the Roman popes, especially Paul II and Sixtus IV, which are also expressly and sufficiently included in the aforementioned letter, and all others which might otherwise be contrary, shall not in the least hinder it.

Hereafter, the Most Reverend Lord, by said letter, forbids the ordinaries and all others, upon the sentence of the ban pronounced and 500 ducats to be struck to the above building, punishment, that they, after such pardon granted, confession and counting of lots of said cases, shall not submit to interfere in the least, or to hinder or offend in any way those who so control, in the use, enjoyment and reception of such favors, or

1) In the Bernese Bull it is written: to obtain the status prayers are granted that they choose a church which they want, and say three times Pater noster and so many Ave Maria there.

defame the Commissario himself, or the other persons to be appointed by him or to be appointed under him, or their order of regular observance. 2)

However, the confession slips do not extend to the conversion of the vows made or the forgiveness of the sins committed, before the reception of the same, because then they must be counted or dispensed from the vows made and the sins committed otherwise reserved by the deputies for this purpose; however, they will benefit the future ones. In witness whereof I, Brother Bernardinus Samson of Milan, of the Order of Friars Minor of the Regular Observance, having been appointed to the said matters, have executed and inscribed the present letter with my own signature and affixed the seal. Given in Bern, 1518, the 15th of the month of November.

67 Pope Leo's breve to the Swiss cantons, which had become very indignant about this outrageous indulgence stuff, in which he tries to appease them and promises to punish the indulgence preacher Samson after an investigation. 1519.

From Hottinger's üist. 666168.866. X VI, torn. II, p. 177 and KapPS "Schauplatz des Tetzelschen AblasskramS" reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 925.

Translated into German.

Leo X, bishop, a servant of servants, wishes salvation and apostolic blessing to the beloved sons, the noble Swiss Cantons! It has pleased us to hear that, after some doubts have arisen from the disputations of some religious about the indulgence given by us for the building of the church of the most noble apostle and proclaimed there, which could bring about some danger to the soul and trouble, you have wished to obtain the pronouncement of the apostolic see, to adhere to the advice of this see, and to obey its commands. We therefore answer your devotion to this: that, since a similar dispute arose the other day between some theologians of Germany about the promulgation of this indulgence, we have given our beloved son Thomas, of the title of St. Sixti Priest Cardinal, the title of St. Sixti Priest Cardinal, the title of St. Sixti Priest Cardinal, the title of St. Sixti Priest Cardinal.

2) In the Bernese copy, the following is added: or that they do not dare to say that they bought said indulgences and liberties, or traded and haggled over them with someone.

We have answered our and the apostolic see's envoy in Germany by another letter about the Roman pope's authority in granting such indulgences with the true definition of the Roman church, which we want to be held and preached by all under the penalty of the pronounced ban, the absolution of which we reserve for ourselves and the Roman pope, except in the case of death; as you can clearly see from the letter itself, which we order to be sent to you, and will see to it that it is held. By the way, such disputations, which could arouse anger in the minds, are not to be listened to, but you will firmly adhere to the true statement of the Holy Roman Church and of this Holy See, which does not permit any errors. We have also ordered the preacher to be recalled at your full request; and if we find that he has gone too far in those points of which you write, we will have him punished. Given at Rome by St. Peter, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1519, April 30, of our seventh papal reign.

68. Bapt. Pupp, 1) a Franciscan and Samson's colleague, wrote to the Swiss cantons, from which it can be seen how hated he had made himself among them. 1519.

From Hottinger's xentack. äissrt., p. 549. Translated into German.

Magnifici and Esteemed (Highly Noble) Gentlemen!
With due greetings and compliments.

Since the Most Holy One, our Lord, for the propagation of the divine name and the salvation of souls, has meant to grant both 2) to the cathedral church of the Prince of the Apostles in the city of Reconstruction, full indulgences in various countries, and 3) other pardons contained in the apostolic letter issued in this regard: Her Holiness did not wish to exclude from the same communion the thirteen cantons of Switzerland, which, as experience has shown, she considers to be quite catholic and the most faithful sons of the Holy Roman Church, and perfectly willing to defend it, but has granted her Comissa-

1) Löscher (Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 926) calls him "Ober-Ablaß-Commissarius Ioh. Irsno. de koppio".

2) Here we have erased "also".

3) "as well" put by us instead of: and.

The Holy See decided to delegate to them the Father and Brother Bernardinum Samson, and the Order of Friars Minor of regular observance. And would not have sent such to the Magnificos and Noble Lords in such important and salutary matters if their Holiness had not found him to be a learned and virtuous man. However, in the last few days our most holy Lord has learned [through] your letters that the same brother Bernardinus is said to have fallen into some errors in proclaiming this indulgence, about which her holiness is highly astonished and has verbally ordered me to indicate to you in her name that if this brother Bernardinus is troublesome to you in his preaching, he will be sent to Italy with your peaceful and quiet departure from you. But if you still tolerate him and want to hear him, their holinesses are content that he remain with you until his time of commission is over. For their holiness will be pleased to oblige you in everything that is conducive to the welfare of your souls. Therefore, Most Reverend Sirs, I would ask you to let the said Brother Bernardinum, if you would rather see him go to Italy than stay with you, leave without any restrictions; who, if he has erred in his sermons, will also be prepared to give an answer before our most holy Lord and to suffer punishment for his errors. Therefore I want to write this only to you, that you prove the magnanimity and grace and also the reverence for the holy Roman church that you have shown so far to the said brother Bernardino, as I ask and implore you most earnestly for it, and by the way, I wish you to live well in the Lord at all times. From our convent N. N. in the city, May 1, 1519.

69. indulgence instruction issued by Pope Leo X to Ennio, Bishop of Berulan, on Switzerland.

1514.

From Hottinger's xentuckoe. äissert., p. 515.
Translated into German.

Leo Bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to the Venerable Brother Ennio, Bishop of Verulan, our to the beloved sons, Swiss of the old great Covenant in Upper Germany, as well as of the Apostolic See Nuntio, with the power of a Legati de Latere, apostolic greeting and blessing!

Since we have already decided to send you to our beloved sons, the Swiss of the old great Confederation in Upper Germany and of the same Swiss towns and villages, in matters important to us and to the Holy Roman Church, as our and the apostolic see's nuncio with the authority of a Legati de Latere: We hereby, in order that you may make yourself popular with the persons living in the cities, towns, villages and lands mentioned, and with your friends and companions at table, grant authority to your prudence, in which we place a special trust in the Lord in these and other matters: that you confer the office of tabulionate or notary public on all competent persons, after you have made them swear their oath, according to the usual manner, and appoint said tabuliones to the said office; You may also make honest all illegitimate, natural, bastard, Manser, illegitimate, incestuous children, born in or out of wedlock, and be it from whatever sinful and unlawful cohabitation, their parents may be living or dead, in such a manner, that they may attain to the paternal and other inheritance of all estates, and therein follow hereditarily, without, however, some disadvantage to those who would otherwise have to attain to said successions (if the persons whom they follow died without last will) according to law; Likewise, that they be drawn and accepted to all honors, dignities, degrees, and secular public and special offices, and may and may administer and manage the same as if they were born of right marriage, and that you may restore and establish them to all rights of nature and lawful acts.

Furthermore, that you may exchange all both bad and other ecclesiastical offices, be they secular with care of souls (parish) or without the same, or ecclesiastical (that is, belonging to the monastery) of all orders, also those which otherwise belong to the said See, it may be for whatever causes (except for the said See and Roman court servants, (except for the said See and Roman Court servants who actually administer their offices)), would be reserved throughout, duties, 1) either per se or for any cause, by exchange, and in such a way that the commendable and also the contentious, both in the Roman Court and outside the same. The said benefices shall be extinguished and abolished, both par excellence and for the same or any other cause, including all those within such cities, towns, lands, and oerteries, if they are open or may in time become open (if they are otherwise open because of the pa-

tronate of the laity, and also otherwise, as above, or according to their profession, at the said See or because of the kinship of our or the said holy Roman Church still living Cardinals table society, would be reserved or in something afflicted, insofar as such Beneficien annual fruits, pensions and income over 100 ducats of gold at the Chamber, The Lord may grant them to competent persons, even to those who have or have to wait for church benefices, of whatever kind and however much and of whatever kind they may be, among all the more than thirty reserved by decease or subject to some interest or otherwise. The monastery or ecclesiastical order benefices, however, both for life and for a time of your choosing, to commend or order; and to confer on them or on the ecclesiastical benefices for life, or for some time of life, and above the relinquished or ceded to you, as stated above, or at the instance of the relinquished or otherwise ceded benefices, whatever they may be, fruits, enjoyment and income, all kinds of annual interest (which shall not exceed a third part of said fruits, enjoyment and income), such abdicating or ceding, or also other capable persons, if they already be ecclesiastical benefices, they may be how much, of what kind and whatsoever they will, which the relinquishers or resigners will appoint to you, for life from those who at present hold such benefices, annually to certain ends and oerterns, about which they will be compared and determined, also in case of common robberies, delinquencies, sentences and curses, with the consent of those who take upon themselves to pay said interest, you shall have the power to reserve, order and direct; although the statutes and customs of the churches in which such benefits are, would also be established by oath, apostolic affirmation or other firm manner.

Likewise, that you may deal with all persons in said cities, towns, countries and places from time to time, who have sinned and defiled themselves by adultery in the fourth and third degree at the same time, or only in the fourth degree of blood friendship and affinity, or against other ways of respectability and right, notwithstanding, that they may marry among themselves and remain therein and beget children who are to be considered honest.

Similarly, with all persons about all kinds of

1) This will probably mean: which have been abandoned.

Deficiencies in the birth and inaccuracies into which those fall who, for example, under the ban, administer the mass or other divine offices, or have been there, as the names have it, if only it does not happen to the power of the keys to scorn, that they can get to all, even holy and venerable orders and serve therein also at the altar; and that in all the graces granted to them in this way, they may remember none of them; namely, up to 450 such persons.

In the same way, with the same or other persons, you can act in such a way that how many, which and of what kind of benefits of the churches, with soul care or without the same, which can stand together, they have the same, also in the church, in which their father has or will have a benefit, they can serve the Lord in the altar service at the same time.

Similarly, with them or other such persons, and who have about two parishes, or other church benefices not well together; with those of nobility, graduates or otherwise capable, that they have three benefices of all kinds, they may be equal with or without them, equal or unequal, existing under one cover. And if with the nobles, graduates or otherwise capable, it has been dispensed that they should keep for life two benefices, although not existing with each other, at the same time for life; with the same nobles, graduates or otherwise capable, in such a way that they also retain the third, whatever it may be, or with the others existing secular benefices, either with one or two of them (even if the canonicates or prebends standing together.), and both they and the unoccupied benefices, even if they do not exist together, and both they and the non-existent benefices, parish churches or their permanent vicarages, dignities, personalities, administrations or offices in cathedral or metropolitan churches, according to the episcopal high or collegiate churches would be such superiors, and to the personal dignities, administrations or such offices, (where persons are accepted by election and care of souls is involved when they are conferred on others in a canonical manner, or they themselves have been elected, well respected or otherwise accepted for this purpose and instructed therein), even those who do not exist together, retain them for life, and either at the same time or one after the other, or by exchange, as often as they please, and in place of the one or ones given away, another or others, equal or unequal, equal or unequal, of whatever kind, however many and whatever they may be, which, as has been seen, are to be found in the case of

can stand together, be free for life and be right about everything.

Likewise, with fifty persons, the twenty, but with those of the nobility and graduates who are eighteen years old, you may act to give them a church benefice with pastoral care, even if it is a parish church, a right of permanent vicarage care, or otherwise, as stated above, of some important kind.

Likewise, with one who has such benefices with pastoral care, because of which he would be obliged to accept all, even the holy and approved orders, you could act in such a way that he would not be obliged to be promoted to said holy orders under seven years (if he accepts at least the Order of the Subdiaconate only two years before the expiration of the same), and that you could postpone such exemptions for two years or one year, to be counted from the end of such seven years, once and more times.

Likewise, you shall have power to act with all persons, that if they study in the place where such order is established, or stay in the Roman court or in one of their benefices, which they receive or would receive at the time, they shall enjoy and raise freely for life all and every fruit, income and annuity of the same benefices, if they only pay off what is due thereon, completely, but in such a way that what of it must be distributed daily and given away as donations, They are free to enjoy and collect the benefits as they would if they stayed in the churches in which they received the said benefits, even if they did not even have their first habitual residence or domicile in the same churches or places, which they should have had there by virtue of the endowment of such benefits received or still to be received, or the statutes of the churches in which they receive them; that, notwithstanding this, they may not hold themselves in person in such benefices, nor be compelled by anyone to do so.

Likewise, in the 22nd year; with the secular clergy in the 22nd year, but with the monks who find in the 20th year. The bishops are to act in the same way with the secular clergy in their 22nd year, with the monks in their 20th year, and with all persons who have a defect of the limbs, also of the eye, but not of the canon, if it is not such a deformity that it causes trouble among the people, so that they can be lawfully promoted to all holy and established orders by any bishop who has the grace and communion of said See, even outside the proper and legally established times, and can officiate there at the altar.

Even with those without a dispensation before their

The only way to prevent them from being caught in the mistake they have fallen into and from the wrongness that is attached to them as a result is to raise, count, and absolve them from the fruits they have already received, as if they had received the orders, so that they can also receive all the other orders.

Likewise, the clergy and all secular persons who, if they are not prelates, lay their hands impudently on clergymen and either accidentally commit murder, or who, according to their mind, are guilty of it, are to be absolved from such debts, errors and banishment, and whatever else follows from it. And to deal with clergymen on account of the wrongdoing arising therefrom, with the exception of premeditated murder, in such a way that they have freedom and power again, promote themselves to said orders, and in the service of the altar, which has already been preserved in the case of such faults, can also well maintain and enjoy all and sundry ecclesiastical benefices that exist alongside one another.

Likewise, all nobles, graduates, and priests are to be allowed to have an altar with the proper honorifics and shades, on which they may have mass read in their and their people's presence in proper and honorable places, and, where the necessity of important business requires it by opportunity, also before day, and in places that have been condemned to interdict or common ban by ordinary power.

Likewise, to act with all prelates and ecclesiastical persons and monastics, that they may make a last will and decree over their goods, which they have acquired, by whatever means, if it is only lawful, according to the measure of the apostolic chancery.

Likewise, that you may give freedom to all of the said cities, towns, lands, and towns, who request that they attend masses and other divine services at the time of the interdict imposed by the said ordinary power, and that they may be present at them, if only they have not given cause for it themselves, so that the interdict does not concern them personally.

Similarly, to those who request that they be allowed to choose a secular confessor or a confessor from all the monastic orders, who may also grant them, in the cases reserved to the apostolic see, the grace of complete redemption once in life and at the hour of death, but over those who are not reserved, as often as they request it, according to the form of the kind noted in the same chancery, to confer such power.

Likewise, all the vows that the people of the aforementioned kingdoms and dominions vow (except for the apostolic thresholds or doors of St. Peter, St. Paul, likewise St. James in Compostell and those above the sea, to go to the monastery and to keep constant chastity) to transform into other godly works.

Likewise, when you say mass or attend a solemn mass, to grant 100 days of indulgence to those who attend.

Likewise, that you may hear, recognize and properly dismiss the matters of all appeals already filed or still to be filed by the ordinary ecclesiastical judges or their deputies, both in and out of court; as well as no less all other matters belonging to and brought before the ecclesiastical court, yourself or through another, or others, in the shortest and worst way, without ordinary trial and judicial office, merely according to the true inquiry and finding of the matter, or assign them to someone else.

Likewise to make 10 comites palatinos [palatines], and 10 poetas laureatos [crowned poets], 10 milites auratos [gold-decorated men of war], and 10 acoliti capellans.

Also to accept others as our and the apostolic see's notaries by apostolic power, and to count them among our and the said see's notaries and ^oolit chaplains, also our Lateran castle's servants and castle guards or war servants' number and heaps respective in grace; That they so enjoy and use all and every privileges, prerogatives, honors, exemptions, graces, liberties, privileges and powers, which others of ours and of the said See Notaries and Acoliti-Capellani, also of the said Court Servants and Castle Servants, enjoy, need and use, or could and would enjoy and use; and to present or cause to be presented to them all such Notarial and other such service emblems and badges of honor in the future, if they have been previously committed to duty.

Also to promote and present, or present and cause to be promoted, 40 able and skilful persons who wish to become Doctor or Licentiate in one or both of the arts, and Master in theology or liberal arts, or to obtain other degrees, after the first sharp and diligent examination, and according to the order of the Concilii of Vienna and other ordinary ceremonies: That they may be granted all and every liberty, right, pardon, privilege, and exemption, which are conferred upon others who attain to comparable degrees in the universities by and in their studies, or

The universities of the said kingdoms and dominions shall be free to enjoy, use, and benefit from all the freedoms they wish to be conferred. And hereunder to deprive and abrogate all previous apostolic liberties, letters and orders, which have been granted to the universities of said realms and dominions of common or special studies by all Roman popes, our ancestors, and said See, as well as all orders of the concilia or provinces, likewise statutes and customs, which would also be provided with oath or apostolic confirmation, to that extent.

Similarly, the endowments and the right of patronage of the clergy and seculars at the same time, or of the seculars, even if according to the endowment and endowment, they are entitled to half or all of them; likewise, the statutes and ordinances on property, in so far as to cancel them or to deprive them of their power.

Also to all respectable women, that they may go to all convents and nunneries, also to the observance of the closed ones (Claustralium), be they exempt or not, however they are kept closed, nevertheless with three respectable women, with permission of the women, who are set over such convents and houses, if they only do not stay there overnight, out of devotion four times a year.

Also to give to 10 governors of parish churches and other ecclesiastical authorities the power to absolve them, the ecclesiastics, whatever they may be, from both sexes, from all sins and crimes, in cases where otherwise only the ordinaries of the orders can absolve by right and custom or otherwise, and in those reserved to the apostolic see, to convert everything into other works of godliness.

Likewise, that you have the power to allow 50 secular clergy and also all other monastic orders to read the law, to hear it, to debate it, and to become masters or doctors in it. Likewise, to those of the monastic state, that they may preach and proclaim the Word of God freely and without sin everywhere, and enter the chair.

Also those who refrain from reciting and praying the canonical hourly prayers according to their charge to count off.

Likewise, to permit all persons to pray and say the hourly prayers and other devotions, according to the manner, custom and usage of the Roman Church, alone or with one or two companions. Similarly, with all clergy, both secular and monastic, to act that they may

The law provides that the deceased may exchange, sell, and lease for a long time immovable property of churches and monasteries and their benefices, and may also lend it as feudal and hereditary interest or other interest and liability, and otherwise dispose of it; and where something is lacking in the proper manner of disposal, both in law and in fact (but only for the obvious benefit of the churches and monasteries or such benefices), to improve it and apply it to it.

Also to grant to the same persons that they may give up their also reserved benefices, as they are usually granted by you, into the hands of all ordinaries of the Oerter and the canons and metropolitan church superiors, or other persons standing in office and dignities, either outright or in exchange.

Likewise, you have and can give the power to eat, enjoy and use meat at all major and other fasting times and days, when meat, eggs and other dairy products may not be eaten, and in times of need and with the advice of both physicians.

And to grant to those who choose and visit one or two churches, or one or more altars of the cities or places, in which they may offer and keep up their standing prayer, that they, like those who in the great fast and other times and days of every year, when the standing prayer is held in the city of Rome, visit all and every church of said city, within and without the same, for the sake of such standing prayer, may obtain indulgence and remission of sins for all and every one.

And that you have the power to graciously remit the imposed penances in the Lord to all kinds of churches, outside or inside the monasteries, visiting or lending a helping hand for their construction or for their dedication and improvement, but only on two or three feasts, seven years and as many quadragens, or during the time as you please, so that it may last always or for some time, as you please.

Likewise, to grant the residents, citizens and all persons of the same that they may receive church sacraments at the time of the common ban or interdict, which has been imposed by ordinary power, and may bury the dying body in a Christian manner, however, without funeral.

And pre-notified liberties, pardons, bestowals and privileges also against your friends (or householders) and constant table companions, who follow you in these legation services, whether they were not already from the said cities, towns, regions and dominions, and whom your people do not even know the language of the place.

understand or could speak intelligibly.

Likewise, all and every person to whom you grant such grace and liberties according to the power granted to you, or against whom you require such liberties, shall be exempt from all other ecclesiastical bans, judgments and punishments imposed or otherwise pronounced on account of suspension or interdict, which the law or a man has pronounced on any occasion or cause, if they are involved in it in any way, whether they have already lapsed into it over the year, or have been banished after the matter has been adjudicated, may be counted and declared by you to be counted, so that the pardons to be granted to them may take place.

Further, that all and every ecclesiastical benefices, with or without the care of souls, which also all and every aforesaid have received from all manner of apostolic benefits and have had the expectancy thereof, and in which and to which they are entitled, whatsoever and whatsoever or however much they may be, and of all their fruits, incomes and pensions, all the true value and honor of these benefits; also to the end that such pardons may be granted and your writs to be made thereon may be strong or valid, to be considered as good as expressed or named. And that anything contrary thereto which may be done or concluded by any person, by whatever authority, knowingly or unknowingly, shall be void and of no force.

In particular, however, that the force of certain letters of Pope Sixty IV, our ancestor, therein expressly provided, among other things, that the nuncios of said See, whom one would depute at the time, even if they had the power of a Legati de Latere, should nevertheless not use their power to grant ecclesiastical benefices or to grant dispensations and other graces to be granted, and all other clauses that may be contained in the powers attached to these nuncios do not apply in the least against the above-mentioned your letters.

And that hereunder all common and special reservations, which occur at the time, and the reported infirmities or settlements, to assign the matter to commissioners, or because of the language, no force is entitled.

Likewise, that of the Vienne, Lateran, and other general conciliar and other orders, apostolic and ecclesiastical, monastic, and all religious statutes, even if they were confirmed by oath, apostolic affirmation, or otherwise; likewise the statutes, customs, liberties, and privileges of the Cluniac, Cistercian, and Brandonian orders and monasteries, such as to them and to others

The same orders have been conferred by apostolic letters from the Holy See and its legates, but they have been abrogated in every way, and their power has been diminished by this.

As well as all pardons of expectation, which have been or would be granted to some persons, also to our friends, companions at table or others, which we hereby expressly suspend or cancel, that you may use your freedom and power granted to you, in the benefits which may arise and be granted by you by virtue of this; and that everything contrary to this shall not apply, we give complete freedom and power over this by apostolic power, contents of these letters. Given at Viterbo, in the year of the Incarnation of Christ 1514, the 15th of October, of our Papacy in the next year.

d. Under the Archbishop and Elector of Mainz and the Franciscan Guardian of the Barfüßerkloster in Mainz, and his sub-commissar Tetzels.

70 D. Georg Arnold, former Chancellor of Zeitz, who died in 1588 and was an excellent jurist, made portrait of the Elector Albrecht of Mainz.

From Mencken's scriptor. rerum Oermaniear., tom. II, x. 1151.

This archbishop held the most precious court in Germany. Therefore, although he had two archbishoprics and a lucrative bishopric, such rich revenues were not enough to redeem the archbishop's pallium, because he wasted everything, was too generous and did too much for the cause everywhere; therefore, he resorted to trickery and deceit to gather such, which was not befitting his reputation, and also gave him the push.

Luther's verdict on Albrecht.

This is attached to Luther's act with Carl von Miltitz at Altenburg, below in No. 276.

The Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg's summary instruction for the sub-commissioners, *poenitentiaros* and confessors who are responsible for the execution of the gracious indulgence and for the

of the great powers, which for the benefit of the Church of the Chief of the Apostles in Rome are abundantly given by our most holy Lord Pope Leo X, may be named and decreed.

This writing is published without indication of the year and place, but with the name of Churfürst Albrecht under the title: Instrnetio snrninaria pro sndeonnissariis etc. in quarto. It is found in Latin and German in Kapp's "Sammlung einiger zum päbstlichen Ablaß gehörigen Schriften," p. 93; in German in the Leipzig edition, Vol. XVII, p. 7, and in Walch.

Translated into German and annotated by M. Johann Erhard Kapp.

We Albrecht, by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See of the Holy Church of Magdeburg and the See of Mainz Archbishop, Primate and Archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire in Germania, Elector and Administrator of the Church of Halberstadt, Margrave of Brandenburg, Stettin, Pomerania, Cassuben and Wenden Duke, Burgrave of Nuremberg and Prince of Rügen;^a) 1) and the Guardian of the Brothers of the Order of Friars Minor de observantia of the Convent at Mainz,^b) the pre-

1) In this document, the annotations marked with letters are made by Kapp; those marked with numbers are made by us.

a) The space would not be sufficient, if I wanted to tell this Elector's life here. Among the Electors of Mainz he is Albertus II and his life is found in the great historical koxioo quite accurate. But if you want to know something more about him, you must read the following scribes in addition to those listed there: M/ooi'r Reformation History, which the Herr Consistorial- und Kirchenrath I). Cyprian has already published twice, Mr. Heinrich Schmid's Brandenburg Reformation History, and the famous Consistorialrath I). Vo/r. M'ekaekr" Ler'neer'i historical preface of the beginning and progress of the Reformation in Halle, which is prefixed to the centennial monument of the Reformation edited there in 1718; Georg Arnold's Leben Churfürst Moritzens, which Mr. Immanuel Weber corrected in German, although not with all scholars' applause, had printed in Giessen in 1719; not to mention other scribes who have described the beginning of the Reformation. The well-known continuator of the Laronrr, Lloom", mentions our Chur

Fürsten 1. VII., Vnnal. ad a. 1517, x. 322, very donoriÜ66, when he speaks: "Erat autem hoc tempore inter Germaniae Praelatos Ecclesiasticos eminentissimus et dignitatis apice natalium splendore Princeps, Al- hertus, Archiepiscopus Moguntinus et Magdebur- gensis, Germaniae Primas et S. R. Imperii Princeps Elector, Marchio Brandenburgensis. Hunc igitur speciali commissione praefecit Summus Pontifex indulgentiarum publicandarum negotio etc."

b) No scriptor coaevns have let us know the name of this Guardian. Most of what we know of his

The apostolic commissarii decreed in accordance with the said gracious indulgences and other apostolic powers, together or separately^c) wish all and every spiritual person, the secular, and the religious of all and every mendicant order, for the execution of the plenary indulgence and other graces, which for the benefit of the building of the church of the most noble apostle at Rome may have been graciously given by our most holy Lord Leo X. Pope recently in the manner of a jubilee. Pabst the other day in the manner of a jubilee, may be delegated and chosen, eternal salvation in the Lord! We send to your prudence the summary process to be observed in the execution of such a work of indulgence, which you, each and every one of you, shall diligently and faithfully, without guile or deceit, and as far as human weakness will permit, keep and follow in an oath which you shall have to swear at the end in our hands or in the hands of our servants, or even of those whom we shall specially ordain for this purpose.

Besides these, we want that, if one of you will be subjected to such summary process and orders described below,

Person and Conduite know, we have to thank the first mentioned LHWmro, who reports of him p. 17 that he had been a short thick man. He tells hereupon that the Guardian and Barfüßerorden did not have desire to the thing. - In the old edition of Walch, almost the entire report was printed again in this note, which is included in No. 73 of this volume. Therefore, we have omitted it here.

c) It says here in Latin: 8p6oialit6r eonjnnetirn et in solidnin Oommissarli apostoloei depntati. This elansnla, in solidnin, is disjunctiva, and is given in German: sammt or sonders. It is opposed by dre elansnla si non ornos, which is conditionalis, and is translated: sammt und sonders. In the first easn, if the onnnissarii are deputized in solidnin, it is up to them if one or all of them want to proceed, consequently also in this indulgence commission both the archbishop Albrecht and the guardian of the Minorites, each one for himself could grant indulgences, the first of which has also happened according to the words M/eourr now quoted. In the other case, however, si non ornos, a lawful impediment of the one Commissarii is supponit. The first formula, sammt or sonders, is expressed in the dnro Oanonieo in various ways, as e. g. Simul vel separatim aut singulariter, prout negotii utilitas suadebit, c. n. X. de haeret, in 6. ut omnes aut duo vel unus eorum mandatum apostolicum exequantur, c. 8. h. t. in 6. item in solidum c. 6. de procur. in 6. con- junctum aut divisim. Schilter. ex. X, § 53, vobis et vestrum singulis, c. 12 de haeret, in 6, with which seems to agree the formula known among the Romans: alter amdove, si 6is videlntnr, of which Barnabas Lrr'ssorr'us d6 solenn, kor", k. Verdis lid. II, p. 219 can be read. See at all of the above formula: sammt oder sonders, des Herrn Geheimen Raths Böhmer dns eeelesiastieum k. I., p. 667 se^.

to transgress prohibitions, instructions and teachings knowingly, sacrilegiously and to the detriment of our said business; that, I say, he has thereby fallen into the censures, judgments and punishments contained in the apostolic letter, and that he can be absolved from such church censures, judgments and punishments, which he has thus brought upon himself, only by our most holy Lord, the pope, or by us, or by those to whom we shall give a special order.

Likewise, we decree that our subcommissarii to be appointed, as well as penitentiaries and confessors, who may be chosen by us or by them, shall seek above all the glory of Almighty God, the salvation of souls, and respect for the Holy Apostolic See, as well as the growth and benefit of the aforementioned building. If, however, one of the aforementioned persons, which God would prevent, intends or undertakes to live contrary to this regulation of ours and to the detriment of the said work, he shall know that as soon as he really begins to think this, he is deprived of the power of a penitentiary and of the power to hear confession. Also, if she should, out of obstinacy, take the liberty of hearing confession, since she no longer has any power and is absolved from it, we *ipso facto* consider her to be subject, then as now, to the censures, judgments, and punishments thundered out in the apostolic bull, from which she cannot be absolved, except by our most holy Lord, the pope, or by us or others, to whom we shall give a special order for this purpose.

We also want the subcommissioners who may be sent by us, and the penitentiaries and confessors who may be chosen by us or by our subcommissioners, to conduct themselves honorably and well in the offices of our commission. They should completely avoid taverns and suspicious places, and should absolutely abstain from all superfluous and useless expenses, so that those offices are not despised whose lives are held in low esteem. We will also punish most emphatically those who are notoriously guilty of this, and who will be convinced of it, which punishment we also impose on our sub-commissioners in our absence by the present.

Similarly, we decree and command that our

Our said sub-commissioners, as well as the confessors to be chosen by us or by them, shall do their utmost to present the apostolic penitentiaries decreed at Rome^d) with all honor; therefore they shall also decorate the confessionals assigned to them with one of the Pope's coats of arms, together with their attached title, name and surname in rough and large letters.

We also forbid them to hear confessions during the sermon or during the stations at the cross in public or even hidden and dark places, so that it may not look as if they wanted to keep the people from the benefit of the divine word, or as if they had diligently chosen such places where all kinds of evil could remain hidden.

We also command the same, under the censures, judgments and punishments which have been unleashed in the apostolic bull, not to engage in any kind of sacrilegious absolutiones, dispensationes, commutationes, compositiones or settlements in such cases as are mentioned in our apostolic bull.

d) The Roman Doenitentiarii are those who administer the Iridium! kotznittzntiariÄtz. The most distinguished among them is called Dotznitentiarii Major, or rnnÄnns, Italian Lomino Denitentiare, and is commonly a Cardinal. He expedites his office through two kinds of ministers. The first type is that of the priests who administer the so-called Kacranaentnill kosnitentiae in the three patriarchal churches after previous confession, and for this purpose the religious are taken from certain orders designated for this purpose, and they are commonly called koenitentiarii Minores. In the Lnsiliea Imteranensi the Ninoros Odssrvantss are recormati of the holy Drancrmei, in the Vnticana those of the Society of JEsu, and to 8anta Naria NaZsiors the Dominicans. In each of said churches there are seven of all kinds of nations. Each one speaks a particular language of the nation for whose good it is ordered. These cannot absolve in the easidns daxas rsssrvtis, but only in those cases which are forbidden to the common confessors. The second kind of Otkcinium in the kosnitentaria is those who govern the same after the manner of a tribunal, over which they also expedir lakera" ^xostoliens, after the manner of a breve, but under a different form and special seal, so Distinguished From the seal of the Lrsvinrn ^po8tolicornrn, which 8nd annulo ?i86atori8 are issued. The most distinguished is the Doenitcntiariae, so commonly is an anckitor rotae, under which stand the LiAiUntor Lrsvinrn, the Lnmnmto, a Doctor Dscrstorm, who is also called Öanonmta, as well as the Nkeolo^ns Dosnitentiariae, not to mention the still lesser OLcmliinni. Whoever is eager to instruct himself more extensively on this matter, should read Dan Dm sccls8ia8t., p. 252 86HH. as well as the Abriß der kathol. Church, x. 565, which Mr. Georg Christoph Ferdinand von Rasewitz published in 1714 in 4.

The judges are not allowed or permitted by the provisions of the Bull, clearly and unambiguously. They shall also not engage in absolving censures dictated by the Ordinarii or other judges, unless by agreement of the parties. In the meantime, however, our said subcommissarii and penitentiarii shall be able to absolve those who have been involved in ecclesiastical penalties pronounced by the Ordinary or other judges, as far as the tribunal of conscience is concerned, and so far only that they may obtain the said indulgence; However, they must be told beforehand that they will take due caution from those who are to be absolved in this way, by means of an oath, so that within the termini competentis (proper term) they will give satisfaction to the offended party, where they have not done so, or will not be able to do so, and also surrender themselves to the Excommunicatori, and obey his order as much as they can. Of the judgments and censures, however, which have been passed by a canon, and indeed not at one instance, our subcommissarii and penitentiarii will be able to absolve those who confess to them, not only by virtue of the grace of a perfect pardon, since the eight years^e) of our commission still last, but also by virtue of a letter of confession to be purchased,^f) after said eight years of our bull will be at an end.

1) Likewise, we decree that in all places where crosses are erected for said indulgence, as long as the erected cross will remain there, daily, or as often as we or our Subcommissarii shall deem it good, after the Vespers and the Completorio,^g) or before the

e) Thus, it can also be seen from this that this commission is supposed to last **8** years; God alone shortened the deadline and had this deception discovered completely in the third year by the blessed Luther.

f) The letters of confession, called in Latin *dout688ioualia*, are papal *ludulta* by which, after the tax has been paid, one receives the power to choose a confessor who can absolve the confessor of reserved cases. One sees *Lxarueu Oou-eiili 1^id6utiui*, IV, p. 109, latest edit. and *LoF-* Hist. Lwl., III, p. 112.

1) From here on, the instructions are often almost identical to those Arcimbald gives to his sub-commissioners. Compare Col. 257 sf. From this it can be concluded that the general commissariats received the form for this from Rome.

g) *doiuplotorium* or *60rupl6ta* is generally when the service is concluded with a *dolloeta* or oration. In the Latin church, *dourplota* is the last prayer of the mass, and *dorupletoriuru* the last part of the canonical hours, by whose *rseitiatiou* the office of the whole day is completed.

Salve,^h) or at other times the praise of the cross by the Clerisei and the Penitentiarios with white sticks or rods,ⁱ) and by the Subcommissarium, who stands at the end between them, with due solemnness and devotion before

h) By the *salve* will probably be understood the known *^utiplroua Üuali8* in the Roman Church *8alv6 UsAina*. One sees of it of the gentleman abbot Schmidts *doxieou secÜWiu8. ruiuu8, ?*. III., p. 12, as also *KoHttUr-rArr LibUotImvaiu Leolssias*.

i) It *remarquiert* both *l7r-r ZHoe-r*, that the Roman *koeuitentiarii* even today as a sign of their power *virMiu*, a rod, would have in their hands, as well as the highly learned Mr *^utor* of the "*Abrisses*" I. 6. that they held a white plug in their hand, when they sat in the confessional. Count Carl von Schöneberg had once told him that when he had once seen the church of Santa Naria *NaMore* in Rome, and had passed in front of a confessional cat, the same had struck him on the head with the white stick. When he did not know what this meant, he was told that the Father had forgiven him for his sins. A much greater parade is made by the *Sonnn o kenitentiere* or *koenitentiarius inujor*. He is called the Great because he has the power to absolve in cases reserved to the pope. Eight days before Easter he comes alternately to the above-mentioned large churches to hear confessions. He sits on a chair raised three steps high, which is placed at the side of the high altar in every church, in the manner of a tribunal. In his hand he holds a little stick like a scepter, which is divided into three parts. The first part, which he holds in his hand, is of ivory, the other of *Bresilgen* wood and the third of ebony. All this shall not be a secret in the opinion of Herr von Rasewitz. He then deals with his power and the way in which he executes the commissions. This *Oüleiuru* of the *NaZui koeuiteutarii* is said to have brought in 6000 crowns some years ago. But after it was reformed for the benefit of the apostolic chamber, the pope assigned this cardinal no more than 1200 gold crowns. Which news the Lord of Rasewitz has borrowed from the above-mentioned *Ladleau* de la eour de Homo, to which he also refers, as far as the *laxanr* of these *kcwulteMiariae* is concerned, but says nothing more of it than: "*dar tont oola est 8u6r8aluruueut eounu par la 7Ä:-*" *sr soanckakeuse de la draueeHerie*, Hui a *ötö irupriruöe* on *diver868 lanAU68 6t euvo^öe pur tonte la dlrrötietü*, *dau8 lapuelle on voit*, *Me 1^ad8olutiou des plu8 reasons erin68 eoutre la do^ ds Dieu ne eonte pas Arand 6Ü086, iuai8 HN6 la moindre eontrovention vordre les statuts des?ap68 et les di8penee8 du quelczue rögleruend de la diseiplius eeeleÄasticie ne sont aeoordöes czu^L eux*, Hui ont le moien de *^ros^es sornIN68*, *tellemut Hus pour de lar^ent on oktient devant ee trikunal la permiksion de taire tout ee yu'on veut etc*. This is: For all this is sufficiently known from the so vexatious Taxe of the Chancery, which has been printed in various languages, and sent through all Christendom, wherein it is seen that the absolution from the very greatest crimes Against the Divine Law does not cost much at all, but the slightest contravention against the statutes of the popes, and the dispen-

The subcommissarii, after the completion of these stations, should meet with the penitentiaries and confessors in the Sacristy to resolve the doubts and difficulties that may arise. At this meeting the confessors are to present to them the doubts, where they have some, not of fictitious and impertinent, but only of true *casibus* (cases), as they occurred to them at the time.

Likewise, we decree that the penitentiaries and confessors shall never hear confessions except in a church where a cross has been erected, except for persons who are prevented from doing so, such as the sick, the aged, pregnant women, and the like, or even noble and aristocratic persons; unless our Subcommissarii, for some important reason, deem it good that some confessors be permitted to hear confession from certain persons in certain cases outside the said church and in other convenient places, which we leave to the judgment of our said Subcommissariorum.

Likewise, we decree that in every city and place where the above-mentioned powers and indulgences have been proclaimed, only three sermons shall be preached weekly, namely on Sunday and the other feast days of the week, or if there are no feast days, on the fourth and sixth day, that is, on Wednesday and Friday.

During Advent and Lent, however, one sermon shall be preached daily at a convenient hour, and on holidays two, in the church in which the cross has been erected. We also command that no preaching be done at this hour in any other place,^k) nor by anyone, whoever he may be, unless he has received special permission from the Subcommissario General.

It is also our will that the gentlemen preachers, in their sermons, should explain the Bull, together with all and every article of it, in the first octave, which immediately follows from the erection of the Cross, to the people in its entirety, so that they may, under

In their sermons, they should mention the great power of the Pope and Governor of God, who can give such graces and gifts, and which are necessary even for every man who wants to have eternal life. They should also not fail, within the aforementioned eight days and in all their future sermons, to open up and announce to the people the immeasurable and inestimable benefit of said apostolic indulgences and powers, which they can obtain from these indulgences during the eight years, both for themselves and for the faithful departed souls.

We also want the said preachers to stick to the text of the bull alone, and to explain the cases that can be absolved by virtue of it and the letter of confession, and in what cases dispensation, commutation, and composition or a settlement can take place by virtue of the said bull, so that foreign questions and those that do not belong here are absolutely omitted. For the words of the bull, being deep and high, require enough important and superfluous matter, excluding all subtleties, which is in fact taken from sacred theology and canon law.

These preachers should also inform the people of the indulgences that the prelates of the dioceses of our provinces have piously distributed from the treasury entrusted to them for the enlargement and increase of this work, including the one that we have just given for this purpose from our ordinary power.

The preachers should also exhort the people in all their sermons to pray an Our Father together with the angelic greeting for the welfare of our Lord Pope, and of the Holy Apostolic See and of the whole contending Church, for the conversion of hardened sinners and of those who assail this work, because it is impossible that the multitude of devout persons should not be heard.

Now that the sermons of the first octave after the erection of the cross have come to an end, the said preachers should hereafter and constantly in all their sermons make at least three or four points from the brief concept of the bull among the people, and explain and magnify them completely, as far as it will be possible for them, so that the people may not become disgusted with the indulgence out of forgetfulness of these so great approvals, and may come to despise the beneficence of the apostolic powers.

The preachers should also remind the people in all their sermons that they may diligently visit the stations of the churches or altars, obtain indulgences

sationes of any rule of ecclesiastical discipline are granted only to those who have the means to pay large sums, so that for money one gets permission before this court to do anything one wants 2c."

k) To these words the blessed Lutherus opposed the 53rd thesis, as I reminded in my "Schauplatz", p. 95.

They are also to persuade the believers in Christ to strive, as much as they can, to share all the goods of the whole contending church. They shall also counsel the faithful in Christ to strive as much as they can to become partakers of all the goods of the whole contending church, which participation is more useful for people to obtain grace and to preserve it, as well as to overcome the temptations of the power of darkness, than if he were in a state of mortal sin for himself doing all the works of all pious people. Also, the preachers should say that people can be benefited by buying letters of confession.

Furthermore, it is our will that the preachers should indicate the following three points to the people in all their sermons.

First, that the faithful who wish to obtain such indulgences may, out of respectability and devotion before the day of their confessional fasts, and immediately the next day, receive the reverend Sacrament of the Altar at the hands of their appointed pastor, or another competent priest, in their parochial churches, or wherever it will be more convenient for them.

Secondly, in all their sermons the preachers should emphatically indicate and teach the people that all indulgences are suspended within eight years, and that all profits that might be made with them are likewise forbidden for the eight years,^{l)} so that the people may not miss or despise our present indulgences and unheard-of^{m)} apostolic power on the pretext of the indulgences formerly given and the profits that might be shown with them.

Thirdly, the preachers should not omit, in all their sermons, to indicate emphatically to the faithful the censures, judgments, and punishments announced to those who directly or indirectly disobey and rebel, or put all kinds of obstacles in their way, and to inform them, so that they may not fall into the same, since they can be absolved of them only by the pope or by us and our subcommissaries.

l) The great dispute that Johann Tetzel had with the Königsutter monastery arose from this suspension of the other indulgence. No scholar who has described the life of Tetzel has yet mentioned it, so I will not fail to recount it, at the very least, with the inclusion of all the letters exchanged at that time.

m) If one notices these words well, that this indulgence is given out for "unheard of", and holds them against the Decretalem of Pope Leo, one will hardly be able to explain both words in such a way that a contradiction should not be found.

Likewise, we decree that the preachers in their sermons and the penitentiaries when hearing confessions, namely the preachers in the first eight sermons constantly, and in the following ones oftener, but the confessors at all times with all those whom they hear confession, shall most diligently indicate the necessary cause to the faithful, by which our most holy Lord was moved to give and distribute such great grace and indulgence, as is said in the beginning of the bull: namely, because the church of St. Peter and Paul, which is noble in the whole world, has been razed to the ground by Pope Julio of God's memory. Peter and Paul, which is the most noble in the whole world, has been pulled down to the ground by Pope Julio, of godly memory, with the opinion and intention of building another, new one, which, as is fitting, must not have its equal in the world, because it is the head of the others, and with it the Pope, as God's governor, who also has a judgment seat with Christ, and in it various bodies are located, especially those of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and innumerable martyrs and other saints, which bodies are constantly being destroyed by rain and hail because of this ruin. In view of this, without great dishonor to his holiness and to all Christendom, this shapeless heap 1) could no longer remain shapeless and so subject to the rain. However, since the church itself had begun with such great costs that the income of the entire Roman church would not suffice for its expansion, His Holiness would have had to take recourse to the intercessions of the believers in Christ, whom He also wants to provoke to this end by means of indulgences, which are the real treasure of Saint Peter, at God's instigation. Therefore, the believers in Christ will not be ashamed to contribute to the construction of St. Peter's, especially since the holy apostle offers and promises his treasure to reward the contributors for their contribution.

Now follow the four most distinguished graces and powers admitted in the apostolic bull, each of which can be obtained separately without the other. With these four powers, the preachers should use their greatest diligence, so that they may most emphatically extol each one of them to the faithful, and explain it as much as they can.

The first grace is the perfect forgiveness of all sins; and can nothing be called greater than this grace, because the man who lives in sins and is deprived of the divine grace

1) "ungestalte Haufe" set by us according to Arcimbold's Instruction, Col. 259, instead of "Klotz" in the old edition.

By this forgiveness of sins, the punishments that he would have to pay in purgatory for insulting the divine majesty are completely forgiven, and the punishments of purgatory are completely extinguished. And although nothing worthy enough to deserve such grace could be given in exchange, because it is a gift of God and grace is inestimable; however, in order that the believers in Christ may be invited to obtain it all the more easily, we decree the following to be taken into consideration, namely:

First of all, everyone who is contrite in heart and has confessed with his mouth, or at least has the intention and opinion to confess in due time, should visit the seven churches designated for this purpose, namely, those in which the coats of arms of the pope are hung, and in each church devoutly pray five Pater noster and five Ave Maria to the honor of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom our redemption took place, or the Miserere,ⁿ) which psalm is very suitable to obtain forgiveness of sins.

However, sick and disabled persons shall visit the seven altars, which must be erected by the Commisariis and Subcommissariis in the church where the cross will be, on which the coats of arms of the Pope shall also hang, with the same devotion and prayers as above.

But if the persons are so weak that they cannot comfortably come to such a church, then their confessor or preacher shall have an altar brought to a place that is convenient for them. If they visit this place and pray at or before the altar, they will earn the same indulgence as if they had visited the seven churches.

But to those who are on the sick bed, a holy image can be sent, before which or with which they can pray some prayers according to the confessor's liking, which likewise in this way should have done as much as if they had visited the seven churches.

If, however, some or one (person) 1) for a certain reason demanded that the visitation of the said churches and altars be abated, then the Penitentiarii may do so according to the cause heard, but that the said visitation be replaced with a greater contribution.

n) This will probably be the 51st Psalm.

1) Here Kapp has erroneously supplanted "female person". Compare Arcimbold's Instructions, Col. 260.

The way to put in the box.

But as for the contribution to the treasury for the building up of the said church of the chief apostle, the penitentiaries and confessors, after having explained to the confessors such plenary pardon and greatness of indulgence, should ask them: How much money or other temporal goods they would like to give according to their conscience for the said plenary pardon? 2) and this, so that they can bring them to the contribution all the more easily afterwards. Also, because the statuses and dealings of people are all too varied and different, which we do not take into consideration, and consequently cannot impose certain rates, we have deemed it good that such rates could thus be distinguished according to the common course.

The kings and queens and their princes, the archbishops and bishops, as well as other great princes, when they go to the place where the cross is erected or are otherwise there, shall pay five and twenty Rhenish gold florins. ^{o)} The abbots and great prelates of the cathedral churches, counts, barons and other noblemen of nobility and their wives, shall pay 10 such gold florins for each letter of indulgence. Other, lesser prelates and noblemen, as well as the rectores of famous offices, and all others who either have to collect five hundred gold florins annually from permanent income or goods, or otherwise in general, shall pay six such florins. Other burghers and merchants who generally earn two hundred such gold florins shall pay three such florins. Other citizens, merchants and craftsmen, who have their own income and families, shall pay one such florin, but others, lesser ones, shall pay only half. And where the foregoing form is not so fully com-

2) We have changed this sentence according to Arcimbold's Instructions, Col. 260. In the old edition we read instead: "Before how much money or other temporal goods they wanted to spare according to their conscience said perfect forgiveness and fortune?"

o) The Rhenish gold florins have not always had the same price. Formerly they were coined to 21 gl., subsequently they were set by Oarolo V. to 24 gl. or 72 kreuzer, by l'oräinunZuni I. to 25 gl. or 75 kreuzer, by üuäolxro II. to 26 gl. 8 pf. or 80 kreuzer, finally from 30 gl. Among others, one can also see Mr. v. U. Orclin.

allhier gelehrte äisp. äo Linonäa Kaxonioa 8 5, allwo he in der not. d. mehr Autores anführt, auch dieses als was was Besonderes anmerkt, dass ein Goldgulden rheinisch in den sächsischen Gerichten durch ein königliches Rescript vom 10. Aug. 1711 auf 1 Rth. 22 Gr. 6 Pf. Leipzig foot.

We declare that the said kings, bishops, dukes, abbots, prelates, counts, barons, distinguished nobles and rectors, as well as all others who are above, according to the principles of sound reason, according to their munificence 1) and generosity, after they have heard the subcommissaries, penitentiaries, and their confessors' advice and conclusion, shall deposit or have deposited, so that they may fully obtain these graces and gifts. All others, however, are left to the discretion of the confessors and penitentiaries, who always have the better condition of this building in mind, and who should induce their confessors to give more, and should not let anyone go completely without grace, because here the blessedness of the believers in Christ is sought no less than the benefit of the building. But those who have no money should replace their contribution with prayer and fasting. For the kingdom of heaven should not be more open to the rich than to the poor.

And although a wife cannot dispose of her husband's goods against his will, she may nevertheless contribute from her dotal or paraphernal goods, or which come from elsewhere in a lawful manner, against her husband's will in this case. If she has nothing, however, or has been prevented from doing so by her husband, she shall replace this contribution with prayer; which we also want to be understood by the sons who are still under paternal authority.

If, however, said poor wives and sons, who are still under paternal authority, could beg such taxes and contributions from other rich and devout persons 2) or otherwise procure them, they shall place the contributions procured in this way in the box. If, however, they have no way of obtaining such contributions, they may obtain the said treasures of grace by prayer and petition, both for themselves and for the deceased.

In all superior cases, however, the moderation of the Subcommissarium and the confessors shall have place, who shall look to God and their conscience, so that the tranquility of consciences and the indemnification of all aforesaid persons may be happily advised.

The other most distinguished grace is a letter of confession, full of the greatest, immensely refreshing, and previously unheard-of powers, which even if the eight years of our bull are about to end, all-

The text of the bull says: nunc et in perpetuum participes fiant, they shall participate now and forever. The preachers and confessors should explain and raise the content of this letter with all their strength. For in the letter of confession those who buy it are given: firstly, the power to choose a competent confessor, even a religious priest from the mendicant order, who above all absolves them from all censures dictated by anyone,^p) with the agreement of the parties. Secondly, from all and any, even the most serious crimes, even those reserved to the apostolic see, once in life and at the hour of death; thirdly, in cases not reserved, as often as 2c. Fourthly, that once in life and at the hour of death, as often as it will be at the door, although death will not then occur, perfect forgiveness of all sins will be granted; fifthly, all kinds of vows (unless someone had vowed solenniter that he would travel to the promised land, visit the holy apostles in Rome, walk to Compostell in St. James, become a monk, become a monk in the Holy Land, become a monk in the Holy Land, become a monk in the Holy Land, become a monk in the Holy Land, become a monk in the Holy Land, become a monk in the Holy Land, and so on). Jacob, to become a monk, and to take the vow of chastity) into other works of godliness; and sixthly, that the sacrament of the altar may be administered to them in all seasons, except on Easter Day and at the hour of death.

We also decree that one of these letters of confession, insofar as the poor are not excluded from the manifold grace contained therein, shall be given and distributed for a quarter of a Rhenish gold florin; unless perhaps noblemen and other rich persons would have wanted to give something more out of devotion and generosity. Whatever is above the ordinary tax shall be put into the indulgence box. If, however, colleges or monasteries demand such a letter of confession from both male and female persons, then their number and wealth must be considered by the subcommissarii, with whom they must also compare themselves as far as the tax is concerned. These subcommissarii shall also seal the letters of confession that may be written, and sign them with their own hand, along with the noted tax that has been paid for the letter of confession. ^{q)}

p) What Excoramunicatio ad donains luta is, has already been explained. Oensuru ad domins lata is likewise a censure, so by a judge was fallen, and lasts only so long as he lives. It is set against 66N8UrU6 a 6UNON6 latue.

q) One finds also already on the Cardinal's letters of indulgence the tax of the same written, and stands one in the innocent news 1713, p. 1045-1049, which for XII Arots or Groschen eingekauft worden.

1) In Kapp and in the old edition: "Magnificenz".

2) Arcimbald does not go that far.

It is also our will that only one person be written in the letters of confession, unless it be husband and wife, if two are in one flesh. To these may also be added the sons and daughters who are still in their father's power, and have as yet nothing of their own. And so that all and each of the said persons, as well as the poor and others of mediocre means, may obtain such letters of confession, we give to our General Subcommissaries by present power to lax the number of persons who find to write on one letter of confession, as they will see that it will best benefit the aforesaid church building.

We also want the names of all and everyone who buys confession letters, or otherwise receives them for free, to be written in a special book by the deliverers. Those who distribute such letters shall also always sign their names to each letter, so that they can be accounted for in the future, and no fraudulent error can be concealed.

¹⁾ We also want that said letters of confession may be distributed in all places where our Commission of Indulgences extends, and where no cross has been erected, during the eight-year period by those who have a written authentic commission from us or from our General Subcommissarii.

The third principal grace is the participation in all the goods of the universal Church, which consists in the fact that the depositing persons for the said building and their deceased parents, who are different in love, will from now on and for eternity have a share in all the petitions, intercessions, alms, prayers, in all and every pilgrimages, also in those to the Holy Land; furthermore, in the stations in Rome, in the masses, chastisements, and all other spiritual goods, which happen and can happen in the universal, most holy, contending church and of all its members. ²⁾ The faithful become partakers of these things when they buy letters of confession. Preachers and confessors must stand by this authority with the greatest diligence and persuade the faithful not to refrain from buying it and the confessional.

We also declare that in order to obtain these two most noble graces, it is not necessary to confess or to visit the churches and altars, but rather to go to the church.

¹⁾ In this, too, the Mainzer goes further than Arcimbold.

²⁾ Blessed Luther opposed this § with the 37th thesis, as I noted in my "Schauplatz" p. 90.

but only to buy the confessional letter. Although some have already been provided with the letters of confession of the first two graces, they are nevertheless to be persuaded that they may also buy these letters of ours; Considered that in our letters of confession a threefold great grace is dispensed, which is not given in the other two, namely, absolution from the censures dictated by a judge, also from the censures dictated by someone, but at no instance, and the dispensing of the Sacrament of the Altar by a confessor whom one may choose; further, the confusion of vows, as if one promised to travel across the sea, to the liminibus of the apostles, and to St. Jacob in Compostell, to live chastely, to become a monk, if they have not been made in such a way, and all other vows in all kinds of other good works, which confusion should happen within our time of eight years for the sake of the construction of St. Peter.

The fourth most noble grace is for the souls in purgatory, namely, a complete forgiveness of all sins, which forgiveness the pope intercedes for and grants to said souls in purgatory (³), namely, that a deposit be made for them in the box by living persons, which one would have to give or do for himself. However, it is our will that the moderation of our subcommissioners should take place in the case of such a contribution, which must be made for the dead, and of those to whom they will take special care to make this moderation happen. Nor is it necessary that the persons who place souls in the box be contrite in heart and have confessed with their mouths,⁴⁾ since this grace is based on the love in which the deceased has departed and only on the deposit of the living, as is clear from the text of the Bull. The preachers should also make every effort to proclaim this grace most vigorously, because through it the departed souls will certainly be helped, and the work of building the church of St. Peter will be advised in a very useful and superfluous way.

Now follow other graces and powers, which come after the four most distinguished ones. These

³⁾ Of this kind per modern kutkrnAÜ has been acted above, and will occur even more below at the Decretale Leo's X. of it.

⁴⁾ Lutherus considered this teaching unchristian in his 35th thesis. See the note x. 89 in my "Schauplatz".

The confessors and preachers should not read and repeat it above, but in the most proper way, because the bestowal of it is necessary for the salvation of almost all people, least of all those who have the use of reason, and if not all, then in part or in some parts. The obtaining of the same also brings great benefit to the work of rebuilding St. Peter's Church, since previously such rich dispensationes, commutationes and settlements had not gone out from the apostolic see.^{u)}

However, it is to be known that those who have need of these gifts should deposit them for themselves in the set boxes, either themselves or through other trustworthy persons, if it is within their means, and just as much as they would otherwise have to give to obtain them, namely as if they went to Rome or to St. James or elsewhere. Jacob or elsewhere, stopping at stations and returning, and also having letters made out for this purpose; unless the General Subcommissarii, who have special commission from us in this matter, deem it good to set this rate lower, especially if the merits of the persons and the things themselves require it.

Therefore, the first grace is the confusion of all vows for the benefit of said construction; unless someone had solenniter vowed to visit the apostolic churches in Rome and St. James in Compostell! to become chaste, to take up the monastic life, or to go on pilgrimage to the promised land. This confusion can happen for now in two ways, namely by virtue of the perfect forgiveness and the jubilee, and the letter of confession.

It is also our will that our general subcommissarii do not entrust here and there, without distinction, to all and any penitentiarii and confessors or other particular commissarii who are deputized by us or by them, the power to mix up all and any vows, but they shall entrust the same only to those among them in whom they will see that it will benefit the work. This we command to be observed especially in the case of greater vows. In the case of lesser vows, however, in which the expenses for the journey there and back, together with what is offered or sacrificed, or the complaints accompanying the vow do not exceed the value of ten Rhenish gold florins, all Particularsubcom-

missarii and penitentiarii can make a comparison, but that they always have the better condition of said building in mind.

The other grace is the dispensation and settlement with persons who have committed simony, or are living in irregularity, both about benefices and about the fruits unduly collected in both courts. The preachers should declare this authority, as far as those guilty of simony are concerned, sparingly and with modesty, even only in general, in order to avoid the annoyance of the secular [that is, the laity].

But as for those who have unduly enjoyed the fruits of some benefices, the preachers can speak more clearly of them, because the consciences are variously burdened on this point, namely, in regard to the omission of the divine official duties, because of which they are required and bound to restore the fruits enjoyed from the benefices at a certain definite time, during which the vigils have been omitted, which also takes place at the daily distributions that are usually given to the canonicis residentibus. For if they have not properly resided, or have not attended the proper hours and other divine offices, behold, they have the second kind. Or they have dealt fraudulently with the statutes of their church, which is the third way of weighing down the conscience. Therefore, they are required to restore the distributions improperly enjoyed in such a way in the court of conscience.

With this grace, the Particularsubcommissarii and Penitentiarii, also all confessors, shall behave as if they were the General Subcommissarii, or a generalis, as if there were only one, will or will decide to impose the same on them, because such a Simoniacus does not have the Beneficium, and therefore the same is open. 1) Therefore, by this grace, he is proscribed with the beneficio in both courts. For this grace he shall pay the fruits of the Beneficii obtained by a Simonia, which it yields within one year, into the box, on which the General Subcommissarii shall have a special intention.

The same is said of those who have committed an irregularity, namely that they pay the fruits that come in one year, as soon as they are refused dispensation in both courts.

u) These words, too, are just as good to remember as those above, "Third. (See here Col. 310.)

1) What the opinion of this sentence is, can be recognized from the parallel passage in Arcimbold's Instructionen Col. 266.

is to be driven. Attention must also be paid to the fruits of the benefices and prebends. For if the benefice or prebend were small in substantialibus, but the offerings and distributions, along with other accidences, were fat, then a larger tax must be imposed on them. One must also see to it that they are dispensed with as far as the ordinances are concerned, which they have already accepted or may accept, so that they can also minister in the same in the future.

But as for the fruits of the benefices unduly enjoyed by simony or otherwise, the owners of the same must be required to deposit more than half or the third or fourth part, or even less, if the nature of the undue appropriation would not be important, or reasonably excusable.

If, however, the simoniaci and irregulars would have no benefits, then the manner of the committed simony and irregularity must be considered, and if it is more serious or less, then a greater or lesser tax must be imposed. In all this mercy, the General Subcommissarii must have a free hand, to whom we hereby impose that in this point they do nothing to the detriment of this work, with the penalties announced in the Bull, which they *ipso facto* burden themselves with.

The third grace is that a settlement of unlawfully appropriated property may be made, both if one does not know it and if one does know it, in some cases mentioned below. If a usurer owed another usurer, and he was requisitioned, and would not return the interest; or if one owed something to a single church; in which the Roman church should or could succede by right. Similarly, in the case of those things which have come into the hands of some, in whatever manner, but they do not know or doubt to whom they are to be restored. Furthermore, in the case of those things which might be left, or which might be left and bequeathed in the future in the eight years to the poor of Christ in general, or to a church, without designation. All these cases should be explained by the preachers to the people, and they should bear with them, so that they may be well understood. Especially in the first case about things that have been taken illegally, because many are tricked in this, but especially the merchants who defraud some unknown people in some way by giving them the goods.

sell more than they are worth, or sell bad for good, or take a little more in price because they wait some time for the payment of the price, or in some other ways, which are innumerable.

For in all these cases restitution should be made; and it is not known to whom. Therefore, they must examine their consciences to see how much they would have to pay for the things they have taken. And by comparing, they will be freed from all restitution of ill gotten things. In the same way, all other cases of certain goods shall be declared, especially if someone has to pay a sum to sacred others or to poor people in general, but he may not be able to pay the whole sum comfortably. For then he can agree with the subcommissariis against a cheap part, and he will be released from the full payment.

The penitentiarii and confessors should not get involved with this grace, except for those who would have an evil conscience because of twenty Rhenish florins. If, however, the conscience would be burdened with a larger sum, then they shall report it to the Subcommissariis, and conclude with them about a certain tax. However, in all such cases, the general commissioners shall be able to moderate everything as they see fit, but they may not do anything to the detriment of the work, with the censures and penalties that have also been mentioned above.

The fourth grace is to grant dispensation on account of irregularity to those who have been promoted to ecclesiastical offices before the proper age without dispensation; and so that they may minister in the accepted offices, this grace shall also be proclaimed to the people by the preachers. The confessors shall also be forbidden not to absolve the same, but they shall communicate with the general subcommissariis, or with whom they have been instructed to do so, who shall proceed with such persons, as has been said in the other grace of other irregularibus. However, if they have no beneficia, they shall deal with them more gently.

The fifth grace is that one can grant dispensation to those who have been joined in a forbidden degree of blood friendship or affinity, they may have known it; likewise to those who have been hindered by some kind of spiritual relationship, and yet have joined, or also to those who have otherwise, in whatever way it may be, betrothed themselves.

Knowing that we do not by any means grant dispensation to those who have been prevented by the degrees forbidden in the divine law (x) by virtue of this grace; but in the degrees which have been forbidden by the papal law, we command to dispense in this way. If those who, in the first or other degree of affinity, have been made fornicators by carnal mixture, but not public (nefarious), if they have been married, and the marriage has been consummated with a carnal mixture, we shall grant them dispensation in this way: First, that we count them free from the condemnation that has been placed on their necks; second, from their sins; third, that we recognize the children who have already been born and who may yet be born as legitimate, and also give them freedom so that they may marry again or remain in the marriage that was entered into in this way. And all this we do only in foro conscientiae or in conscience. If, however, the affinity of the betrothed is due to a publicly known carnal union, so that the affinity between them is known, or if such an impediment has been brought before the court, then it is our will that, in order to avoid public offense, no dispensation should be granted to such people. For the apostolic bull does not want such a dispensation. If, however, the said affinity is always concealed, then the persons contracting in such a manner will be able to attend each other in the marriage thus contracted, and the children will be able to succeed to their estates. If, however, such a fornication were to come to light, then it can be settled before the foro contentioso, that is, a public court.

In the third and fourth degrees of both affinity and consanguinity, however, in both courts, both in the court of conscience and in the trial court, we want to have it dispensed that the marriage be consummated anew, or that they remain in the marriage bond, and that the children who have already been born be declared legitimate. Which we therefore understand to mean that, if some had been engaged to be married and had consummated the marriage by the carnal union, those in the third or fourth degree of affinity or blood friendship with each other

x) This the pope still holds today so that he reserves the dispensations in divine laws, and does not allow even the supreme konsnitsntiurio, as can also be seen from the "Outline of the Catholic Church" x. 367 can be seen.

We want to grant dispensation to those who are related, but not to those who want to join in the future.

But those who have married and are hindered by a spiritual relationship^y) we absolve from their sins, and grant them dispensation in both courts, so that they may be granted to remain in the marriage thus entered into, the children being declared lawful, as above.

If, however, a baptismal witness and the child raised from baptism marry each other, they alone may be granted a dispensation to remain in the marriage they have contracted.

However, we want our general subcommissarii to pay diligent attention to the dispensations of all persons who are hindered in this way, and to entrust them only to those people whom they will consider competent for this, but not here and there to all and everyone without distinction, because said subcommissarii will have to issue open and authentic letters in a public court because of such dispensations. Our general subcommissarii shall also decree that those who need such a dispensation shall put in the box as much as they have to spend on the journey to Rome and back home to obtain it, and there also the expedition of a letter about it. However, our aforementioned General Subcommissarii and others, to whom they will assign this, shall have the power to limit this deposit, if the circumstances of the matter require it.

The sixth grace is to establish a settlement with those who have taken church and monastery properties in an unjust manner, and who cannot be forced to restitution in a judicial manner, because those to whom restitution should be made have no instruments and necessary grounds of proof. For even those who possess such in this way, although they would have evidence with them, may settle, and after payment into the box has been made before the settlement, they may be exempted from further restitution to said churches. It is also allowed in both courts that they can keep them freely in the future.

It is also our will that the preachers should follow this

Y) Of the eoAvations spiritnli occurs in all coriptoridns lluris Oanonioi. P7m As-ss-r deals with it p. 687. 691, allwo he also p. 689 shows that the Ooneiliuru Iriäentium tightened the old law again.

They should say that those who only doubt whether they have or possess such goods, even if they do not know for sure, should make a settlement, because in case of doubts concerning the conscience, the narrowest way is always to be chosen. But with those who doubt in this way whether they do not possess such things, it will be easier to proceed.

With this grace, however, only our general subcommissarii shall lend a hand, and a few others to whom they shall deem it good to entrust such things. However, if such a contract does not amount to more than twenty florins, the penitentiarii and confessors shall also be able to get involved, but in such a way and in such a manner that, with the above-mentioned penalties, they may not do anything to the detriment of the work, but may always strive to improve the condition of the same. However, those who own such goods will have to get along in such a way that they put half of the value of the goods, or as much as the General Subcommissarii will allow, into the box.

The seventh grace is that, for the benefit of the said construction, all goods, things and monies, which, instead of restitution of unlawfully appropriated goods, have been bequeathed in the last will of all and every person to all kinds of uncertain churches or holy monks and persons, likewise also to certain or absent persons, of whom no news is to be had, or may be bequeathed in the said eight years, may be appropriated and rightfully obtained, because our most holy Lord Pope has designated them for the said construction. It can also be noted that there is a difference between this grace and the aforementioned third one, because there the goods were not bequeathed for the things that were badly taken, and therefore the pope does not apply them to the construction of St. Peter's, but he only gives authority that those who should give them to uncertain churches, holy monasteries, and the poor in general, can, if they do not want to pay them to uncertain churches or poor people, come to an agreement with the agents of the said construction. In this present case, however, because they have been bequeathed instead of the unlawfully appropriated goods, they are entirely applied to the said building, and thus they may be appropriated by the agents of the building.

Likewise, the pope applies to the said church all the goods which are unlawfully possessed by some; but those to whom these goods are restored

cannot be reacquired for a certain reason.

Likewise, all those goods which were to be given for the redemption of the prisoners, and which were bequeathed for said redemption by some, whoever they may be, or may be bequeathed during the said eight years.

Similarly, all the goods that should be paid out of a vow, ordinance or custom, on guest houses or other such pleasures.

Likewise, we order the preachers, with the penalties and censures contained in the Bull, as above, to make known, explain, and report to the people all said cases, and especially that which has been left in lieu of the restitution of things unlawfully appropriated. Likewise, that all who have only some knowledge of said cases, as there are notaries who have been requested for said last will, and witnesses, also all other persons, under the very penalties contained in the bull, as above, are required to report and make known the same to the lords Subcommissarii respective within eight days following said intimation, so that the goods can be confiscated from said Subcommissarii. Also, those who have such notice and neglect to give it may not be absolved from these church penalties until they have given the said notice. However, the confessors shall take care not to interfere with this grace unless the price of this contract is less than twenty Rhenish florins. However, the General Subcommissarii shall have full power in such cases, but that no fraud and trickery may be involved, as also under the conditions that have been set for other and the first contracts above.

And because in the foregoing it has been said of the hindered persons, we hereby declare that hindered persons are: all prisoners and those in chains and bonds; persons whose time of birth is approaching, or who have children to suckle from whom they cannot get away; likewise those who, because of enmity charged upon them, because of banishment, or otherwise on account of death or other great danger, neither can nor may visit the place where the indulgence is dispensed; Similarly, married women who cannot leave without the consent of their husbands, as well as sons and daughters who are still in the custody of their fathers, and who cannot leave without the will of their parents.

are involved in divine or human officia, and in general all those who are not allowed to travel de jure or de facto. All these aforesaid may be granted dispensation from the subcommissariis and penitentiariis, so that they may not be bound to visit the churches or altars.

If, however, all the above-mentioned persons could not deposit their contributions in the boxes intended for the construction of the church of St. Peter, then they shall have them deposited by other credible persons, but in such a way that such mandataries may not postpone such deposits to the detriment of the work, under the censures, judgments and penalties announced in the apostolic letter. We also want that those who postpone the deposits without the most important causes are *ipso facto subject* to this penalty, from which they too can only be absolved by our most holy Lord, the Pope, or our General Subcommissariis.

Likewise, we declare and decree that all monks and nuns, both those who beg and those who do not beg, in the case that they have despised their superiors, may purchase or procure this indulgence and grace committed by us for themselves and those who are under them, insofar as they may enjoy the same in their convents or monasteries, if they have something right to deposit. And if they have nothing of the kind, then they may beg alms from any and all ecclesiastical and secular persons who have their own funds, and make those who give said alms put them in the box for the religiosos.

If, however, they could not obtain anything from others from which they should contribute, then they should replace their contribution with prayer and fasting or other good works. We also declare that if the prelates of the aforesaid religious do not want to give their subjects the freedom to go to the places where the cross has been erected and the indulgences have taken their throne in such a way, then those who are under them may freely and lawfully confess to the confessors by apostolic power and by virtue of our authority, which our Subcommissarii send them, or which they themselves shall request from them, notwithstanding the privileges and constitutions given and confirmed to these orders also by apostolic authority, that they shall confess only to the confessors who have been assigned and instructed to them by their superiors. But so that it may not have the appearance that we have, through

This declaration of ours has been more than justly yielded to said monks and nuns, and therefore they wanted to lift the monastic observance: so it is our will that these monks, because of said forbearance, can only be absolved of their past debts, excesses and crimes, which are reserved not only to their superiors, but also to the most holy lord, the pope, if their now said superiors do not want and contradict. We also order them, under penalty of the sentence passed, to be excommunicated, so that they may not hinder this only for this time, since their Privilegia and Constitutiones are suspended.

Likewise, we declare that in this matter the poor are understood to include not only the aforementioned monks, but also all those who beg for their sustenance, as well as those who have to live from their work and yet only acquire daily nourishment from such work, and from this can lay up nothing for the days to come. Our Subcommissarii and Penitentiarii shall diligently investigate these poor and all other conditions, and after they have obtained the truth about them, they shall be granted their blessedness and harmlessness out of mercy.

Likewise, we declare that those who have once been expedited and have obtained a perfect pardon, if they have relapsed again,^z) where they have not done anything illicit out of a trust in this indulgence, or have remembered the past or forgotten things, may confess again in the places where grace is made known, and earn such indulgences. Also, they will not need to go to the first confessor, they would want to do it meritoriously. And under this our declaration we want to understand all those who have obtained or will obtain present grace.

Likewise, we declare that those who will do public penance, on the occasion of which the whole neighborhood may have been annoyed, or the place where they have exceded, if the severity of the secular laws is not feared, shall behave thus. First of all, in a comfortable chapel or sacristy, they shall be stripped naked and bare of shoes, and shall keep nothing but their shirts or pants on. Then they shall have a rod in one hand and a light in the other.

z) These are called here in Latin *rseiäivantss*, which comes from *rseickivars*. - Kapp follows this with a lengthy argument that *rseiäivars* means as much as: to do the same thing again. The words we have used: have relapsed, he replaces with: "got a recidiv".

They are to hold hands so that their hands are crossed in front of their chests, but they are to walk in front of the procession going to the station, and they are also to lie down with bent knees in front of the erected cross until the song there with the versicle and the collecte is completely finished. Afterwards, when all is silent and the Commissary begins the Psalm Miserere, they are to be led by their confessors through the middle of the station, first to the Commissary, who will take the rod from the hand of the penitent and strike him three times on the back, saying: God spare you and forgive your sin, which all and every confessor will do in the same way, according to the order. After the Psalm Miserere mei Deus has been said alternately with the Gloria Patri, the Commissary shall begin: Kyrie eleison. Pater noster. Et ne nos. Salvos fac Domine servos tuos. Deus etc. Mitte eis auxilium de sancto etc. Domine, exaudi orationem meam etc. Dominus vobiscum etc. Oremus: Deus cui proprium etc. Hereupon the confessor shall absolve the penitent himself, who is thus before the cross, with the proper apostolic absolution, and declare that he is in this way reintegrated into the community of the faithful. However, public penance should not be easily imposed on the clergy and young men. Also the women should only have their shoes removed because of the reverence for this gender.

Those who do penance in this way, before they are absolved, must also give an oath that they will obey the command of the one who absolves them, and that they will, according to their own ability, pay emendam to the offended, and obey the orders of the Excommunicator.

If, however, the salvus conductus is denied to those who wish to do penance in this way, or if there is any other danger, our general subcommissarii shall have the power to absolve them or have them absolved by the confessors, as they see will be beneficial to the salvation and harmlessness of those who do penance, with the addition that they may replace the deserved punishment of a greater discipline with a richer deposit.

General formula of absolution.

Have mercy on you 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you by the merit of his suffering. And I absolve you by apostolic power, entrusted to me in this piece, and

It is granted to you, from all ecclesiastical censures, judgments and punishments with which you are afflicted in some way, then from all excesses, sins and crimes committed by you, whether they be serious and great, and from whatever cause, specialiter or generaliter, should be reserved to our most holy Lord Pope and the apostolic see, also in the letter, which is published in *Coena Domini* every year, as well as of those who should now be specially mentioned, by erasing all the stains of inability and notas infamiae which you have contracted on the occasion of the aforesaid things, by forgiving you the penalties of impiety, and by restoring you to the innocence in which you found yourself after your baptism. I also restore you to the sacraments of the church and restore you to the fellowship of the faithful. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

It must be known, however, that excommunicated persons and persons subject to other church punishments at the instance of one party can thus be absolved, even if the other party does not want to: Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you, and I by apostolic power, which is entrusted to me and granted to you, absolve you from all ecclesiastical censures, judgments and punishments in which you find yourself involved at the instance of the parties, and this only to the extent that you may obtain this indulgence, so that you may give satisfaction to the offended party, if it is in your power, and surrender yourself to your excommunicatori, also obeying his orders according to your power. Then, of the excesses you have committed; and in this way, consequently, the whole absolution must be read.

Also our commissarii and penitentiarii, before they absolve the persons excommunicated in this way and involved in the censures at the instance of the parties, shall take an oath from them that they will give satisfaction to the charged parties if it is in their power, and may surrender themselves to their excommunicatori after the deadline that has passed and been set for them for the purpose of obtaining mercy and obey his command, as has been decreed by us in the foregoing.

Also, the aforementioned form of general absolution can and should be extended according to the nature of the confessors' excesses, and as required by the grace given in the bull.

For example:

If a settlement has been made for a thing that cannot be restituted, it may also be attached: I also permit and admit, by the same power, that after having paid this or that sum for this holy work, you shall be absolved from further restitution of the remaining things which you possess unlawfully, and shall not be required to voluntarily restore any more. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

If the vows are changed, it must be added: I also by this very authority change this or that vow into this work of indulgence. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

As far as the irregulars and simoniacs are concerned, it should be added: I also grant you dispensation on account of the irregularity committed and the simony charged upon your neck in obtaining certain offices and benefices, and permit you to be promoted to all ecclesiastical offices, also to minister in the ordinaries taken upon you, and in this way to retain the ecclesiastical benefices obtained, also to accept all other benefices which might otherwise be granted to you canonically. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen.

If the benefices obtained by simony are conferred anew, they may be added: I also confer on you anew all and every spiritual beneficia, whatever they may be and how much they may be, which have been obtained in an illicit manner, cum cura et sine cura, with and without spiritual care, with all their rights and appurtenances. I also introduce you anew to their real possession. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen.

In the same way, those who have entered into and consummated forbidden marriages are to be dealt with, by first absolving them according to the general formula of absolution, and then granting them dispensation so that, despite such an impediment, they may at the same time remain lawfully in a marriage they have entered into in this way, or enter into another one anew, so that the children are declared lawful, as is clearly stated in the bull. All the foregoing is to be understood both by the court of conscience and by a public court.

Likewise, we declare that the confessors and penitentiaries are to be excused from all sins, however great they may be, as well as from those that are committed to the

The only exceptions to this rule are those which have been specified above. However, in the cases reserved *de jure* to the pope and prelates, if the person committing the crime is of great status and wealth, it is good to speak with the subcommissarii, and to consult with them about the assessment and other penances to be imposed upon them, but that their names and surnames be concealed, and only the nature of the crime and the property of the offender be indicated.

Similarly, the penitentiarii and confessors shall not absolve from the bonds of excommunication and other ecclesiastical punishments *in foro contentioso*, but shall have the same passed on to the subcommissarios.

Likewise, we also order the aforementioned penitentiarii and confessors to appear as often as they are requested by us or our subcommissarii; also, if they notice that something has happened to the detriment of indulgences, they are to report it to us or our subcommissarii.

We also order the above-mentioned penitentiarii and confessors in the case of the above-mentioned church punishments and censures not to take the deposit or the alms into their hands from those who confess to them, but to have them put into the box by the Christian believers themselves with their own hands (as has already been said).

We also command the said confessors that, apart from the tax they must pay, and apart from attending church, they may not impose on their confessors any other penance, in the case of church punishments that have been announced, except for a few short prayers, which may not last long, in order to prevent them from falling again immediately.

It is also our will that they may not demand a reward from their confessors for confession, because one commits simony, but they should only accept that which is given freely [that is, voluntarily], under the above-mentioned church penalty.

Likewise, we order the preachers of our said work, with all the above-mentioned church penalties, not to neglect to announce to the people, at least on Sundays and feast days, so that they do not give their deposits, which must be made for the attainment of grace and the salvation of souls, into the hands of the subcommissarii and confessors, but deposit them themselves, or have them deposited by other trustworthy persons. They shall also tell them that if they neglect to do so, as-

then they shall know that they have not earned an indulgence, nor obtained grace and redeemed souls. It is also our will that the confessors and penitentiaries should do the same as the preachers to all their confessors, under the same penalties as above.

We further decree that our General Subcommissarii shall likewise not take into their hands the deposits of the faithful, under the above-mentioned penalties; indeed, they shall endeavor with all seriousness to ensure that all and every of the above-mentioned things are really and in fact carried out, and are most carefully observed by the preachers and confessors, as is due to each respective.

We, on the other hand, allow our General Subcommissarii to take into their hands the money for the letters of confession, for which a certain assessment has been made, and to render due account of the money received to us or to those of us to whom we shall give special instructions.

We also order, under penalty of the announced sentence of excommunication, and under a fine of a thousand ducats to be applied to the said building, that no one may dare to reprint the aforementioned confessionals, unless he has been ordered to do so by us or by our General Subcommissarii. It is also our will that in all places where the cross has been erected, only one person shall distribute the letters of confession, who shall inscribe the names and surnames of the purchasers, also of those who will have them for free, and these shall sign their own hand on all letters of confession.

In order to avoid all suspicion of fraud and negligence, we order that only three keys be made to all boxes that may be assigned to the said indulgence, one of them with the Subcommissario, the other with the Thesaurario or Treasurer (to whom we will give a special order) or with the one whom the said Thesaurarius may deputize for this purpose, the other with the treasurer (to whom we shall give a special order for this purpose), or with the one whom the said treasurer may deputize for this purpose, the third finally with the ecclesiastical or secular authority of the place, as will be best for the subcommissarii. It is also our will that, when the time to open said boxes will be at the door, they shall be opened in the presence of all who will have keys, and of a public notary, as well as of some competent witnesses required for this purpose, and the money shall not be touched by anyone until it has been counted in the presence of said persons, appraised by experienced persons, and reduced to Rhenish gold florins. For this sum, an instrument shall also be drawn up by a

The notary shall be sworn, in which the above-named persons who have been present, but especially the treasurer or the person deputized by him for this purpose, shall be named, who shall make the decree for the money, and shall proceed herewith as we shall order him to do. ^{a)}

The rest will be replaced by the Subcommissarium, Preachers and Penitentiaries, who will receive eternal rewards from our Lord God and the Holy Apostles Petro and Paulo for such a happy work.

Myconius' account of how the Guardian of the Franciscans of the Barefoot Monastery at Mainz had rejected the papal commission on the indulgence to be collected with particular skill.

From the Myconius *üst. rslorm.*, x. 16 reprinted in Löscher's *Ref.-Acta*, Vol. I, p. 380.

In 1517, after Julii's death, *Leo Decimus* became pope and announced his intention to complete the construction of the church of St. Peter in Rome, which Julius had begun: All countries and especially the German nation should give money. At the same time, Albrecht, bishop of Magdeburg, who had recently purchased the pallium in Rome with great money, had also become bishop of Mayntz and a prince of the church, and in order to obtain the same in Rome, he had to pay for the previous and new pallium from scratch, which amounted to many thousand guilders. Thus this man was splendid and proud, wanted nothing, built for it many useless buildings to hall, drove unbelievable arrogance and cost, that he also needed money. In order to bring money again, the new Pope *Leo Decimus* sends another indulgence to German lands, and the Bishop Albrecht of Mayntz and Magdeburg, and the guarantor of the Barefoot Monastery in Mayntz, a short, fat man, were made chief commissioners. From now on, they are to order the Umler-Commissarios and appoint preachers,

a) The pope at that time received this money generally through the Fuggers in Augsburg, who were known to have been rich merchants there. But how much money was collected at that time, is probably not to say, [^]Voltüus reports 1. II. *Dsct. inemorad.*, p. 183, that Tetzels, under this Archbishop Albrecht's authority, solved 100,000 gold florins in the first and only year. See also Herr Heinrich Schmidt's *Brandenburg Reformation History*, p. 134, and the learned Herr Johann Jakob Hottinger's *Helvetic History*, x. 28, where he refers to Auctores.

who admonished the people to deposit money, and they rightfully redeemed the indulgences. And so that the bishop would do it more joyfully, the pope also promised him a portion of the money. This made devotion. But the Gardian and the Barfüßer order did not like the matter. For Tetzel, as mentioned above, did it so roughly that the common man almost began to suspect the indulgence: as if one did not seek to absolve people of sins and the deceased from purgatory, but rather from money and property, and to devour the houses of widows and orphans, as Christ says.

Moreover, the monks complained that they had enough work, that they begged so much that they maintained themselves and their monasteries: Let them also beg enough for the pope and the Cardinals and all the Roman splendor, that would be too hard for him and untruthful for the poor people. But if they were to refuse and deny such obedience and apostolic command to the pope, to whom they and their entire order had obeyed, pledged and sworn, it would also be very difficult for them and they would have to worry about his disgrace. For the other day, in honor of the Order, he had made their chief general *Christophorum de Forlivio* a Cardinal, even though they had to give 30,000 fl. for it. And so they were taken in with this indulgence and commission; and they spent a day in Weymar in Thuringia, to see how these things might be handled.

So at Weymar the Gardian of Mayntz and several Gardians of the country of Thuringia met: Arnstadt, Eisnach, Saltza 2c., and there all sorts of ways were proposed how to get rid of this commission, and none of them wanted to rhyme that one would keep the pope's favor and grace.

Finally, the Gardian of Mayntz, when he was burdened with the commission, said: "Dear brothers, you all know that our bishop of Mayntz is a proud, arrogant man, and wants to be unmastered by us, as poor beggars and mendicants. So I will dispose myself to him, and with him, how the indulgence is to be preached, and the commission to be carried out, have conversation and deliberate; and just pay attention to what he gives: and will act according to it, as if I did not like it at all, and only suggest it unruly, until he becomes angry. So I will stay on my mind. If he then admits that my suggestion does not rhyme at all, then I will finally say: Most gracious lord! you are commissary-in-chief, if you do not know how to give me coincidence, so that nevertheless the *mandate of* papal sanctity will be sufficient, then I will give you the right.

I will take care of the whole thing for you. Do it as you like. And I will leave the bulla and letter with him. If he then sends the matter to Pope again, we will see how we answer. But if he takes care of the commission alone, as I would gladly allow the hopeful man to do, then we are the losers. And when the monk came to the bishop, everything was done as it had been discussed in Weymar. And the bishop was glad that he alone had Pabst's power. So the monk was glad that he was released from the drudgery.

74 Myconius' report on how Tetzel declared himself to Archbishop Albrecht as a subcommissary, and how he appointed him as such.

From the Myconius Ilist. rstorri., x. 19.

When Bishop Albrecht was the supreme commissioner of papal indulgences, the great clamant and preacher of indulgences, Johannes Tetzel, came to him: he stated that where he was needed, he wanted to change the indulgences and thus to strike them out, so that he hoped they would carry something honest. The bishop was happy,

75 Tetzel's special permission, allegedly received from Pope Leo X, to grant indulgences also for himself.

From Vogel's "Leben des Ablasskrämers Tetzel", p. 179, printed in Löscher's Ref-Acta, Vol. I, p. 383. Löscher rightly remarks that this document seems suspicious to him because of the enormous concessions, and it seems credible that it was made for mockery.

Translated into German.

We Leo the Tenth, Roman pope, servant of servants, Christ's governor on earth, successor of Peter and Paul, declare to all believers of both sexes how we, by virtue of the power of Christ and of St. Peter and Paul, as well as of the whole Church, we have granted permission and authority to Mr. Johann Tetzel, friar of the Dominican Order, apostolic commissary and, through Germany, orator, inquisitor of heretical wickedness, to grant the richest indulgences in the whole world; that the said Mr. Johann Tetzel can and may absolve from all cases which the apostolic see at Rome has reserved for itself in general and in particular in all cases, and about which this see should be consulted.

Likewise, from the repented, confessed and forgotten sins, as well as from the unrepented and unconfessed ones; and at the hour of death, to grant general indulgence of all sins, all guilt and all punishment that one would have deserved to endure in purgatory. Likewise, to close the gates of hell and open the door to paradise. However, to the poor. . . . Sealed under the fisherman's ring in the last Roman interest number, the great golden number, and in the solar and lunar circle in the leap year.

76 Joachim I, Elector of Brandenburg, mandate to his subjects to respect "Tetzel" as subdelegated commissary, who is at the same time given safe conduct, in his sermons. Date Wednesday after the Exaltation of the Cross [16th Sept.], Anno 1517.

From the original in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, Appendix (immediately after p. 656).

We Joachim von GÖttes Gnaden Marggrauv zu Brandenburg des heiligen Römischen reichs Erzcammerer vnd kurFürst zw Stettin pomern der cassuben vnd Wenden Hertzog, Burggraff zw Norembörg vnd Fürst zu Rügen Embieten allem vnd iglichen vnsern Prälaten, Graven, Herrn, Ritterschaft vnd Steten unseres Chur-Fürstenthumbs der Marck zw Brandenburg vnser Freuntschafft, Funst vnd Grus und geden Ewch zw erkennen: That the Most Holy Father and Lord Leo of the Holy Christian Church, Supreme Bishop and Bishop of our Most Holy Lord, out of movable causes and insanity for the salvation and salvation of the Christian souls, has given a merciful and gracious indulgence and indulgence, and for this reason has given the Most Holy Father and Highborn Prince Albrecht, Archbishop of Meintz and Magdeburg, of the Holy Roman Empire through Germania, Electors and Primate, Administrators of the churches between Halberftadt, Margraves between Brandenburg, between Stettin, Pomeranian of the Cassuben and Wenden Dukes, Burgraves between Nuremberg and Princes between Rügen have ordered our dear Lord and Brother in several provinces to spread and carry out the same indulgence between commissaries. After the report of the official bulls about it went out, so that his beloved out of any possible prevention, so that his beloved may not order such by his beloved person, his beloved has several subcommissaries and especially the willful one.

and High Angel Ern Johan Tetzel Baccalaurien der heil. Scripture, heresiarch, preacher of the order in this country, and subdelegated to several other principalities and countries, This indulgence and indulgence we have granted in our territories to the Holy Roman Pontiff and to our subjects for their salvation and consolation, and we have forgiven the name of Ern Johan Tetzel and all his other subdelegated and appointed subcommissaries, who will present a lawful appearance and testimony of our will, our sure peaceable and pious faith 1) before all of us who have given us and whom we have given our pious faith in our lands, And we will compel and grant such indulgence, and give to the sub-commissioner in question, with other of his constituted sub-commissioners, our sure peace, vehement, and vicious faith, as it has been established, in craft, and will thereupon make this briar, mind, and behest, to all of you, all of you who wish, by the sub-commissioner in question, and his sub-commissioners, to be of the same mind, earnestly desirous, and obedient, who will give credible proof of this, freely and without hindrance proclaim such a salutary indulgence in our lands, districts and territories, and not to interfere with you or your servants' goods and chattels by word or deed, and to let sinners move and wander back and forth safely and unhindered. This pleases us from all of you. It is also our earnest opinion, and we wish to leave this between all of you and everyone else. Date with our seal sealed between Coln an der Sprew. Wednesday after the Exaltation Cruc. [16 Sept.] Anno 1517.

Luther's narration of the true and secret circumstances and causes why Tetzel actually brought his indulgence stuff to market and gave rise to all subsequent changes with it.

This story is found in Luther's writing Wider Hans Wurst, especially in the section titled: Ursprung des Lutherischen Lärms; in the old edition of Walch, Vol. XVII, 1703 ff.

1) In Löscher and after him in Walch: "vegelieben vnd vngenerlieben Glaits", which is in any case read from the original. The usual formula in escort letters is: "strong, free, safe, vehlich (vehlich) vnd vngeferlich Geleit". See Jena edition, vol. I, p. 434d; Wittenberg edition, vol. IX, p. 1065. - Afterwards, where this expression is repeated, we have put instead of "vehrlich": "vehelich".

78 Myconius reports how Tetzel, because the princes of Saxony did not want to allow this indulgence immediately in their lands, first laid out his stuff in Albrecht's bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, and how outrageous things he had preached in his sermons.

From the Myconius liibt. rstorumt., p. 20.

The princes of Saxony did not want to allow this new indulgence, because their lands would have been depleted of all money and sucked dry for several years. But so that the matter would not remain without a beginning, until the princes would also be overawed, the bishop had Tetzel first erect the cross in his own dioceses of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, and preach the indulgence. It is unbelievable what the impudent monk was only allowed to admit, talk about and preach. He gave a letter and seal that even the sins that one would still be willing to commit should be forgiven. The pope would have more power than all the apostles, all the angels and saints, even Mary the Virgin herself. For these would all still be under Christ, but the pope would be like Christ. After the Ascension, Christ would have nothing more to rule in the churches until the Last Day, but would have ordered everything to the Pope as his vicar and governor.

Item: Around the same time there was a preacher monk, called Johannes Tetzel, the great clamant, commissarius and preacher of indulgences in Germania. He preached countless amounts of money, which he sent to Rome, in Germany, and especially at the new mine, St. Annaberg, where I heard Friederich Mecum himself for two years, a lot of money was obtained.

It is unbelievable what this unrighteous and impudent monk was allowed to admit. He says: if someone had slept with Christ at his dear mother's, and only put money into the Pabst's indulgence box, then the Pabst would have this power in heaven and earth that he could forgive, and if he forgave, then God would also have to forgive. Item, if they quickly put in and redeemed pardon and indulgence, then all the mountains around St. Annaberg would become pure solid silver. As soon as the penny was in the basin, the soul for which one pledged would be led from the mouth up to heaven. So his indulgence was a great thing! In sum: our Lord God was never God, if he had given all divine power to the pope: *tū es Petrus, tibi dabo claves, quodcunque ligaveritis*. Peter and Petra, *clavis* and *solvere* must all be and be called Pabst; and there were heretics, whoever spoke a word against it, they banished and burned.

79 A piece of Joh. Tetzel's short instruction for the priests, in which he prescribed to the priests who were to do a service for the Commissary of Indulgences how they should advertise the work quite emphatically and movingly.

From kumirmria inbtruetio ^o. IsMlii pro LaeerOotibu8 in von der Hardt's Ki8tor. litter. rskorumtionm, Theil IV, p. 14 and printed from it in Löscher's Ref.Acta, Vol. I, p. 415. Luther frequently mentions this book, which was printed with Albrecht's coat of arms, especially in his writing wider Hans Wurst. Von der Hardt has only communicated one piece of it, because he probably had a torn copy.

They (the believers) can be absolved and freed from all disorder in their office, except for willful deicide and bisexuality.

Similarly, those who have been prevented by some relationship, whether spiritual or carnal, namely in the third or fourth degree of consanguinity or affinity, and yet have married into it, may be absolved and dispensed from remaining in such marriage, or, where necessary, consummate it anew, and be told that the children begotten or to be begotten will be honest.

Likewise, about everything that has been wrongfully acquired, be it something uncertain or certain, that has been scraped together by drudgery and usury.

Similarly, settlement and dispensation may be made from all legacies bequeathed for godly use.

Likewise, one has many other liberties that have been omitted for the sake of brevity.

Therefore, the people remember that here is Rome. This is St. Peter's Church, and the churches to be visited now are to be in place of the churches to be visited in Rome. Here are penitential preachers and confessors, and they are able to do as much as the highest confessors in St. Peter's Church. God and St. Peter are calling you.

Therefore, send yourselves to such great grace that you may obtain it for the salvation of your souls and those of your deceased. Do not delay yourselves. For you do not know what hour the Son of Man will come.

Likewise, the grumblers, evil detractors, blasphemers, and those who hinder this holy work in any way, outright or in a roundabout way, publicly or secretly, are immediately banished by our aforementioned Most Holy Lord Pope Leo, and under the wrath of Almighty God and the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul;

From which ban they cannot be absolved except by the pope or his commissario, therefore beware that you do not open your mouths to heaven.

The other sermon.

Venerable Lord! I ask you to make it known to the people under your care that they will not neglect such great grace bestowed for the salvation of souls. Let them know that St. Lawrence gave all the treasures of the Church and his body to be roasted; St. Bartholomew his own skin, in cruel agony; that St. Stephen was stoned to death for the salvation of souls, and all the martyrs were killed and crushed. And you do not want to recognize that you have Rome in the city or small town. Your church has become the church of St. Peter in Rome, and your priests apostolic confessors. For the churches are like the seven at Rome, ordained for the remission of all sins. The seven altars are like those seven that are at St. Peter's, where complete forgiveness is found. What are you thinking about? What are you failing to convert? Why do you not shed tears for your sins now in this time? Why do you not confess now before the vicars of our most holy Lord Pope? Do you not have the example of St. Lawrence who, out of the love of God, distributed the treasures he had and offered his body to be roasted? Do you not take the example of Bartholomew, Stephen and other saints who gladly suffered the most cruel death for the salvation of souls? And you do not lay up immense treasures, nay, not even a moderate alms. They have given their bodies to torture, but you do not disdain to live well and be merry. You priest, you nobleman, you merchant, you woman, virgin, you married woman, you young man, you old man, go into your church, which is, as I said. St. Peter's, and visit the most holy cross, which is erected for you, which is always crying and calling you. Are you ashamed to visit the cross with a light, and are you not ashamed to go to the drinking house? You are ashamed to go to the apostolic confessors, but not to the dance. Consider that you are on the raging sea of this world, in so much storm and danger, and do not know if you can come to the port of salvation. Don't you know that everything people have hangs by a thin thread, and the whole of life is a quarrel on earth? Let us then, like Laurentius and all the other saints, fight for the salvation of souls, but not for the body which is

who today is healthy, tomorrow is sick; today is alive, tomorrow is dead. You should know that whoever confesses and in repentance puts alms in the box, as the confessor advises him, has complete forgiveness of all his sins, and if he visits the cross and the altars every day after confession as well as the jubilee year, he will obtain indulgence, just as if he visited the seven altars in St. Peter's Church, where complete indulgence is given. So why are you standing idle? All of you run after the salvation of your soul. Be ready and diligent for the salvation of your soul, as for temporal goods, from which you do not depart day or night. Seek the Lord because he is near and can be found; work, as John says, because it is day, for night is coming when no one can work.

Do you not hear the voice of your crying dead parents and others, who say: Have mercy, have mercy on me, because the hand of God has touched us. 2c. We are in severe punishment and torment, from which you could save us with a little alms, and yet you will not. Open your ears, because the father cries to the son, and the mother to the daughter: "Why do you bite me like a tooth, and fill yourselves with my flesh? as if to say: "We have begotten you, nourished you, educated you, and left you our temporal goods; why then are you so cruel and hard, that, since you could now save us with a little effort, you will not; and let us lie in flames, that we come so slowly to the glory promised to us. You may have confession slips, by virtue of which you may obtain full remission of the penalties due to sins once in life and at the hour of death, and as often as you wish in the cases not reserved. O you who have vows upon you, you usurers, robbers, and vicious ones! Now is the time to hear the voice of God, who does not want the sinner to die, but to repent and live. Turn then, O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, to the Lord your God. O ye gainsayers, rejecters, blasphemers, who hinder this work outright or in secret ways, how evil do ye stand? You are outside the church community; no masses, sermons, prayers, sacraments, nor intercessions help you; no fields, vineyards, trees, nor cattle bear you fruit, wine; and the spiritual itself withers and dries up, as examples could be given. Turn to me with all your heart, and need the medicine of which wisdom speaks: The Most High has created the medicine from the earth, and a wise man will not despise it.

The third sermon.

Venerable Lord! I beg you to speak to your sheep in my name, so that they may open their eyes and see what grace and gift they have had and still have at the door. Truly blessed are the eyes that see what they see, and realize that they have a safe conduct by which they can lead their soul through this valley of tears, through this sea of the raging world, where there is so much storm, weather and danger, to the blissful fatherland of paradise. They should know that man's life is a war on earth. We have to fight against the flesh, the world and the devil, who always try to corrupt the soul. Our mother conceived us in sins. O woe! the cords of sins have caught us, and it is difficult, indeed almost impossible, to reach the harbor of salvation without divine help, because he has not made us blessed for the sake of works of righteousness, but by his mercy. Therefore, one must put on the armor of God. Take the sure letter of salvation from the governor of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which you may save your soul from the hand of the enemy and bring it to the blessed rich, by means of repentance and confession, safe and unharmed, without some penalty of purgatory. They should know that in this letter all the services of the Passion of Christ stretched out there are printed and engraved. They should know that for every mortal sin one must atone for seven years after confession and repentance, either in this life or in purgatory. How many mortal sins are committed in a day, how many in a week, how many in a month, how many in a year, how many in a lifetime? They are almost innumerable, and have to suffer infinite punishment in the fiery punishment of purgatory. And with these confession slips you can have once in your life, in all cases (except four which are reserved to the apostolic see), complete remission of all punishments forfeited up to that time; after that, all the time of your life, as often as you want to confess, in the cases which are not reserved to the pope, you can also have equal remission, and after that, in the hour of death, complete remission of all punishments and sins, and communion of all spiritual goods, which happen in the contending church and all the members of it. Do you not see that when a man goes to Rome or other dangerous places, he sends his money through the bank, and for every hundred he gives five or six or ten, that he sends it to Rome or elsewhere through the said bank?

exchange safely again? And you do not want to have this letter for a quarter of a guilder, by virtue of which you can bring not money but the divine and immortal soul safely and freely to the fatherland of paradise? Therefore, I advise, exhort, and, as much as a shepherd may do, command you to accept the precious treasure together with me and other priests, and especially those who have not confessed in this holy jubilee year, which they can obtain for the future. For you might encounter the case that you would like to and could not.

Then also, on account of our most holy Lord Pope and the holy apostolic see and my most reverend Lord Legate, all and every one who have received or will receive in the short time to come the holy jubilee and the confessionals, and who have offered a helpful hand for the said building of the prince of the apostles, shall participate in all prayer, intercession, almsgiving, fasting, church prayers, Masses, Liturgies of the Hours, Mortifications, Pilgrimages, Pontifical Prayer, Blessings, and other spiritual goods, which now and forever are or may be in the contending Church and all its members, both for their persons and for their dead parents, blood friends, and benefactors, always and forever, and as they have been moved by love, so may God and Sts. Peter and Paul and all the saints whose bodies rest in Rome, keep them in peace in this valley and bring them to the heavenly kingdom!

You will also give infinite thanks in aforesaid and in my name both to the venerable common priests and prelates 2c.

Some of the contents and fragments of one of Tetzel's instructions, which Chemnitz has removed and communicated.

From Chemnitz Lxaivkn eone. Irickent, Theil IV, p. 143"
Translated into German.

Tetzel offered indulgences for sale in Germany not only in sermons, in impudent praise, but also in a scattered booklet, which he called Summary Instruction. However, the content of both the sermons and his writing, as I can gather from Luther's writings, was this. In the sermons, these indulgence sellers made the following exhortations: Behold, now heaven is open to all; if you do not enter now, how will you ever enter? O you insensitive and stubborn people! who are like wild animals, do not want such a great mercy.

Take it to heart. Oh, how many souls you could save! O how obdurate, how obdurate, and how negligent you are! You can redeem your father from the punishments of hell with ten pennies, and you do not want to help your father in this. Certainly, at the last judgment I have no responsibility, but you may watch. I tell you, if you had only one skirt, you should take it off and sell it, so that you would be granted such a great grace 2c. But against those who would not accept this grace, they were so vehemently zealous that the common man trembled at it, and thought that the heavens would fall in and the earth open up. They added that if someone bought a letter of indulgence, his soul could be assured of eternal life; but the souls that were already in purgatory, and for whom the indulgence was bought, would come out of purgatory into heaven as soon as one heard the sound of the money thrown into the box. Furthermore, the grace was so great that no sin was so great, even if one had sinned against the Mother of God, that he could not be freed from punishment through the indulgence, indeed, man would be freed from guilt and punishment through these letters of indulgence. This grace was a priceless divine gift, since man was reconciled with God and all the punishments of the purgatory were thereby redeemed; nor did those need to worry and grieve about the sins they had committed, who either bought their souls themselves or bought confession. The words that Tetzel used in the summary lesson were as follows: The first and noblest grace we receive through indulgences is a complete forgiveness of all sins, since a sinner receives forgiveness and divine grace anew. Through this forgiveness, the punishments that sinners had to endure in purgatory because of offended majesty are also completely given and redeemed; the pope also has power over purgatory to free souls from it by means of indulgences; indeed, they also assured that the assurance of eternal life through these letters of indulgence is so certain that they also put their own souls as a pledge for it. The cross they made in the church with the pope's seal was just as powerful as the cross of Christ itself. To this they added the fable: In a certain place, 5000 souls had been bought and redeemed by this indulgence, of which three had been damned, because they had deducted something from the letters of indulgence. The end and the conclusion of his sermons was this: "Lay down

Put in, put in, put in! In order to encourage and entice the people not only with words but also with their own example, they first went to the box in front of all the people and threw something into the box with a bright and very audible sound. Those who stood by showed themselves very friendly to those who put something in, but to those who did not, they seemed to become angry and unwilling. They also allowed the indulgences to be given to the poor free of charge, but in such a way that they first tried to collect the money through good patrons in all places. They also got behind the women and taught them how they should gather money to buy such letters without the knowledge and will of the men, no matter how it might happen. I have put this here from the writings of that time, with the very same words that are used in them. Meanwhile, however, since these frauds were going on very brazenly in Germany, one heard not only much grumbling, but also public complaints from all honest people. For people in Germany had already grown tired of the drudgery, shenanigans and endless frauds of the papists. They called these indulgences fairs, a buying up (monopolía) of souls, they complained bitterly that not only the forgiveness and remission of past sins, but also of future sins are sold by these indulgence merchants, and not only in this life, but also after death, as the complaints and grievances of the Germans read. They [who were tired of indulgences] invented ridiculous fables, namely, that a deceased person with a letter of indulgence came before hell, and by virtue of this wanted to be free from it; but a devil came running, who, having read the bull, burned and melted the paper, parchment, sealing wax, and lead under his hands by the force of fire, but the soul was plunged empty into the depths; as such is told in the writings of those times.

81 Johann Tetzel's letter of indulgence, which he issued as Pope Leo X's Unternuntius and Commissary of Indulgences in the German provinces, together with the Guardian of the Minorites on May 19, 1515.

This letter of indulgence is in the "innocent news" 1705, p. 197; in Löschner's Ref.-Acta, vol. I, p. 391 and in Kapp's "Collection", p. 37.
Translated into German.

Brother Johann Tetzl, Order of Preachers at Leipzig, of the Holy Theology Baccalaureus and Special Heresiarch, of the Most Holy Father in GOD, of our Lord Leo, by Divine Providence of this name of the X. Pabst, the highest bishop and God's governor in the whole world, as well as the Holy Roman See in the German provinces, dioceses, cities, countries, and all and every Easter Unternuntius and Holy Indulgence Commissarius, together with the Guardian of the Friars Minor of the Order of St. Francis, his co-helper in this matter: To all and every believer in Christ to whom this letter will come before the eyes, but especially to the authorities, judges, inquisitors and persons holding court, both spiritual and secular, offer eternal salvation in the Lord! Matthias Menner, inhabitant of the dairy Krichow, which belongs to the Burgwerber parish on the Saale, has discovered and confessed to us in the greatest sorrow and sadness that he wanted to throw a stone at his neighbor's dog, which was barking at him, but that during the throw his neighbor's little daughter, since he did not see it, had approached the dog, whom the stone had hit against his complete will and opinion, and he is heartily sorry for this fatal blow. Therefore, because he wanted to take care of his bliss, he asked us with bent knees and folded hands, crying, that we would come to his aid with a convenient means of absolution. Since we are to seek the salvation of all and sundry, we count the said Matthias Menner, who has paid the fee for the construction of the main church of the chief apostle according to his means, out of apostolic authority, which we administer in this piece, free from this accidentally committed death stroke by grace, and also by virtue of this authority declare and know in the present letter that he is completely absolved from the said death stroke. We therefore command all and everyone, both clergy and secular, that in the least no one accuse, convict, or condemn Matthias Menner for this death stroke, but that everyone in all places and ends keep him completely and utterly absolved of it, unless he wants to fall into the punishments and judgments contained in our apostolic letter of authority. For the greater faith and witness thereof, we have had the seal of the above-mentioned building and the Papal seal, which we use in such cases, printed on it. Given at Krichow in the year of the Lord 1515, May 19, in the third year of the reign of our most holy Lord, the Pope.

Letter from Heinrich Campis, vicar general and prior of the Carmelite convent in Magdeburg, to Johannes, abbot of Königsutter, in which he reports to him that the commissary of the current jubilee, Johann Tetzl, has revoked all indulgences in general in the churches of the Magdeburg and Halberstadt dioceses; he has also forbidden the Königsutter indulgences in particular, and has forbidden, under penalty of banishment, that no one may hear confession from them. On the third day after the feast of Corpus Christi in 1517.

This and the four following documents are taken from Kapp's "Nachlese," Theil III, p. 217.

Translated into German.

Brother Heinrich Campis, Vicar General and Prior of the Convent of the Carmelite Brothers of St. Mary in the suburb of Magdeburg, V. I., to the venerable in Christ Father and Lord Johanni X, highly renowned Abbot of the Monastery of Königsutter, his in Christ much beloved and especially sincerely venerable friend, his obedience at any time most devoted to all pleasing services and ready for unceasing intercession.

Gracious Father and Lord! Having perceived that the Commissary of the present Jubilee year publicly revokes in the pulpit all indulgences in any order or church of the Magdeburg and Halberstadt dioceses; By this we see that he also meant your indulgences, which your confessors appointed by you had to grant annually on the feast of the Princes of the Apostles, so that at present there was nothing to be done in your apostolic practices; as he also forbade this, that no one should take the liberty, under penalty of banishment, to hear confessions with you according to custom. This will cause your convent not a small, but an important and great damage, if it is not prevented and remedied. For this reason, I have not only verbally, but also in writing, requested your grace, as I have a constant and unwavering affection for you, my gracious father and lord, and hereby open my dear friendship to you, that you in this matter, where it can be done conveniently, and as the fathers and lords of the Antonites have done, who have prevented the revocation of indulgences in their order, and have pacified the Commissary, but especially the most reverend of our lords, the Bishop of Magdeburg, by which, I do not know how to explain it.

In a certain way, you will pacify and satisfy him before the time of execution. For I wish at the most, sincere father, that all prudent precautions be carefully taken with you, in that I advise your gracious lords to prevent the aforementioned revocation of indulgences by kind means according to your reverence's liking. What will happen in these and similar incidents to the gracious lords, I will recognize with all love and friendship, along with all those who stand below me, and will remain devoted to them day and night with unceasing and untiring service. In the meantime, live well in him who rules and governs all things. Given at Magdeburg in the convent outside the city, in the year after our redemption 1517, the 3rd day after the Feast of Corpus Christi.

83 Henry the Younger, Duke of Brunswick, letter to the cathedral dean and chapter of Magdeburg, in which he asks that the ban on the Königsutter indulgence imposed by the papal commissioner be lifted. On Corpus Christi Day 1517.

By the Grace of God Henrick the Disciple, Harzug zu Brunswick und Lüneburg 2c.

Den Werdigen Edelen und Erbaren Herrn DomDecken [Dechant] und Capittel der Kercken tho Magdeborg, unsern Fründen und Leuen [lieben] besondern.

Our greatness and favorable will before us. We are informed that the most worthy in God, dignified and high-born prince, Mr. Albrecht, Archbishop of Magdeburg and Ments, Primate and Holy Roman Ruler in Germania, Archbishop and Elector, Administrator of the County of Halberstadt, Marggroff of Brandenburg 2c. Vnser Leuer Herr und Ohme, von wegen pewstlicker Hilligkeit einen Commissarium Predicker Ordens abgefertiget, de itz by ju sy, Gnade und Aflat, tho Behoiff des Gebäwes S. Peters Kercken tho Rome, Christlicken Volcke mede tho delende [to communicate], and dat desulvige Commissarius alle andere Gnade und Aflath, esonderheit de heimsökinge, so neistkommende Petri und Pauli tho Königsutter in vnnsem Fürstendom tho gescheende, verboden. The ban on us and our friends, as well as many other people, who have come to Königsutter for the pilgrimage, is not a small burden,

ock dem armen Closter dath vaste buvellig sosehr baufällig], und in korten Jahren de reformacien. assumed, de se ahn so [sothane == said] heimsökinge nicht erholden mögen, tho groten schaden komen wolle, darmede [damit] dem Commissario in synem Bevele mit alle nichts behulpen, the day of the visit of the pilgrims to Königes-Lutter was considered so short of ogen, that no one could warn the Pellegrim [Pilgrim] about such a pretext, and those who came would not be able to do so less or more at St. Peter's Church in Rome. Therefore, it is our good will and our intention to prevent that the common people will not be harmed by the affront to the King's Lutters. If we want to order this commission, we will do so willingly and willingly, so that we can prove our good intentions. We are willing to accept and owe this in all good faith. Date Sycke on the day of Corporis Christi 11 JunH, Domini M.D.XVII.

84. Johannis, Abbot of Königsutter, writes in his and the whole monastery's name to Botho, Grasen and Lord of Stolberg, Archbishop Albrecht Hofmeister, as well as to other councillors of the same, in which he presents both the antiquity of the Königsutter indulgence and the poverty of the monastery, and asks for the lifting of the ban made by Johann Tetzels. Wednesday after *Corporis Christi* [June 17] 1517.

Joannes Abbot, Siffridus Prior, Senior and whole assembly of the monastery tho Königes-Lutter, Order S. Benedicti in the Halberstedischen Stifte, and the Fürstendum Brunswig: Den Edelen, Wolgebornen, Werdigen, Achtbaren und Gestrengen, Herrn Bothen, Graue und Herrn tho Stalberg und Wernigerode Hoffmeistern, und andern unsers gnedigsten Herrn van Magdeborg, Mentz und Halberstadt 2c. heimgelatenen Reden, unsern gnedigen, günstigen Herrn und Fründen: Edelen, Wolgebornen, Werdigen, Achtbarn, Gestrengen vnd Ervesten Herrn vnd Fründe, vnsse innige Beth tho Godde dem Allmechtigen mit gantz willigen Deinste alle tydt tho vorn, Gnedigen, Günstigen Herrn vnd Fründe, Euwer g. w. a. und g. [Graces, Dignities, Respectable and Strict] we humbly add to the city of our gracious lord that we know that our monastery some years ago, from the Hartzogedom tho Brunßwig

The Holy Roman Emperor Lotharion, of blessed memory, had a great and remarkable affliction, because His Imperial Majesty, by the Pope Innocentio the other, the Holy Roman Emperor, and the unfortunates of Rome, neither the one in his palace Stol and Ere with great effort and work, before which he neither sold nor obtained any money, but obtained the highest rank in the land, so that all Christian believers come to our monastery in the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul for the sake of the monastery, all the monks who were in Rome in all the churches, cloisters and chapels for eternal time, with previnge pine and debt, which aflath at veerhundert vnd xx Jahre^a) vnvorhindert gestanden vnd erholenden, ock synt der tydt, von Pawsten tho Pawsten confirmeret vnnd bestedt worden worden. Dewile öuerst iz de pewstlicke gnade alhie tho landen komen, de vnse gnedigste Herr von Magdeborg, Mentz vnd Halberstadt 2c. The Supreme Commissary is, and the Bull is to mediate, that all other indulgences at the time of this jubilee have been suspended and revoked, therefore we have granted some of them against Magdeborg to the worthy Lord Johann Tetzl, in the name of our gracious Lord of Brunswick, in accordance with the wishes of the noble lords of the Capitol of Magdeborg, to find us unhindered in our own indulgences, and to indulge us in the city of our dear lord, so that this kind of walfart, which happens every time in our monastery with the mercy and grace obtained, may gain a continuation 2c., And because S. W. has not been unwilling to do so, but he has not wished to make such a thing impossible for the sake of his Lordship or the Holy See. Thus, the rent of our monastery is almost insignificant, and the persons therein are many, and our congregations are most interested in the offer and the general permission, which is given and worthy of being given by good men in the time of the Aflat, and of which we may grant procuracion and Subsidy to our gracious lord as a bishop of Halberstadt, which we then obey as an obedient commoner. Wu vns nu sölcke Walfart entzogen, vnd an den gegeuen PawstlickenAflathevorhinderengevnd insperinge bringen, hebben e. g. w. a. vnd g. gnediglicken zu betrachten,

1) and were it to be feared that the indulgences of the monastery and the sinners would not be brought back to the pilgrimage, and that in order for this to happen, we would have to ask the city of our church to reimburse us for the sins of the monastery. g. w. a. and g. tho ersöcken mit demödigten flite deinstlich bittende, e. g. a. w. vnd g. wolde an stad vndes g. h. [most gracious lord] to consider our and our monastery's needs and opportunities graciously, and to ensure that we are not hindered or hindered in any way in our common indulgences and praiseworthy work, The sinner who has recovered the Christian man as he has done until now, has been able to make a progress, to catch the divine rewards beforehand, and to show himself graciously in this, so that we may be able to be inferior to God the Almighty, to the most gracious Lord of God, and to the most gracious God of the world. g. a. w. vnd g. long leventh vnd luck myth vnssen innigen gebede tho vorbidden, vnd mith flite thouordenen alle tidt willich des wy 2) e. g. a. w. vnd g. gnädige Antworth bidden. Datum Middeweckens nach corporis Christi [17. \$uni], Anno MDXVII.

Botho, Count and Lord of Stolberg and Wernigerode, court master, as well as other councilors of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, write to Johannem, Abbot of Königsutter, in which they report that the papal commissary has lifted the ban that had been imposed, and that they can distribute their indulgences without hindrance for the upcoming Petri and Pauli. From Halle on the evening of Johannis Baptistä [June 23] 1517.

Botho Grave vnd Here tho Stalberg und Wernigerode, Houemeister, und andere vnse gnedigsten Hern van Magdeborg, Mentz vnd Halberstadt heimgelaten Rede: To the worthy Lord Johanni, Abbot of Königsutter, our dear friend and favorable Lord.

Our friends, your friends, your friends. Acquiring dear friends and favorable here, after you have appealed to the Chapter of Magdeburg, praying to help that your indulgences be kept on St. Peter's Day and St. Paul's Day, but in order to prevent the grace that is present, we have given the same to you with ..

1) Instead of "gebeven" probably "geberen" (give birth) should be read.

2) "wy" placed by us instead of: "w."

a) That there was an influx to Königsutter in 1291 is evident from the D. II. Leript. Lrunsvie. of the Lord of Leibnitz, p. 429: Anno Domini MCCXCI. cum instaret solennitas Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, factus est concursus populi in Regali-Luttere et est consuetudinis usque adpresens.

The Papal Commissioners have diligently spoken to you, and have therefore read and granted that your indulgences, as previously done, be announced and kept for the specified period of time, as you will see from his writings 1). That we give you to know in the best way, according to which we know how to judge. We are inclined to show you favorable will and friendly service. Date Halle vff S. Moritzburg, Dinstags am Abend Joh. Baptistä [23. June], Anno MXXVII.

86 Johann Tetzel's, Order of Preachers, Apostolic Heresiarch and General Subcommissarii letter to the Abbot of Königsutter, in which he reports that the monks there can freely proclaim their indulgences without being required to give a sum of money into his boxes. From Halle, June 22, 1517.

From KaPP's "Nachlese," Theil III, p. 232 f. reprinted in Körner's "Tetzel," p. 147.

Translated into German.

Johann Tetzel of the Order of Precedents, apostolic inquisitor of heretics, also generalsubcommissarius:

To the venerable Father in Christ, Lord John, Abbot of the Monastery of St. Peter and Paul in Königsuttern, his most reverend lord and superior:

Salvation, which God gives to those who love Him. Venerable Father in Christ! I have dealt faithfully with your cause with the lords councilors, and it has progressed to the point that you can freely proclaim your indulgence without having to pay any tax into our chests. Therefore, I also remit to you by the present letter the annulment of your indulgence, which I announced verbally at Magdeburg, and you can be assured that I have faithfully taken up your cause in this matter, wherewith I most humbly commend myself to you, venerable father, who, under the grant of God's grace, will perhaps see you in a short time.

From the castle of St. Moritz at Halle, June 22, 1517.

1) This is the following document.

A letter of indulgence granted by Tetzel under the name of Albrecht, Elector of Mainz, to an unnamed person and to Walpurgis, his wife, because they had generously contributed to the construction of St. Peter's Church. 1517.

From Paul Seidel's "Historie und Geschichte Luthers," p. 3 printed in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. I, p. 388.

Translated into German.

Albrecht, by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See of the Holy See of Magdeburg and Mainz, Archbishop, Primate and Archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire in Germany, Elector and Administrator of the Churches of Halberstadt, Margrave of Brandenburg, Duke of Stettin, Pomerania, the Caspians and the Wends, Burgrave of Nuremberg, and Prince of Rügen; and Guardian, of the Minorite Friars of the Observance of the Mainz Convent; by our most holy Lord Leo, Pope the X., by the lands of Magdeburg, Mainz and theirs, and the cities and districts of Halberstadt, likewise the lands and territories which are directly or indirectly subject to the temporal rule of the most illustrious Princes and Lords Margraves of Brandenburg, nuncios and commissarii specially delegated for the matters mentioned below: to all and everyone who will read this letter, Hail in the Lord!

We hereby announce that the most holy Lord Leo, by divine providence the present X. Pope, to all and any of the faithful of both sexes who offer a helping hand for the reconstruction of the Cathedral Church of the Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter, in Rome, in addition to plenary indulgences and other pardons and liberties, which the faithful of Christ themselves can obtain according to the apostolic letter issued in this regard, has also graciously granted and conferred in the Lord that they may freely choose a competent confessor, either from common priests or from all monastic orders, including the beggars, who, after their attentive confession, may pronounce on all sins, abominations and misdeeds committed by the penitent, however great and grave they may be, even if they were otherwise reserved to the said See, even ecclesiastical excommunication, if it had already been pronounced by men at someone's request with the consent of the parties, or if it had otherwise been forfeited because of the interdict, and from which no one but the apostolic See could absolve (except in cases where the person of the supreme pope was being pursued, bishops or other high prelates were being sought).

(The same shall apply to the confessor who has killed, laid violent hands on them or other prelates, forged apostolic bulls and letters, brought weapons or other forbidden things to the unbelievers, and except for the judgments and curses brought on the occasion of the alacrity of the apostolic tulfa brought from the unbelievers to the believers against the prohibition), once in life and at the hour of death, as often as it is threatened, even if it is not done then; in those cases which are not reserved, grant to the same confessor the complete reckoning of sins and impose salutary penance; likewise, once in life and at the said hour of death, grant complete indulgence and forgiveness of all sins, and administer the holy sacrament of the Last Supper, except at Easter and at the hour of death, at all times of the year; likewise, the vows that he vows at times, be they what they will (except the one about the sea, the entrance into the monastic life and single state, the visit to the thresholds of the Apostles and St. James in Compostella). Jacob at Compostella), into other godly works by apostolic power. The same Most Holy Our Lord has also granted that the said benefactor and her deceased parents, who are different in love, may always and always participate in all prayer, intercession, almsgiving, fasting, supplications, masses, prayers of the hours, mortifications, pilgrimages, standing prayer and all other spiritual goods, which only happens and can happen in the whole Holy Church and by all its members.

And because the devout N. N. and Walpurgis, his wife, for the building and necessary improvement of the above-mentioned main church of the Prince of the Apostles, according to our Lord Pabst's opinion and our decree, have willingly steered from their goods and have shown themselves grateful and mild, for the sign and witness of which they have received this present letter from us: therefore, out of the very apostolic power which is entrusted to us and which we hereby administer, we hereby grant and grant them that they may need and enjoy the aforementioned graces and indulgences. Given Berlin, under the seal ordered by us for this purpose, the 11th of the month [April], 1) Anno 1517.

1) The name of the month is missing as well as in Löschner's old Allsgabe Walch. We have added "April" from Tentzel's "Historischer Bericht", Vol. I, p. 122, but "October" would seem more credible to us, because Joachim of Brandenburg only permitted the sale of indulgences in his lands by a decree of Sept. 16, 1517. See No. 76.

88: A letter of indulgence, issued to Meckel, widowed Rodt, and to Peter and Adam Rodt, dated Göttingen, July 1, 1517, on which the seal is remarkable, which represents the image of the apostle Peter and under it the papal crown and keys with the inscription:

S. Fabrice S. Petri de Vrbe.

From von der Hardt's laeula pdiloloZiae, p. 77, and tiistor. litterar. retorunt., Theil IV, p. 4.

Translated into German.

Albrecht, by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See, Archbishop of the Holy See of Mainz and of the Churches of Magdeburg, Primate of the Holy Roman Empire in Germany, Archchancellor and Elector, also Administrator of Halberstadt, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Szczecin, of Pomerania, Duke of the Caffubes and Wends, Burgrave of Nuremberg, Prince of Rügen; and Guardian, of the Minorite Order of Observance, of the Mainz Convent; by our most holy Lord Leo, Pope the X., by the lands of Mainz and Magdeburg, and theirs, and the cities and districts of Halberstadt, also all regions and places subject to the temporal rule, directly or indirectly, of the most illustrious and illustrious princes, the lords Margraves of Brandenburg, nuncios and commissarii specially appointed for the matters reported below: to all and everyone who will read the present letter, salvation in the Lord!

We hereby announce that our most holy Lord Leo, by divine providence the present Pope X., has graciously granted and permitted all and every believer in Christ of both sexes who offer a helping hand for the reconstruction of the cathedral church of the Prince of the Apostles in the city (Rome) according to our order, by way of plenary indulgence and other pardons and liberties which the believers in Christ themselves can obtain, according to the apostolic letter issued on this subject, that they may choose a competent confessor, either a secular priest or one of all, who, after an exact hearing of the confession, will be responsible for all sins, transgressions and misdeeds committed by the electing (confessing) child, be they as great and grave as they wish, also for the cases reserved to the apostolic see and church excommunication, likewise for that which a person has pronounced at someone's request, at the consent of the parties, or into which one has fallen for the sake of an interdict, and of which the absolution is otherwise before the apostolic see.

(except when the person of the most holy pope has been persecuted, bishops or other high prelates have been killed, they or other prelates have been violated by force, apostolic letters have been forged, weapons or other forbidden things have been brought to the unbelievers, or they are otherwise under such judgment and ban, (for example, alum of the apostolic tulfa brought by the unbelievers to the believers against apostolic prohibition), once in life and at the hour of death, as often as it occurs, although death has not occurred, but in all other cases not reserved, as often as he requires it, completely count them out and impose salutary penance on them; likewise, during life and at the said hour of death, grant them plenary indulgence and forgiveness of all sins, and administer the Sacrament of the Supper (except at Easter and at the hour of death) at all times of the year; also all vows vowed by them (except that of walking on the sea, likewise the apostolic thresholds and St. James in Compostella). James in Compostella, or to enter a monastery and live a single life) into other godly works by apostolic power.

The same Most Holy Our Lord has also granted that the said benefactors and their deceased parents, who are different in love, shall always have a share in all prayer, intercession, almsgiving, fasting, church prayer, masses, Liturgy of the Hours, mortification, pilgrimages and other spiritual goods, which are or will be done in the whole general, holy, contending church and all of its members at all times. And because the devotees, the Meckel, widowed Rodt, Peter and Adam Rodt, for this building and necessary improvement of the above main church of the prince of the apostles, according to our most holy Lord Pabst's intention and our order, have steered from their goods, have shown themselves grateful and generous, in witness of which they have received the present letter: Therefore, out of the very apostolic power which has been granted to us, and which we here need, we grant and pardon them that they may use and enjoy such grace and indulgence. Given in Göttingen under our seal prescribed for this purpose, July 1, Anno D. 1517.

Loss speech form on so many times in life 2c.

Have mercy on you 2c. Jesus Christ absolve you by the merit of his passion, by which and the apostolic power given to me for this and granted to you, I absolve you of all your sins, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen.

The form of release and complete recovery once in the "life" and at the hour of death.

Have mercy on you 2c. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you by the merit of his passion, and I, by his and the apostolic power herein conferred upon me and granted to you, absolve you 1. from the sentence of the greater or lesser ban, if you fall into one; then 2. from all your sins, and grant you complete forgiveness of sins, also remitting to you the punishment of the purgatory, as far as the keys of the holy Mother of the Church go. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen.

A letter of indulgence from October 5, 1517, which Tetzel gave to Tilemann from Köpenik¹), who had beaten his young son to death because he wanted to beat his pig. 1517.

From Seidel's History and Stories of Luther, p. 20, reprinted in Löscher's Ref.- Acta, Vol. I, p. 394.

Translated into German.

Brother Johann Tetzel, of the Order of Preachers in the Convent of Leipzig, Baccalaureus of the Holy Doctrine of God and Inquisitor of heretical wickedness, by the most reverend in Christ Father and Lord, Lord Albrecht, Archbishop of the Holy Churches of Magdeburg and Mainz, Primate and Archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire in Germany, Elector and Administrator of Halberstadt, Margrave of Brandenburg, Stettin and Pomerania, Duke of the Cassubians and Wends, Burgrave of Nuremberg, Prince of Rügen, of the most holy in God Father and our Lord Leo, by divine providence Pope X, the most holy in Christ Father and our Lord Leo., and the same Holy Apostolic See to the lands of Magdeburg, Szczecin and theirs, and the cities and districts of Halberstadt, likewise to the lands and lands of the Archbishops of Magdeburg and Mainz, and those of the Margraves of Brandenburg under secular rule, directly or indirectly, directly or indirectly, to grant the most sacred indulgence for the construction of the cathedral church of the Prince of the Apostles in the city of Rome in the manner of a jubilee year, nuncio and commissarius, 2) at the same time with

1) Walch: "a nobleman".

2) This "Nuntius and Commissarius" does not refer to Tetzel, but to Albrecht, together with the Guardian 2c. in his (Albrecht's) city Mainz, as his colleague in this. On the other hand, in No. 81, from 1515, Tetzel gives the Guardian for his (Tetzel's) colleague.

the Guardian of the Minorite Brothers of St. Francis of the Observance in his city of Mainz, as his colleague herein, decreed general sub-commissary, who has been ordered and appointed by force again, to the said lands and districts and all the aforesaid of the most noble and illustrious lords margrave dominions, to appoint people in his stead, offer to our in Christ beloved Tilemann von Köpenik, of the Brandenburg district, constant salvation in the Lord!

You told us that when you wanted to strike at a sow, your boy, not realizing it, approached you, whom you struck and killed (when you struck at the sow) against your will, to your immense heartache. For this sin you grieve with your heart. Since you now wanted to counsel your soul, you humbly asked us to come to your aid in time by counting the lots. Therefore, we (who seek everyone's salvation), by virtue of apostolic power, which we hereby administer, release you, who have made a settlement with us according to your ability for the purpose of the said construction, from the death stroke in grace, and announce to you by this letter that you have been released from the said death stroke by us. We also command all and everyone to whom it comes, by the judgments, banishment and punishments contained in our apostolic letters of authority, to believe this [letter], to consider you completely absolved, and that no one accuse you of this death stroke in any way. In witness whereof we have hereunto set the seal of the said building, which we use for such matters. Given in Berlin in the year of the Lord 1517, the 5th of October, in the 5th year of the reign of our most holy Lord, the Pope.

90 Myconius tells how splendidly the commissary of indulgences, Tetzel, was caught up everywhere when indulgences were still held in high honor.

From the Myconius kist. rekormat., p. 15.

The indulgence was so highly honored that when the commissary was introduced into a town, the bull was carried along on a cloth of gold or silver, and all the priests, the council, schoolmasters, pupils, men, women, virgins and children went to meet him with flags and candles, with singing and procession. Then they rang

All the bells were rung, all the organs were struck, he was escorted into the churches, a red cross was erected in the middle of the church, the Pope's banner was hung there, and in sum, one could not have received and held God Himself more beautifully.

91: How Tetzel at Zwickau swindled a large piece of money from the entire congregation at the time of his departure and then gave it to the priests to feast on.

From Joh. Petrejus "Vorrede über das römische Ablassbüchlein" lit. v 3. 4 reprinted in Tentzel, Hist. Bericht, p. 108 and in Löschers Ref.-Acta, vol. I, p. 404.

When Tetzel had been selling his indulgences in Zwickau for many days, and finally wanted to leave, the chaplains and altar servers spoke to him: Lord, you are now leaving, and we have not enjoyed your indulgences, but you might have given us something to show that we had good courage to do so; he answered that he had now wrapped up all the indulgence money and packed it away, but that he wanted to do justice to the matter, and the following day let the large bells ring again, which were always rung when he was supposed to preach. When the people heard this and frequently came to church, he stood up and said: Although he had been very clever to leave this morning, there had been a poor soul in the churchyard last night who had whimpered so piteously and confessed that she wanted to be helped, so that she might be delivered from her terrible torment, that he did not know how to avoid remaining this day, and a mass was now being held for her, where they should all go diligently to the sacrifice, so that the poor soul might be delivered from its torment; And whoever does not do this is an indication that he has no compassion for the poor soul, indeed he himself must be drowned in sin, because of which the poor soul is now suffering, and if he is a man, he must be an adulterer or fornicator, but if he is a woman, she must be a whore and adulteress. And that they see that there is great need, then he himself wants to go to the sacrifice. After that he was the first to sacrifice. This was followed by such a sacrificial procession that the people in the church borrowed money from each other so that they could sacrifice. For no one wanted to be an adulterer or adulteress. After that, he gave the money to the priests, and was reckless with them.

The story of Strigenitus tells how Tetzel once asked the sexton in Zwickau to be his guest, and when the sexton claimed that he was poor, he asked him to look at the calendar to see what day tomorrow would be, because *Juvenalis* was written in it, and he immediately made him a saint, solinized his feast with the ringing of all the bells, preached on it, and collected a large sum of money.

From the Strigenitus comin. in Ionum xropli., x>. 142, in Schunds tüiron. Auiccuvsliw., p. 380.

When Tetzel was a preacher in Zwickau, before he became the pope's indulgence merchant, he asked his sexton at one time if he would not like to ask him to be his guest; and when the sexton excused himself, saying that he was too poor to do so, that he could not, Tetzel said: "We want to get money soon, look in the list, what saint will be tomorrow. The sexton does so and says, I will find *Juvenalis*; but it is an unknown saint. Then Tetzel says: "We want to make him known soon. Tomorrow ring the bell for matins, the sermon and mass, as on a great feast day, and have the high mass held above the altar, in the middle of the church, above the preaching chair. The sexton follows. When the people hear such ringing the next day, they often come into the church. When the high mass is half over, Tetzel appears and preaches thus: "Dear people, today I have something to tell you. If I were to tell you, it would be the end of your blessedness. You know that we have long called upon the saints, but they have now grown old and are almost tired of hearing and helping us. Today you have the memory of *Juvenali*, and although he has been unknown until now, let it be dear to you. Because he is a new saint whom we did not know before, he will be all the more eager to take care of us. But *Juvenalis* was a holy martyr, whose blood was shed innocently. If you now also want to enjoy his innocence before God, then prove yourselves today in his honor, and place each of you his sacrifice on the altar, where high mass is held today. Dear people, show yourselves mild, and start walking in the name of God. You, the rulers, go ahead and give good examples to the others. What more has he done? He put people at the doors, and no one let them out, because he had offered sacrifices beforehand; and because the people went to the sacrifice, he stayed on the preaching stand, and saw what each one had laid.

After that he finally went down to the altar himself and laid his penny, and secretly asked the sexton if they would have enough for supper.

A history of how Tetzel fared with the pen, which he claimed the devil plucked from the angel Michael during the fight and which he claimed to be a great sanctuary; how it was exchanged for coals, and how he got out of the deal with clever trickery.

From the Albmus "Meißnische Land-Chronik," p. 342, printed in Tentzel, Historischer Bericht, Vol. I, p. 111.

Tetzel once wanted to give the people a feather that the devil had plucked out of the angel Michael in a quarrel, and at the same time grant indulgences. But during the night, some boys got hold of it, stole the feather from the box and put coals in it. The next morning, Tetzel took the box without looking at it and made a great speech before the people about the dignity and power of the heavenly feather. But when he opens it, behold, there is no feather but coals inside. Although he is somewhat altered, he does not notice anything, but immediately makes a new feint, saying that he has seized an unjust box, but in which there is also a special sanctuary, namely coals from St. Laurence's grate, of which he not a little emphasizes the excellent power.

94 There is an almost identical story about the Mass priest Iselinus in Swabia, who also had such a feather of St. Michael stolen, and how he put hay from the stable into the monstrance in front of his landlady's eyes, and also bet with his landlady that she would kiss it in the church as a holy thing, she would or would not, and also won the bet.

From Crusius, aimul. Kuevm., Theil III, p. 516, reprinted in Tentzel, Hist. Bericht, Vol. I, p. 112, and subsequently in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. I, p. 410.

Around the year 1500, there lived a missal monkey, named Iselinus, who laid out his saints and indulgences in Altingen, and boasted that he had a feather from St. Michael's wing; but as he was drinking in the inn, the same was given to him of the

Stolen at night. When he realizes this in the morning, he runs into the stable, puts hay into the monstern and says that this should be his sanctuary. The landlady, as he is lying in his quarters, laughs at this, but he sends her away: I will make it so in the church that you must kiss the shrine, whether you like it or not. She says that this shall never happen. He bets her a good feast. As one enters the church, the indulgence merchant begins: Behold, dearest Christians, this is the hay on which our Lord Christ lay in Bethlehem: it has the power to avert the plague from the people, which is now rampant in Tübingen and now and then in Württemberg; it also does not admit adulterers or whores. When the people heard such a sermon, many men and women came to kiss the shrine, and the hostess joined them, so that she would not be mistaken for a lewd woman. Behold," said the priest secretly to her, "are you coming too? I have won the bet. In this way, it was a forerunner of Tetzel.

95 How Tetzel would not absolve a rich woman in Magdeburg until she had paid 100 florins, and how this woman refused him so that he received nothing at all.

From Scultetus in the first Decade p. 16 from Suecū Leichenpredigt über Levin von Schulenburg in Tentzel, Hist. Bericht, p. 123, and in Löschers Ref.-Acta, Vol. I, p. 403.

Tetzel did not want to absolve a rich woman in Magdeburg if she did not pay him a hundred guilders first. The woman therefore consulted her regular confessor, a Franciscan or Barefoot, who answered: God grants forgiveness of sins for free and did not sell her; but at the same time asked the woman that she should not discover to Tetzel from whom she received this answer. Since Tetzel heard the reason for the unpaid money, he said that this counselor should either be burned or at least chased away.

96) How a horseman let Tetzel grant him indulgences for future sins, then ambushed him and took the entire indulgence money by force.

From Albinus' "Meißnische Land- und Berg-Chronik", p. 342, printed in Löschers Ref.-Acta, Vol. I, p. 405, and in Tentzel's Hist. Bericht, Vol. I, p. 111.

A horseman came to Tetzel in the Electorate of Saxony and asked if he could also forgive him the sin he was still to commit? in case he wanted to give him ten thalers. At first, the monk was very upset and apologized to some extent, saying that it was an important matter. But he had full authority from the pope, if he gave him thirty thalers, he would give him such an indulgence. This is done. But he waits for D. 1) Tetzel himself, lays him down and takes his indulgence money. Because of this act, he complained, but because he had previously forgiven the future sin so lightly, he was ridiculed.

This is the first time that Tetzel has been tricked by a nobleman on his way to Leipzig.

From Arnold's vita Nauritii elect. in Mencken's scriptor. rsum. Aermunieur, toru. II, p. 1151. Seckendorf also shares this incident, Ilist. lurk., Ud. I, x. 26, and adds that there are various versions about it. We consider this narration to be only another version of the previous one. Löschers remarks on the previous relation: "In the Churmark a similar thing is said to have happened to Tetzel between Triebeln and Jüterbock, and that with one of nobility, called von Haake."

After Tetzel had collected a large sum of money in Leipzig, a certain nobleman came to him and asked whether he would be able to grant him indulgence for the sin he was about to commit. Tetzel was immediately ready with the word of consent, but also pending, if he would pay the stipulated money, which the nobleman would pay and thus receive letter and seal from Tetzel. Then he would have watched Tetzel as he traveled away from Leipzig, attacked him on the way, smeared his skin thickly with blows, and then let him go back to Leipzig empty after he had reported how this was the sin he had intended to commit, since Duke George was initially enraged about this deed, but after the whole thing had taken place, he let himself be pacified again without imposing some punishment on the nobleman.

1) "D." will have to be resolved by "Dominum", not by vfootor^, as Löschers has done, because the disputation on his second series of theses, for the attainment of the doctorate, perhaps never took place. Cf. Walch, St. Louiser Ausq., Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 13. Kolde, Martin Luther, Vol. I, p. 376.

98 The strange story that happened at Anuaberg with Friedr. Myconius, when out of good simplicity he wanted to have the indulgence for free from the indulgence merchant Johann Tetzel and did not want to let go of such a request; as he, Myconius, tells it himself in a letter Anno 1546 to Paul 1) Eber as follows.

From a letter written in 1546 by Myconius to Father Eber, reprinted by Jenisius in his *annalibus XnirudsrA.* and subsequently in Hecht, *vita leMiii*, p. 116, and by Löscher, *Ref.-Acta*, Vol. I, p. 405.

Translated into German.

The well-known promoter of the indulgence offered by the Roman pope, Johann Tetzel of the Dominican order, lied to and charmed the people in the new city of Annaberg for two whole years, so that finally everyone had the firm conviction that there was no other way to obtain forgiveness of sins and eternal life than through our works, of which he himself taught that it was impossible. But this one way was still left, if we bought it from the Roman Pontiff with money, and thus procured the papal indulgence, which he declared to be the forgiveness of sins and the entrance into eternal life. I could tell quite amazing and almost unbelievable things from what I heard during those two years (for he preached every day). I listened to him so attentively that I could recite his entire sermons to others, even imitating his voice and gestures, not in jest but in earnest. I was also of the opinion that all these were entirely God's sayings, and that everything that was sent to us by the Pope came to us from Christ Himself. Finally, in the same year, around the feast of Pentecost, he threatened that he would put down the indulgence cross and close the open gates of heaven, and that it would not happen that they could receive eternal life and forgiveness of sins after this at such a small price. Thus, he said, there was no hope that such a great generosity of the Roman See would ever come to Germany again, as long as the world would stand, and he exhorted that each one should take care of his own soul as well as that of his deceased. Now was the day of salvation and the pleasant time. "Oh, do not miss any of his souls.

Blessedness! For if you do not possess the papal letters of indulgence, you will not be absolved from many sins and the reserved cases by any man. Printed notices were publicly posted on the doors and walls of the churches, announcing that to show some gratitude for the devotion of the German people, the letters of indulgence and this complete power to forgive sin should no longer be sold for such large sums of money as in the beginning, but for a lower price. And at the end a little further down was added: To the poor also indulgences may be given for free, for God's sake. This was the reason that I had something to do with the commissioners of indulgences, which certainly happened at the suggestion, encouragement and impulse of the Holy Spirit, although I myself did not understand what I was doing at that time.

When I was still a boy, even a small child, my father had taught me the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and told me that I had to pray diligently. For he always told me that we had everything from God alone, and that He would govern us if I prayed diligently. Likewise, that the blood of Christ was the ransom for the sins of the world, and that this faith was necessary for every Christian; yes, even if only three people should have this hope that they would be saved through Christ, one should nevertheless quite certainly believe that one was one of these three, and it would be a disgrace to the blood of Christ if one wanted to doubt this. The indulgences of the pope would be nets with which the money of the simple-minded people would be fished away. Certainly, forgiveness of sins and eternal life could not be bought with money, but it would annoy the clergy if one wanted to say this. Since I had heard nothing but praise of indulgences in the sermons on indulgences, but not the slightest mention of the grace of the Lord Christ and of His atonement for the sins of the world, I thought that only those would share in the death of Christ who had either earned it through good works or had bought it for money. So I remained in darkness, and was in doubt whether I should believe the clergy or my father more; but I believed the clergy more. But I could not quite get my head around the fact that forgiveness of sins could not be obtained, or that money would have to be paid for it, especially as far as poor people were concerned. Therefore, I liked the clause added at the end of the papal mandate on all

1) In the old edition: "Pater" instead of: Paul.

Measure well: Indulgences are to be given to the poor free of charge, for God's sake.

Since after three days the cross of indulgence was to be solemnly laid down, and these steps and ladders to heaven were to be taken down, the spirit impelled me mightily to go to the Commissary and ask for such a letter, in which the forgiveness of sins would be contained free of charge for the poor, stating that I was a sinner and also a poor person, and that I was in need of the sharing of Christ's merits and the forgiveness of sins free of charge.

The next day around dinnertime, when Tetzl was in Johann Pflug's house with the confessors and a large crowd, I went to this meeting and asked in a Latin speech that I, as a poor man, be granted the right, according to the mandate contained in the letter, to ask for absolution from all sins free of charge and for God's sake, so that no case would be reserved, and that a papal letter of assurance would be given to me. The priests were astonished at my Latin speech, which was something rare among boys at that time, and they quickly went out of the parlor into the chamber to the Commissary Tetzl, presented my request to him, and also interceded for me that he might grant me a letter of indulgence free of charge. Finally, after a long consultation, they return with the answer: "My son, we have presented your request with all diligence to the Commissary, who also declares that he would gladly grant your request, but he could not, even if he wanted to; but that concession would be null and void. For he has indicated to us that these papal letters would be of the explicit clear content that only those would really be capable of this most lenient indulgence and would become eligible for it, who would lend a helping hand, that is, who would give money. I, however, convinced them from the letters posted on the church doors that this same most holy pope had ordered that indulgences be given to the poor free of charge, for God's sake, and that it was written underneath: By the Lord Pabst's own command.

They went again to the monk, who was proud beyond all measure, and asked him again to grant my request, since I was a gifted and eloquent young man, who would therefore be well worth doing some good to him in front of others. But they came again with the answer of the helpful hand, which

alone would be able to obtain indulgences. But I still thought that they were doing an injustice to me as a poor person, since they wanted to reject the one whom God and the pope did not want to exclude from the offered indulgence, just for the sake of a few pennies that I did not have.

At last, they said that I only wanted to give something, and that I should only give something, or so that the helping hand would not be completely lacking, I should give a penny. My answer was: I do not have it, I am poor. At last they asked me to give only six pennies. I answered again: I don't even have a penny.

Thereupon they went a little aside and talked with each other, and I heard that they were very concerned about two circumstances in particular. First, they said that I should not be allowed to leave without a letter of indulgence, so that, if the matter were instigated by others, an unpleasant outcome (tragedia) would not be brought about because of me, since the letter in fact contained the clause: "To the poor free of charge". On the other hand, that one would certainly have to receive something from me, so that if others heard that the letters of indulgence were being distributed free of charge, the whole swarm of the school and the prayer people would come over their necks, and everyone would want to have indulgences free of charge.

After the consultation was over, they came to me again, and one of them offered me six pennies, that I should give them to the Commissary, and thus be one of those who would help to build St. Peter's Church in Rome and destroy the Turks, and would have a share in the grace of Christ and the indulgence. But then I answered frankly, quite out of an impulse of the spirit: If I had wanted indulgences bought for money, I could only have sold a book and obtained them for money. But I wanted to have indulgences for free and for the sake of God, or they should give account to God for missing the salvation of a soul for the sake of six pennies, which God and the pope wanted to make partakers of the forgiveness of sins that Christ had acquired for us. At that time, however, I believed that it was to be given entirely to the Roman Pontiff, after everyone had earned it, but for free to the poor.

Finally they asked by whom I had been sent here? I answered, which was the plain truth, that I had not been sent by any man at all, nor had I been sent on anyone's invitation.

I would never have made this request without the advice of someone, without the counsel of anyone, merely in the confidence that I would have trusted in the indulgence promised in vain in the papal letter. I would also never have undertaken to get involved with such great people, because I would be stupid by nature; and if the thirst for the grace of God and for the forgiveness of sins had not driven me, I would not also have taken so much to go to such a meeting. Again I was promised that I should get a letter of indulgence, which would have been bought by someone in my place for six pennies, but would have been given to me for free. But I wanted a remission of my sins without payment from the one who would have the power to forgive sins for free in the place of the pope, or I wanted to bring the matter home to God.

So I was dismissed, and the holy thieves became sad. But I was saddened, on the one hand, that I had not received a letter of indulgence; on the other hand, I rejoiced at the same time that there was still a God in heaven who would remit the sins of the penitent even without any price or money, according to the words I had often sung: "As surely as I live, says the Lord, I do not want the death of a sinner. Lord God, you know that I am not lying here! For I was still in the thickest darknesses. And yet, as I departed from them, behold, the Holy Spirit moved my whole heart and body, your good Spirit, who is an enlightener and a reviver, who is a comforter and also a spirit of renewal.

And as I went home, I completely melted into tears, and begged that, because they refused me mercy, because I lacked money, you, O God, would have mercy on me, and by grace forgive my sins, be a merciful God to me, and absolve me. And so I came home, went into my room, took the crucifix that I always had on the table in my study room, placed it on the bench, and prostrated myself on the ground before it.

Here I cannot write any further, but I could feel the spirit of grace and prayer, which you, O Lord my God, poured into and over me. This was the sum of my prayer, that you would be a dear Father to me, that you would forgive my sins. I had given myself completely to you, so that you would do with me what you wanted;

and since they would not be merciful to me without money, you should be a merciful God and father to me. I felt that my whole nature was transformed, so that I was now disgusted with all things, with the world, yes, that I seemed to be tired of life itself, and wished to live only with God, so that I might please Him.

99 Hottillger's report of what happened to a shoemaker's wife in Hageau, who had bought a letter of indulgence for one gold florin so that her soul would not go to purgatory.

From Hottinger's eecT, Theil VII, p. 536, reprinted in Tentzel, Hist. Bericht, vol. I, p. 124, and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. I, p. 402. Hottinger's report is taken from des Musculus I^oei e, ominune8, p. 362, who witnessed this himself in 1517.

A cobbler's wife in Hagenau bought a letter of indulgence for one gold guilder, so that she would be all the more certain of her blessedness and would not go to purgatory but, as soon as her soul ran out, to heaven. For this the letter of indulgence promised, out of the complete power of the governor of Christ. Soon after, she became deathly ill, sent for a monk, showed him the letter, confessed, received complete absolution and died. The husband did not like that the woman had given a gold florin for the indulgence, he had her buried, but he did not hold any masses for her, according to custom. When the local Plebanus heard this, he accused the shoemaker of being a despiser of the Christian religion and of being ungodly toward his wife. The shoemaker appeared and took the letter of indulgence. The shoemaker asked: Did your wife die? Answer: Yes. Further: What have you done with her? Answer: I buried her dead body and gave her soul to God. He persecuted: Have you done nothing more, nor have you kept any soul masters for her preservation? Answer: I did not do it, because I did not need it, for she is about to go to heaven. The other: How do you know that? Him: I know it well, for I have a credible witness. The other: Show it to me. The cobbler brings out the letter of indulgence and asks to read it. The shoemaker gives it to the priest to read, who had also come as a plaintiff. The priest is frightened by the letter and does not want to read it. But the castle forcibly makes him read it, and both of them are ashamed and know nothing more to say. There

says the cobbler: "Judge for yourselves whether I do not have a credible testimony of my wife's soul that she will not go to purgatory but to heaven; my wife bought this testimony with one gold florin: Why does the pleban now say that my wife only needs to be redeemed by the Masses? If he rightly affirms this, then my wife has been deceived by the pope; but if she has not been deceived, then the priest is trying to deceive me. Since neither the shoemaker nor the priest could contradict this, nor condemn the pope's bull, they let the shoemaker go.

The story of Mathesius about how an old miner in Schneeberg thoroughly shamed an indulgence merchant and led him away.

From the seventeenth sermon of Mathesius in Luther's Life (St. Lomser Ausg., p. 334) printed in Tentzel's "Bericht," Vol. I, p. 129, and "in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. I, p. 401.

A miner asked an indulgence-keeper on the Schneeberg whether it was true what he had preached several times about the power of indulgences and the authority of the Holy Father, that with a penny, as soon as it rang in the basin, a soul could be delivered from purgatory and ransomed. As the indulgence merchant insists: Ah! says the miner, how the pope must be such a merciless eternal thief, who for the sake of a penny lets a poor soul circulate in purgatory for so long; if he had no other means of payment, he could raise several hundred thousand guilders and release the poor souls at once, but we poor people would gladly pay the principal sum, and whatever interest and expenses would have been incurred, on the right account.

The report of Myconius on how the pope sent indulgences to all countries, and especially on how the papal missionaries were busy with indulgences in all provinces, how at first they were very popular, but later they became so bad that emperors, kings, and princes finally got tired of them.

Aus des Myconius distort. retormat., p. 9.

The pope sent indulgences to the provinces and preached that whoever paid money for the tax against the Turk or for the building of the new church of St. Peter's would have to pay the tax.

he should have forgiveness of sins, of chastisement and guilt. The bulls and letters are still available, you may read them; and almost every year a new grace and indulgence came from Rome. And although this carried innumerable money, because all spinners, widows, even those who took alms, wanted to redeem indulgences, and their friends' souls, which they all respected to be in purgatory, redeemed, put in two, three, four, five snowbergs, also redeemed letters of indulgence, that, if it should have lasted longer, Germany would not have kept neither penny nor nickel. The pope and the whales were not yet sated, and yet the money came neither against the Turk nor to the building, but rather to the pope's and the cardinals' splendor, arrogance, and Roman excesses. Whoever spoke against it was burned, like St. John Hus and other holy teachers. It finally became so overwhelming that even emperors, kings, princes and lords of the Holy Empire were displeased. But no one could advise or help; the earthly God of Rome was too powerful in the church and in the hearts of all people. At several imperial congresses, people complained about it and demanded reformation, but no one was allowed to take any serious action. The pope's ban was too feared.

The Jesuit Maimburg's rather sincere and truthful report on the impudent practice of selling indulgences, in which he punishes Tetzel's and other monks' actions not much less than the Protestant scribes did.

From Seckendorf's Hist. lid. I, p. 12, sset. 6. translated into German.

Pope Leo had entrusted the preaching of indulgences in Germany to the Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, Albrecht, brother of Joachim I, Elector of Brandenburg. This prelate, who had great prestige and a peculiar virtue, for the sake of which he was made a cardinal by Leo two years later, entrusted this business to Johann Tetzel, a Dominican monk and heretic, who not long before had done similar work to the great benefit of the knights of the Teutonic Order, and by his indulgence sermons had brought the multitude to war against the Muscovites. Tetzel took his brothers of the order as assistants. These people, as is often the case, exaggerated the cause that they had taken on, and

The pontiffs praised the dignity and power of indulgences so excessively that they gave the common man the opportunity to believe that as soon as he had paid the money and received the letter of indulgence, everyone would certainly be blessed, and the poor soul would immediately be delivered from purgatory. This was undoubtedly annoying, as the princes at the Diet of Nuremberg complained to Pope Adrian VI, Leo's successor. The trouble increased, and had often given the people cause for revolt, since the subordinates of the indulgence merchants, who had bought the profit of the indulgences, sat daily in inns and carried away part of the money shamefully. The poor and beggars also complained that this money was being squandered on them in a cruel way, since, as they said, they were being deprived of the alms they would otherwise have received. These abuses have been described by so many famous scribes, more sharply than by me, in various languages, such as Latin, French, Italian and German, so that a historian would use vain efforts if he wanted to try to suppress them. Thus it cannot be denied, indeed it is admitted by all, that these abuses gave rise to Lutheranism, which is also not inarticulately indicated in the last session of the Council of Trent.

**103) Mayer, Chancellor of the Chur-Mainz, complains about how the pope has obtained money from the German church.
presse, in a letter to Cardinal Aeneas Sylvius. 1457.**

From Flacius cutuloA. test. veritat., p. 464.

Translated into German.

Martin Mayer, Chancellor of the Archbishop of Mainz, wishes the Lord Aeneas, Cardinal of Siena, his dear father, good health.

I have learned from letters of good friends that you have been elected Cardinal. I congratulate both you, who for your virtue have received such a worthy reward, and me, since my friend has been elevated to such a position of honor, in which he will be able to serve me and my closest relatives in time. I only regret that you live at such a time, which looks sad for the apostolic see, since my lord archbishop is often complained about the Roman pope, that he has not acted beyond the decrees of the Costnitz or Basel Councils.

and is of the opinion that he is not bound by the treaties of his predecessor, nor does he make anything of our nation from all appearances, but rather seeks to exhaust it completely. It is well known that the election of prelates has been annulled and rejected here and there, and that honorary offices, be they what they may, are reserved for cardinals and protonotaries. In fact, you have also received an entitlement to three German provinces under this formula, which was not customary until now and of which nothing has ever been heard. For Expectanzbriefe are issued in incredible quantities. The annals, or half of the ecclesiastical income, are collected immediately, and it is on the day that money is extorted even above the fee. Church offices are not given to those who deserve it above others, but to the highest bidders. In order to cut money, new indulgence bulls are handed out daily. They want to have the tithes collected for the sake of the Turks without consulting our prelates. Legal disputes, which should be investigated and decided between the parties, are brought before the apostolic court without distinction. A thousand ways and means are devised by which the Roman See might subtly and cunningly seize our treasury, just as it would if we were barbarians, for which reason our otherwise famous nation, which by its bravery and blood brought the Roman Empire to itself, and was once the ruler and queen of the whole world, has now, after being completely exhausted, become a servant and interest-bearing, and has for many years lamented in great distress its miserable condition, its lack and poverty. Now, however, our great ones, awakened from their sleep, as it were, have begun to consider how and by what means they might remedy this misery, and have concluded to throw off this papal yoke altogether and to restore themselves to their former freedom. This shall be to no small detriment to the Roman court, insofar as the imperial princes will accomplish what they intend. As much as I rejoice over your new dignity, I am deceived and frightened that this should happen in your time; but perhaps God has decided otherwise, and His decree must truly apply and prevail. In the meantime, be of good courage and, according to your wise insight, think about how to put a stop to the impetuous floods and put a stop to them. Farewell. From Aschaffenburg, August 31, 1457.

The first part of the book is a list of the annals that some German bishoprics and abbeys have given to Rome.

This document is found in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 354. It belongs to the year 1522. Compare the two prefaces in the St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, col. 422 ff, no. 53.

After the answer of the Imperial Majesty's governors, princes, princes and other estates of the Empire, begun at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg in the 22nd year and ended in the 23rd year, the message of the pope is given there. It is found there, under a special heading, how the German archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys and provostries of the German lands are being unfairly oppressed, that these newly elected archbishops, bishops, abbeys and provostries of this time have given annata to Rome; and for this reason the same secular estates, upon previous letter of Imperial Majesty to the Pope, are requested to have such annotations of the Germans, which are for the common use and necessity of the Empire, prosecuted 2c. So that these annotations are not considered higher or lower, nor are they endured, it would be useful and good that the Imperial Majesty and the German secular imperial estates actually know what every bishopric, abbey and provosty give to Rome for annotations, from which they could all the more accurately notice what is important to the German lands. Now, many years ago, a booklet was made in which it is shown what the several archbishoprics, bishoprics, and some abbeys of German lands have given for annuities to Rome at that time; thus, in the meantime, they have been increased and enhanced more than with the *Zwiefalt zu Rom*.

Thus, in the same old booklet, many abbeys that give annotations to Rome remain unreported, and all provostries, of which there is an "excessive number in high and low monasteries of German lands, and all of which give annotations to Rome, are completely silent. And because such deficiencies could not be experienced and reported now, and the German states therefore have all the more reason and cause for further thorough investigation, reported annotations, such as those found in the aforementioned old booklet, have been Germanized by some, in good opinion, and finally counted and summarized, as follows.

About the bishoprics in Liefland.

Item from the tax of the bishopric Derbt fDorpatl is not reported.

The bishopric of Reval is valued at 300 guilders.

The bishopric of Riga is valued at 160 marks of silver, each mark at 5 guilders, making 800 guilders.

Abbey, called Apollonii. St. Benedict's Order, located in the reported bishopric, is valued at 160 marks of silver, and for it 800 guilders.

Abbey at Pangratzen, called Silo. St. Blasien Order, also belongs to this diocese, and is not reported by its tax.

The bishopric of Ossal is valued at 1000 and 300 guilders.

The bishopric of Courland is valued at 500 guilders.

In the land of Prussia.

Item in the country to Prussia are four bishoprics, namely Somlont [Samland], Helsingburg [Heilsberg], Rusenburg [perhaps "Riesenburg", once seat of the bishop of Pomesania] and Coy [Culm?], of all of which nothing is reported.

In the Duchy of Pomerania.

The bishopric of Camin is valued at 2000 guilders.

In the Mark Brandenburg.

The bishopric of Brandenburg is valued at 1000 guilders.

The bishopric of Hamelburg is valued at 600 guilders.

The bishopric of Libus [Lebus] is not taxed.

In the Duchy of Mecklenburg.

The bishopric of Schwerin is not taxed.

In the Duchy of Holstein and Schleswick.

The diocese of Lübeck is valued at 300 guilders.

The bishopric of Schleswick is not taxed.

In the Silesia and Moravia.

The diocese of Breslau is valued at 4000 guilders.

Item the bishopric of Ulmitz fOlmüA also two abbeys belonging to such bishopric, as namely Camitz and Lübenitz, are not taxirt.

Between the river of the Elbe and the Weser, to the Thuringian Forest.

The Archbishopric of Bremen is valued at 6000 guilders.

Abbey, called Herosveld [Hersfeld], Benedictier-

The order, which belongs to the reported archbishopric, is not lax.

The abbey, called Reufseval, of the Order of St. Benedict, and also belonging to the archbishopric, is valued at 100 guilders.

The bishopric of Hildesheim is valued at 1000 guilders.

The bishopric of Florence is valued at 00 guilders.

The bishopric of Ratzenburg is valued at 323 guilders.

Abbey in Brunswick, called St. Egydii, is valued at 113 florins.

The Archbishopric of Magdeburg is valued at 2500 guilders.

Lichtenberg, a monastery of the Augustinian order, is valued at 33 gulden.

The bishopric of Merseburg is valued at 120 guilders.

The bishopric of Meissen is valued at 120 guilders.

The bishopric of Naumburg or Zeiz is valued at 200 guilders.

In Westphalia.

The bishopric of Verden is valued at 400 guilders.

The bishopric of Minden is valued at 1000 guilders.

The bishopric of Ossenbrück is valued at 600 guilders.

The bishopric of Badenborn [Paderborn] is valued at 100 guilders.

Beyond the Ems between the sea and the Rhine.

The bishopric of Monster is valued at 1000 guilders.

The bishopric of Liège is valued at 7200 guilders.

Abbey Somlot, Benedictinerordens, is laxirt on 502 guilders.

Waleodoren and Hactenor, Benedictinerordens, are valued at 100 guilders.

Villary Abbey, Cistercian Order, is valued at 200 guilders.

Abbey of St. James, Benedictine Order, is valued at 560 guilders.

The Abbey of St. Ubert, Benedictine Order, is valued at 1000 guilders.

St. Lawrence Abbey is valued at 1000 guilders.

Paro Abbey in Brabant is valued at 300 guilders.

Abbey Fliderbiten, Benedictine Order, is valued at 100 guilders.

The bishopric of Metz is not taxed.

On the Rhine and Moselle rivers.

The Archbishopric of Cölln is valued at 10,000 florins.

Siperk Abbey, Benedictine Order, is valued at 270 guilders.

Abbey of St. Martin, Benedictine Order, is valued at 200 guilders.

Stabulon Abbey is valued at 169 guilders.

Abbey of St. Niclas, Benedictine Order, is valued at 150 guilders.

Tintien Abbey, Benedictine Order, is valued at 115 guilders.

Brulbilien Abbey, Benedictine Order, is valued at 200 guilders.

The Archbishopric of Trier is valued at 7000 guilders.

Vallisbrandi Abbey is valued at 300 guilders.

St. Matthias Abbey is valued at 150 guilders.

Abbey of St. Martin, Benedictine Order, is valued at 300 guilders.

The abbey of St. Maximin is valued at 400 guilders.

The Archbishopric of Mainz is valued at 10,000 florins.

Abbey Blidenstat, Benedictine Order, is valued at 133 guilders.

Herschefeld Abbey, Benedictine Order, is valued at 170 guilders.

Abbey of St. Alban, Benedictine Order, is valued at 150 florins.

Abbey at St. Jorgenthal is not taxed.

The bishopric of Worms is valued at 1000 guilders.

The bishopric of Speyer is valued at 600 guilders.

Hitzogen Abbey, Benedictine Order, is valued at 100 guilders.

Weisenburg Abbey is laxirt to 750 guilders.

The bishopric of Strasbourg is valued at 2500 guilders.

Abbey at Lör, Benedictine Order, is valued at 110 guilders.

Schwabach Abbey, Benedictine Order, is valued at 333 guilders.

Senethera Abbey, Augustinian Order, is valued at 200 guilders.

Abbey of St. Salsen, Benedictine Order, is valued at 200 guilders.

Gegenbach Abbey, Benedictine Order, is valued at 200 gulden.

The bishopric of Costentz [Constance] is valued at 2000 guilders.

The bishopric of Wallis is valued at 170 guilders.

In the mountains of Welschland.

The bishopric of Trento is valued at 2000 florins.

St. Laurentz Abbey is valued at 50 guilders.

The diocese of Brixen is valued at 3000 florins.

The bishopric of Triest is valued at 4600 guilders.

The bishopric of Seckach is not taxed.

The bishopric of Gürk is valued at 1066 guilders.

The Archbishopric of Salzburg is valued at 10,000 guilders.

The Abbey of St. Lampert, of the Order of St. Benedict, is valued at 1000 guilders.

On the Lech and the Danube.

The bishopric of Augsburg is valued at 800 guilders.

The diocese of Freisingen is valued at 4000 guilders.

The bishopric of Regensburg is valued at 1030 guilders.

Abbey of St. Jörgen, Benedictine Order, is valued at 100 guilders.

Abbey of St. Jacob, Benedictine Order, is valued at 60 guilders.

Abbey of St. Emeran, Benedictine Order, is valued at 200 guilders.

The diocese of Passau is valued at 333 guilders.

Abbey at Melck, Benedictine Order, is valued at 333 guilders.

The bishopric of Vienna together with the monastery, called Theodore, is valued at 5000 florins.

The Abbey of St. Anthony, Augustinian Order, is valued at 2000 guilders.

Abbey of St. Peter, Benedictine Order, is valued at 200 guilders.

Abbey of St. Andrew, Benedictine Order, is valued at 200 guilders.

Gutenthal Abbey, a Cistercian order, is valued at 300 guilders.

In the country to Franconia.

The bishopric of Eichstet is valued at 800 guilders.

Halsbrunn Abbey [Heilsbrunn], Cistercian Order, is valued at 333 florins.

The bishopric of Bamberg is valued at 3000 guilders.

Mönchberg Abbey is valued at 200 gulden.

The bishopric of Würzburg is valued at 2030 guilders.

Ebrach Abbey, a Cistercian order, is valued at 800 guilders.

Fulda Abbey, Benedictine Order, is valued at 300 guilders.

Abbey of Schoten, Benedictine Order, is valued at 300 guilders.

Abbey of St. Stephen, Benedictine Order, is valued at 110 guilders.

The abbey at Neuenstadt, Benedictine Order, is valued at 100 guilders.

Camberg Abbey is valued at 120 guilders.

Abbey of Sucter, Benedictine Order, is valued at 160 guilders.

Anberach Abbey, of the Order of St. Benedict, is valued at 300 guilders.

The abbey of St. Burckhard is valued at 300 guilders.

Summa Summarum of all annuities, as they are variously recorded herein, make once a hundred thousand, seventeen thousand, two hundred and nine and fifty florins.

From the lack of superior annats.

Item, from the preface of these annotations is found what is therefore in their right whole sum great lack. Thus it also appears from some previously reported dioceses, which many people know publicly, that such dioceses now give much more than twice as many annotations to Rome as is shown here according to the prescribed old list and previously reported. If, for this reason, the aforementioned summary is duplicated alone, it nevertheless makes

twice a hundred thousand, four and thirty thousand, five hundred and eighteen guilders.

What all the registered Anuata like to enter every year to Rome.

I will set that a bishop and prelate, [one] to be counted in the other, according to such his chosen state experiences 15 years, and according to the same divide the next preceding duplicated sums in fifteenth part; from this it is clearly understood that only certain German annata, counted and summed up to the least, outside of many other innumerable ignorant and untaxed bishoprics, abbeys and provostries, enter annually to Rome.

fifteen thousand, six hundred four and thirty guilders, ten shillings, eight heller.

So now the above-mentioned manifold, lacking German bishoprics, abbeys and provostries, whose names and days are not known at present, and therefore could not be determined herein, also

They would undoubtedly do no small thing, but it must be taken into account that with them alone from German countries, the

much more than twenty thousand florins, Rhenish florins, fell annually to Rome.

Item, it is also to be noted that to all such annata by the archbishops, bishops and prelates, by applied tax on the laity, and in addition on benefices, at which the laity have *Jus patronatus*, are founders and liege lords, are struck.

From other favors from German lands to Rome.

But what about all the annata reported above, the disputed election of bishops and prelates, confirmation

The pope is authorized to give the coadjutories, pension and reserve, prelature, parish and benefices to others, and to accept them again after his death, the dispensation to accept, retain or grant incompetent or forfeited prelatures, parishes and other benefices, alteration of orders, prohibition and permission of certain marriages, food and many other things, which are otherwise all forbidden and allowed for money, and many other things, which are otherwise all forbidden, and are allowed for money, indulgences, bulls, absolutions in special cases reserved to the pope, the papal graces given, and the judicial wars caused by the popes, which they bear annually from German lands to Rome, is unspeakable.

Paul increases Rom. on 13.

Brothers, it is the time to rise from sleep.

The second chapter.

Beginning of Luther's Reformation, and papal countermeasures up to the Diet of Augsburg in 1518.

First section.

Luther's attempts to stop the abuse of indulgences.

A. Luther's warnings in sermons and in the confessional and Tetzel's behavior against them.

This is the story told by Myconius about how Luther first preached his sermons against indulgences in the old, small, dilapidated church of the Augustinian monastery in Wittenberg.

From Myconius' Reformation History, p. 24.

The preacher of indulgences, Tetzel, was still at Jüterbog, heretical, shouting and raging hostilely against Luther; but nevertheless it no longer wanted to sound and be valid in German ears as it had done. In Wittenberg, the Augustinian monastery had begun to be rebuilt, and no more was built than the Schlashauss, in which D. Martin still lives. The foundations of the church

had been laid, but were only level with the earth. In the middle of the same foundations stood an old chapel, built of wood and covered with glue. It was very dilapidated and was propped up on all sides. It was about thirty shoes long and twenty wide, as I saw it. It had a small, old, rusty church, on which 20 1) people could stand with difficulty. On the wall at noon there was a preaching stand made of old boards, which were uneven; a preaching stand made about one and a half cubits high from the ground. In sum, it looked everywhere like the painters painting the stable in Bethlehem where Christ was born. Thus the little church in which John Huss preached in Prague was also called Bethlehem. In this poor, miserable, wretched chapel, God has left his dear holy gospel and the dear child Jesus in these last times.

1) Instead of 20, it will probably read 200.

be born anew, and let it be unwrapped once, and show to all the world how beautiful, lovely, comforting and blessed a little child Jesus is, from whom we all take and receive our blessedness, payment for sins and eternal life. There was no minster, monastery or place of worship on earth at that time, of which there were many hundreds of thousands, that God would have mentioned for this purpose; indeed, they despise it, for only this poor, unsightly chapel. From this the spirit of the Lord's mouth came forth, and blew down the Antichrist. From this the holy grave, which is the holy scripture, which the pope had covered with guards, so that Christ would not rise, was won by Duke Friederichen, as the old prophecy read; and since he hung his shield on the tree, it became green again, Anno 1518.

In this church preached first D. Martinus preached and preached against indulgences, which was printed. Then another, which he called the freedom of the sermon, which he had previously preached against indulgences, was also printed. *) These were the first things about indulgences, and in them he explained how all teachings that were to be presented in Christendom were to be judged, justified and judged according to the divine word, which is more valid than the word, wit and wisdom of all men. According to the command of Christ: *Oves meae vocem meam audient. Alienum non sequuntur, sed fugiunt ab eo. Item: Omnia probate, quod bonum est, tenete. Gal. 1: Si Angelus de coelo aliud evangelium evangelizaverit, quam quod accepistis etc., anathema sit.* This was a new thing at that time and soon spread throughout the world. And in a short time this church became too small; and Doctori Martino was ordered to preach in the parish of Wittenberg. So the child Jesus was brought to the temple again.

Luther's own account of how he displayed one and another meaning about indulgences in the pulpit of the castle church in Wittenberg, for which he was not well received by the Elector.

The same can be read in his writing against Duke Heinrich zu Braunschweig, in the old edition of Walch, Vol. XVII, 1703, § 96 ff. This report is also inserted in our introduction to the 18th volume of the St. Louis edition, p. 10 b f.

Myconius reported how the people confessed to Luther about the letters of indulgence, and how Luther did not want to absolve them, and how Tetzel was enraged by this.

From Myconius' Reformation History, p. 21, reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. I, p. 431.

In the same year, some came to Doctore Martins in Wittenberg with their letters of indulgence, and confessed to him their mercy. And when they were given gross defaults, and let themselves be heard that they did not want to desist from adultery, fornication, usury, unrighteous property, and such sin and wickedness, the doctor did not want to absolve them, because no true repentance or correction was given there. Then the confessors appealed to their papal letters and Tetzlian pardon and indulgence. Martinus did not want to turn back on this, and invoked the saying: *Nisi poenitentiam habueritis omnes similiter peribitis. Luc. 13* And when he would not absolve them, they went again to Tetzel and complained to him how this Augustinian monk would not give anything in response to their letter. Tetzel was at Jüterbog in Saxony, and became very angry about such a new newspaper, raged, scolded and maledicted atrociously on the preaching chair, and threatened the heretic masters, who were preacher monks at that time. And in order to frighten them, he had a fire lit in the marketplace several times a week, telling them how he had orders from the pope to burn the heretics who opposed the Most Holy One, the pope, and his Most Holy Indulgence.

This is the story of Mathesius about how modestly Luther initially opposed Tetzel's trade in indulgences; Tetzel, on the other hand, publicly raged against Luther, and how Luther further behaved against it.

From Mathesius, "Luther's Life" (St. Louis edition, p. 17), reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. I, p. 432.

As Tetzel emphasizes in his Roman Getetzlich und Trügerei, many people ran to this indulgence fair and wanted to redeem grace and buy eternal life with their money. In his monastery, Luther began to warn his listeners against this money indulgence, and in the beginning he taught in a subtle and modest way: it would be better to give alms to poor people according to Christ's commandment.

x) Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 270 and 296.

because such uncertain grace can be bought for money. He who repents throughout his life and turns to God with all his heart receives the gracious and heavenly grace and forgiveness of all sins, which the Lord Christ has purchased for us through his one sacrifice and blood, and which he offers and sells without money out of pure grace, as is clearly described in Isaiah. In addition, he also began to ask and discuss these things in distant monasteries and universities, and because he was a doctor of the Holy Scriptures, he always based his cause on the words of the prophets and apostles. As such comes before the indulgence partier, who pricked Roman letters, wax and lead to good Schreckenberger, Spitzgröschle and gold florins, Tetzl begins to curse, scold, and call D. Luther an arch-heretic. Luther for an arch-heretic. Thus, this indulgence leader, with his presumptuous speeches and atrocious words of shame, puts Luther in his spiritual armor, so that he takes David's sling and the spiritual sword, which is a fervent prayer and the righteous word of God, for protection, and on his doctorate and oath attacks Tetzl and his Roman indulgence in the name of God, and confidently teaches that such indulgence is a dangerous fraud.

B. Luther appears publicly with his theses or disputation against indulgences and has a confident courage in doing so. How this debris was removed by friends and enemies.

109 Myconius reports how Luther wrote to the bishops of Meissen, Frankfurt, Zeitz, and Merseburg, and later also to the bishop of Mainz, Albrecht, and reminded them of their office to have an understanding, but afterwards, when he did nothing with them, he put his theses into print, and how quickly they passed through the whole of Christendom.

From Myconius' Reformation History, p. 22.

Doctor Martinus first wrote to four bishops, namely to the bishop of Meissen, the bishop of Frankfurt, the bishop of Zeitz and the bishop of Merseburg, and then also to the bishop of Mainz, Albrecht, reminding them that they owed it to their episcopal office to see to it that God's name was not so abused and blasphemed, that the poor people were not so miserable.

would be seduced. But the bishop of Mainz, Albrecht, despised it; so the others answered that they could not do anything against the pope's business. When Doctor Martin Luther saw that the bishops did not want to do anything about it, he wrote several propositions about indulgences: *Dominus et Magister noster Christus dicens, poenitentiam agite, voluit omnem omnium hominum vitam esse poenitentiam*, and had them printed, and only wanted to discuss with the scholars of the high school of Wittenberg what indulgences were, what they could do, where they came from, and how much they were valid 2c. But before a fortnight had passed, these propositions had gone through the whole of Germany, and in four weeks almost the whole of Christendom, as if the angels themselves were messengers, and carried it before the eyes of all men. No one would believe how much talk there was about them; they were soon Germanized, and this trade pleased everyone very well, except the preaching monks and the bishop of Halle, and also some who enjoyed the pope's daily fare and made good use of the treasures of the earth that he had raised.

Meisner's account of the strange circumstance of how, from time immemorial, a great indulgence was granted in the castle church of Wittenberg around the feast of all the saints, that is, on the very day when Luther held his disputation.

From Meisner's "Wittenberg Jubelfest" published in 1668, p. 60, reprinted in Tenzel's "Bericht", Vol. I, p. 259.

The popes of Rome and other bishops have given excellent indulgences, as Pope Boniface IX promised in 1398 to all those who would devoutly visit this church on the feast of all saints and open their lenient hand, such an indulgence, which Christ himself should have given to the church of St. Mary in Assisi in Italy, that they should be cleansed of all sin and guilt immediately. Leo X did it too roughly, as will be seen from the following of his special bulls.

111) Two bulls given by Pope Leo in 1516, which contribute to the fact that a large number of people from far and wide come to this church.

the feast of all saints. In one of them he promises all pilgrims indulgences for 100 years; the other, however, reads from word to word in German:

From Meisner's Wittenberg! Jubelfest, in äix, p. 84.

Bishop Leo, the servant of the servants of God, to the constant remembrance of the cause. Carefully considering the salvation of the Lord's host, which is entrusted to our care according to the divine will, as the pastoral office entails: we willingly invite all and every believer of this host to the practice of godly and meritorious works by spiritual gifts, namely by pardons and indulgences, so that by means of the practice of such works they may all the more easily earn the eternal life which each one desires to attain. After Bonifacius the Eighth, whom we have to praise because of his good intention, which he led at that time, wanted that the Capellkirche of all the saints of the city of Wittenberg, Brandenburg diocese, which, as named Bonifacius learned, with the relics of many saints by some dukes in Saxony, The church should be reverently visited and maintained, and the believers in Christ should, for the sake of devotion, all the more gladly assemble at this church and lend a helping hand for its preservation, so that they may see themselves all the more richly filled with the heavenly gift of grace, and to all and every truly penitent and confessing believer in Christ, who will devoutly visit the said church on the feast of all saints from the first to the second evening of this feast every year and lend a helping hand for the preservation of the same, by means of certain pardons and remission of sins, which those who visit the church of St. Mary of Portiunculus will receive. Mary of Portiuncula, otherwise called the Chapel of *Angelica*, outside Assisi, on the first and second day of the month of August, obtained annually, by whatever means it may have been done; and nevertheless, in order that the faithful of Christ might benefit from this indulgence, the superior of this church at the time and eight other competent priests, both secular and regular, to be chosen by this provost every year, and to be empowered to hear the confessions of all and every faithful of Christ who make a pilgrimage to this church on the feast of all the saints and said days, in order to obtain such indulgences,

and, after hearing their confession, duly absolving them of their sins, allowed them to impose a salutary penance according to the nature of the crime, except in the case of such crimes where the apostolic see would have to be consulted, and to distribute the body of Christ. of blessed memory, as our predecessor, having learned that the beloved sons and noble lords, Frederick, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and John, Dukes of Saxony and brothers in the flesh, who profess a special devotion to this church, rebuilt the said church from the ground up and adorned it with many precious relics, so that a large number of the faithful in Christ could gather there for the sake of devotion, the bulls of this Boniface by his other letters of grace, with the granting of indulgences, the forgiveness of sins, and the authority to delegate preconceived confessors who could absolve and administer Holy Communion every year, as often as necessary, in any cases not reserved by the apostolic see, together with all the clauses contained therein, have been approved and confirmed by virtue of apostolic majesty, and the aforesaid parts have been confirmed anew, as is more extensively contained in the aforesaid Bulls, which the said predecessors Julius and Bonifacius have made valid for the future times. Since we therefore sincerely desire that this church be preserved in its structural condition and that its missals, chalices and other ornaments necessary for worship be protected and handled, and that the Christian faithful themselves all the more gladly offer their alms and make helpful contributions to it, so that it may receive all the more abundant gifts of grace: We consider all the aforementioned letters of grace, with all and every clause contained therein, to be acceptable; we also increase and extend the same by the present bull to the effect that all believers of both sexes who visit the aforementioned church throughout the Octave, *including the feast day*, and offer a helping hand to the aforementioned items, may always, as often as they do so, obtain indulgence and forgiveness. Also, that the deceased, who have decided their life united with Christ through love, as for those of their relatives or friends, during the Octave, such alms will be given for the often-mentioned use, just such an indulgence will be granted for the penitential exercises imposed on them, to which they are subjected in Purgatory according to the divine ordinance, and that thoughtful confessors will grant these believers in Christ, who are to them

confess their sins, from the ban and other judgments, censures and punishments pronounced against them by papal law or by a human being, and all other their sins, crimes, wickednesses and faults, they may be as gross and horrible as they wish, even if they are such that the apostolic see would have to be consulted about them; except such cases as are contained in the bulls published on Green Thursday; absolve them and impose on them a salutary penance for the sins they have committed, as well as all the vows they have made so far; the vow to travel across the sea to St. James in Compostella. The vow to travel across the sea to St. James in Compostella, the vow to enter a monastery, and the vow of chastity alone, into other works of godliness to be used for the benefit of the church. Further, that those who have taken property belonging to others, or have acquired something unlawfully and withheld it, if it does not exceed 500 ducats, and the person to whom it should be returned is not known, if they or someone of their number have made a bequest, which is to be left to the discretion of the confessors and applied for the benefit of the same church, may in good conscience and lawfully retain and possess such property from that time forth freely and without offense. That finally also the confessors may exempt those who, in the fourth degree of consanguinity and affinity, have married each other unknowingly and have consummated their marriage by carnal intermarriage, if such obstacle standing in the way had not yet been raised in court, or if the same had caused any public annoyance, from such transgression and from the banishment ray, after a salutary penalty has been imposed upon them according to the nature of their fault, which is also applied for the aforementioned benefit, and to dispense those thus joined that they may secretly marry again and remain in such a state of marriage freely and without decency, solely in the ecclesiastical court, and may and may declare their children produced or yet to be produced from such marriage to be legitimate and conjugally begotten children. We hereby resolve and declare that, if anyone should in any way afflict the persons absolved and dispensed by the said confessors on account of their remitted and dispensed crimes, sins and transgressions, and should wish to put anything in the way of the confessors themselves in the aforesaid matters, he would thereby render himself guilty of excommunication, of which he shall be excommunicated by no one but ourselves and the Roman See, except in the case of death.

(1) and among which the present Bull, with any withholding of indulgences and property for the building of the main church of the Prince of the Apostles in the city of Rome, or other still godly works endowed by us and the said See at the present time, shall by no means be included, Nor are they to be understood as such, regardless of the preceding apostolic decrees, as well as everything that the aforementioned Julius, our predecessor, and Bonifacius did not want to be considered in the more recent bulls of grace, and other things contrary to this. Therefore, no man shall be at liberty to invalidate this writing of our extension and conclusion, or to act contrary to it in a careless manner. But if anyone should undertake such a thing, let him know that he will fall into the disfavor of Almighty God and of His blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Given in Rome at St. Peter's in the year after the Incarnation of our Lord 1516, March 31, our Pontificate in the fourth year.

Meisner's more distant account of the great pilgrimage brought about by the Bull of Indulgence to Wittenberg.

From Meisner's Wittenberg: Jubelfest, p. 60, reprinted in Tentzel's Hist. report, Vol. I, p. 259.

What wonder was it that on the Day of All Saints many people from near and far came in droves, but most of all adulterers, thieves, murderers, and death-rowers, who could be absolved of the greatest sins at once? Other pious people of spiritual and worldly rank, who were troubled in their conscience, also came along, and looked at the shrine with great reverence and wonder, kissed and worshipped it, did everything that was required of them; and when they left again, they were happy in spirit, and did not travel any differently than if they were completely pure of angels.

Luther's account of the weakness, fear and stupidity with which he began the matter, not out of pride and insolent presumption, but out of a pure and sincere desire to come to the knowledge of the truth.

See the "Preface to the Theses, about which disputirt worden ist von Anfang der Reformation bis zum Jahre 1538", in the 14th volume of the St. Louis edition, Col. 450 ff.

1) There seems to be something missing here.

Luther's letter to Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz, in which he asks him to put a stop to the insolent indulgence hawks, and at the same time sends him his theses. Date 31 Oct. 1517.

The original of this letter is in the Stockholm Archives, which, as can be seen from an enclosed letter, was sent to King Charles XI in 1694 by the governor Oerneklv auf Oesel, who had found it among the papers of a deceased general superintendent (Weserzeitung, No. 425 of 1845). Certified copies of it are in the Ernestinisches Gesamt-Archiv in Weimar, in 4. (briek. triZa ckissortationnna ttiooloZiou-mra.

1707, p. 7, and reprinted from it in Joh. Erh. Kapp, "Sammlung", p. 292 and in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 67. Burkhardt also obtained a certified copy and notes in his "Luthers Briefwechsel", p. 7, that the same is "without significant deviations from the print" (in De Wette). According to De Wette, it is printed in the Erlangen "Luthers Briefwechsel," vol. I, p. 113. A redaction that differs in some parts is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), tom. I, col. 92b; in the Jena (1579), tona. I, col. 1b; in Aurifaber, torn. I, col. 37 b; and in the Erlanger, oxp. var. arZ., torri. I, p. 282. Latin and German in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. I, p. 476. In German, probably in a translation by Justus Jonas, in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 8; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 6; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 13 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 5. Walch has taken the translation improved by Kapp according to the original, together with his notes. This faithfully reproduces the meaning, so we have retained it, with the exception of a few changes. The notes marked with letters originate from Kapp.

Translated into German.

To fear in humility and obedience the most reverend Father in Christ, the most noble Lord, Lord Albrecht, Archbishop of the Church of Magdeburg and Mainz, Primate, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., my most gracious Lord and Shepherd in Christ.

JEsus.

God's grace and mercy, and what I am and can do. Most Reverend in God Father, Most Serene Prince! Your C. F. Graces graciously grant me that I, among other people the least and least worthy, am so presumptuous that I have refrained from writing a letter to Your Reverence. The Lord Jesus is my witness that I am not unaware of how lowly and despised I am; for this reason I have also withheld my letter for a long time.

which I now intend to accomplish with a bold brow. I have been moved to do so primarily by my faithful service, which I, most reverend Father in Christ, recognize myself to owe to E. C. F.'s grace. Your Reverence would, however, have a merciful eye on me, who am earth and ashes, and graciously understand and hear my desire for your and the bishop's gentleness.

The papal indulgences under the name and title of E. C. F. Grace for the building of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome are being circulated in the country, in which I do not so much punish and accuse the indulgence preachers of great clamor, which I have not heard, as the false reasoning, which the people draw from it and which they praise highly to the coarse people everywhere. This in particular grieves and offends me, namely that the wretched people allow themselves to be persuaded and believe, when they buy indulgences, that they are sure and certain of their salvation. Likewise, that the souls leave purgatory without delay as soon as they put them in the box. Further, that this indulgence is so powerful that no sin can be so great (indeed, as they blasphemously speak of it, even if it were possible that one had weakened the highly praised Mother of God),^a) it could be remitted and forgiven. Item, that through this indulgence the person becomes free and rid of all chastisement and guilt.^b)

Oh dear God! In this way, the poor souls under your reverence and care, dear pious father, are instructed to death, not to life, and a very strict and heavy account, which grows and grows, will be demanded from you for all these souls. For this reason I have

a) That Luther did not attribute anything to the insolent Tetzels has been proven by Hugo Wismeidern in a special writing, the title of which I have quoted in my "Schauplatz", p. 70.

b) This expression is also found in letters of indulgence, which were sold long before the Reformation, even shortly before the same find. In the letter of the monastery Königlutter to the archbishop's councillors because of the Tetzelian suspension of his indulgence fin this volume Col. 349 ff], the power to forgive chastisement and guilt is also attributed to the indulgence, when it says Col. 350: So dat alle Christlöwige Mynschen, de vmme Aflath willen in vnse Closter in dem Feste Ksnotorum?6tri 6t Vauli come, all Aflath, dat tho Rome in allen Kerken, Klüsen vnd Klufften vnd Kapllen, was tho ewigen tyden, mit vorgewinge Pine und Schuld erlangen möchten 2c.

cannot conceal this any longer. For man is not assured of his blessedness by any bishop's office or work, because he is not assured of it by God's infused grace, but the apostle commands us to always work with fear and trembling that we may be saved. Even the righteous will hardly receive. Finally, the way that leads to life is so narrow that the Lord, through the prophets Amos and Zechariah, calls those who are to be saved a fire that is torn out of the fire. The Lord also proclaims from time to time how difficult it is to be saved.

How, then, do they make the people safe and fearless by those false fables and vain promises of indulgences? Since indulgences are of no use to souls, much less help to make man righteous and blessed, but only take away the outward chastisement or punishment which was formerly interpreted according to the canons.

The works of godliness and love are infinitely better than indulgences, and yet they are not preached with such splendor or diligence; indeed, they must give way to indulgences in silence and without being preached, so that only indulgences may be proclaimed and highly praised, while the primary and sole office of all bishops is that the people learn the gospel and the love of Christ. Thus Christ has nowhere commanded to preach indulgences, but to preach the gospel he has emphatically commanded. What an abomination, therefore, what a danger for a bishop who, while the Gospel is kept silent, allows nothing but indulgences to be preached among his people with great pomp, and is more concerned about them than about the Gospel! Will not Christ say to you, "You who are gnats and swallow cameos?"

Moreover, most reverend Father in the Lord, it does not remain so, but in the Instruction of the Commissaries, which went out under your name, most reverend Father, it is indicated (without doubt, most reverend Father, without your knowledge and will) that of the most distinguished graces is this inestimable gift of God, by which man is reconciled to God and all punishments of the sweeper are eradicated.

be. ^{c)} Likewise, that repentance is not necessary for those who redeem souls or letters of confession. ^{d)}

But what else can I do, most reverend bishop and most electoral prince, but that I ask Your Reverence through the Lord Jesus Christ. Reverend by the Lord Jesus Christ, that you will keep an eye of paternal care on this matter, and that you will remove the same booklet^e), and that you will order the preachers of indulgences to preach in another way or form, lest perhaps one of them should stand out, who refutes both them and that book by published books, to the highest disgrace of your most noble highness, for which I am truly very afraid, and yet worry that it might happen where the matter is not hastily advised.

Your Most Serene Grace will graciously accept this small but faithful service of mine in a princely and episcopal manner, that is, as I show it with a completely faithful and entirely devoted heart to Your Reverence. For I, too, am a part of your host. The Lord Jesus protect and preserve Your Reverence forever, Amen. Given at Wittenberg 1517, on the evening before All Saints' Day.

If it pleases Your Reverence, you may look at these disputations of mine, so that you may hear how the opinion of indulgences is an uncertain thing, which the preachers of indulgences dream of as if it were quite certain.

[E. C. F. G.] unworthy son Martinus Luther, Augustinian, appointed Doctor of the Holy Doctrine of God.

On the back the original has the note: Letter Doctoris Martini, St. Augustine Order, to our Most Reverend Lord, opened at Kalbe by the Râth? Tuesday after Briccii f17 Nov.) Anno Domini 1517.

I have seen for myself that the present letter corresponds to the original. S. Leyonmarck,

Secret. of the Royal Archives.

c) These words are found in the Archbishop Albrecht summar. Instruct. 19 6 in my "Collection", p. 143 fin this volume Col. 311 f.). Luther draws the same in the 33rd thesis of his Resolutoius 6ispx. 6s virtuts iuckulseutiarum. sWalch, St. LouisenAusg., vol. XVIII, 204 fs.).

d) These words are also in the summary Instruction 37, as I have already quoted them in my "Schauplatz" p. 89 (in this volume Col. 317).

e) That Luther is aiming here at the Summarium Instructiuem is undisputed.

Luther's letter to John Lang, with which he sends him his theses, from which his joy in God and his confident courage to bring the truth to light without asking for human judgment shine forth. Nov. 11, 1517.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 40d; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. I, p. 837; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 71 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 124. We have retranslated after Aurifaber.

Newly translated into German.

To the righteous and upright man of God, Johann Lang, Licentiate of Holy Theology, Augustinian Hermit at Erfurt, his dear friend in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail in Christ! Behold, my dear venerable Father in Christ, I am sending you again strange propositions (paradoxa). If now also your theologians should be annoyed at these and say (as then all talk about me here and there) that I am too bold and hopeful in making my judgment rashly and condemn the opinions of others, then I answer through you and through this letter: first, that their well-considered restraint and their long hesitating seriousness please me very well, if they also proved the same in fact, just as they reproach recklessness and abrupt presumption in me. For, as I see, such a fault in me is very easily reproached by them.

But I wonder why they do not look at their Aristotle with the same eyes, or if they look at him, how they do not see that Aristotle is almost in every sentence and part of a sentence nothing else than a blamer, yes, a blamer above all blamers. If, therefore, that pagan is still liked, read, and quoted, without the error of the most biting presumption preventing it: how is it that I, who am a Christian, am so disliked, especially since I have a little of the kind in me that is similar to that of the exceedingly gentle Aristotle? Or is there a drop of error in me, of which a whole sea is pleasing to Aristotle?

Then I wonder why they do not hate and despise themselves in the same way.

dam. For what are these scholastics against each other but loud critics, people like Aristarchus, one a reprover against the other? They are allowed and like it to judge the opinions of all, I am forbidden the same 1) altogether. Finally, I also complain about this: if they dislike my expression of opinion so much, and they rather praise modesty: why don't they also refrain from judging me? why don't they wait more modestly for the outcome of the matter? You see, then, how we men are (that is, quite unreasonable), so that we always hasten to pull out splinters from the eye of our brothers, but in the meantime take pleasure in the beams in our eyes, even in what concerns this life; so also the gnat in another's eye as a vice, which is nevertheless a camel in us, but we swallow it as if it were the highest virtue.

Therefore you shall know that I do not respect these night spirits of the tadlers higher than ghosts (namely they belong to the kind), and I will not be moved by what may seem good to them or not. Of my boldness or modesty I know quite certainly that if I will be modest, the truth will not become more valuable through my modesty, but if I will be bold, it will not become less valuable through my boldness. This is all I ask of you and your theologians in the most urgent way, that for the time being they keep silent about the author's infirmities, and that I find out what they think about what I have published or about the theses, yes, even more, that the errors and mistakes be pointed out to me, if there are any in them. For who does not know that something new cannot be put forward without hopefulness, or at least without the appearance of hopefulness and the suspicion of the pernicious? For if humility itself begins something new, those who disagree with it will soon accuse it of being arrogant. For why was Christ killed, why were all the martyrs killed, why were the teachers hated? Certainly only because one

1) Instead of tzicttzm in all editions we have assumed.

They have been regarded as hopeful people and despisers of the old and famous wisdom or prudence, or because they have put forward such new dictums without the advice 1) of those who held to the old.

Therefore, I do not want them to expect such humility (that is, hypocrisy) from me that they think I have to make use of their counsel and decision before I publish it; I do not want what I am doing to be done by a man's discretion or counsel, but by that of God. For if the work is of God, who will hinder it? But if it is not of God, who can promote it? Holy Father, who art in heaven, let not my will be done, nor that of men, nor our will, but thine, Amen.

Finally, remember that you pray diligently for me, as I pray for you, that our Lord Jesus may help us and bear with us our trials, which are unknown to all men except us. Farewell. From our Wittenberg monastery. 1517 on the day of St. Martin [Nov. 11], the bishop.

Brother Martin Eleutherius [the free], rather a servant and all too much a prisoner, Augustinian at Wittenberg.

Aesticampianus 2) is now with us public professor of humanistic sciences and receives his salary from the prince.

Luther's report to Spalatin that the abbot of the monastery of Lehnin had been to him on behalf of the bishop of Brandenburg and had asked him to hold off for a while on issuing his "Explanations," at whose coaxing he also wanted to sit quietly.

End of March 1518.

See Appendix, No. 1, 2. 3.

1) Instead of eoneilio in the other editions, we have adopted eonsilio with the Erlangen correspondence, also immediately following.

2) Johann Rack from Sommerfeld (therefore nu8) in Neumark, humanist, formerly in Cologne and there in dispute with Hochstraten, then in Leipzig and Freiburg, from where he came to Wittenberg in 1517. He was inscribirt on 20 October (Album Vited. p. 67) as: 4o5anne8 RUnAiuk Lktieumpiunus RststOr 6t kosta l^nursntus, 8N6rarurn litsrarnn Doctor, primukHUs Dlinianas kruditionis pudlieus 6t orclinarium8 prot688or, Dioe. iVli8U6n. 20 Ootodr. He died at Wittenberg on May 31, 1520 (Erl. Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 126).

117 Luther's report of this to Wenceslaus Link.

July 10, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 2, § 5.

Luther's account of how the superiors of his order wanted to make him hard-headed and fainthearted because of the theses he had posted. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. V, Col. 1204.

Luther's report to Lang that the indulgence merchants were issuing counter-theses against him.

March 21, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 3, § 2.

Excerpt from the Facultätsbuche of the University of Greifswald, how at Tetzel's disputation a young student named Knipstrow, since the other professors did not want to bite the fox, masterfully opposed the indulgence and completely silenced Tetzel.

From the Facultätsbuche of the University of Greifswald reprinted in Joh. Or*x1ii8rva1cl6N8ium (1703) and thereafter in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 8. Seckendorf, Ilmt. Dutü., 1il>. III, p. 139 writes the name "Knipstroh", likewise Köstlin.

Luther's sentences came at the same time with Tetzel to the new University of Frankfurt, where the matter was pursued and investigated with unequal zeal. For D. Conr. Wimpina, the theology professor, had made contradictions, and had given them to Tetzel to dispute about. When almost all the other professors agreed with them, finally Joh. Knipstrow, a studiosus theologiae at that academy, stood up and bravely opposed these theses, and the matter came to such a point that, since the opponents saw themselves overmastered, they could no longer stand the young man and, in order to dissuade him from this zeal, took him away and sent him to Pyritz, whereupon, however, Knipstrow became the longer the more heated and zealous.

Luther's account of the burning of Tetzel's theses in Wittenberg, in which he denies the guilt of the burning and expresses his displeasure, but is also "concerned" that, since he is believed to be the author of this matter, his danger will become even greater.

See Appendix, No. 3, § 3 and the 131st Document, § 7.

**122. narration, how great joy D. Fleck in his monastery at Steinlausig, hei Bitterfeld an der Mulde, at the first sight of the disputation
Luther's opposition to indulgences.**

From the Flacius eutuloZ. tsstium vorit., p. 836.

Translated into German.

A certain monk, named Fleck, whom the venerable D. Amsdorf knew very well, stayed in the monastery Steinlausig, not far from Bitterfeld, and never wanted to say mass. Since he was accused of laziness, he pretended that he had other reasons for this. It was in the dining hall that he first saw Luther's sentences on indulgences. Although one was not allowed to speak a word there, he nevertheless laughed, jumped up with joy (he was tall and rather corpulent), and said: "Ha, ha, ha! he has come who will do it to you; but among them he understood the monks and priests. From this we see that this man, even before Luther preached against indulgences, had hoped for the redemption of Israel from the Babylonian captivity of the Antichrist. Lutherus makes his report in the preface to the Alkoran of the Minorites, 1) and thinks that the monks had persecuted him tremendously, D. Martin, of blessed memory, once said of this honest little monk: "I am fond of Flecken, because he was a man full of consolation, also his words were exceedingly consoling. As soon as I had my sentences printed, he wrote a very beautiful letter to me; I wanted to give ten guilders for it, so that I would still have it. The content was something like this: "Venerable Doctor, go ahead and carry out your project. For I, too, disliked these papal abuses at best. The monks were also angry with him. For he said to Steinlausig: "He is there who will do it. So he never held a mass, which was a good sign.

123) Narrative of how Georg von Zedlitz, Lord of Neukirch in Silesia, where God's word had been loud and pure from Johann Hussen's time on under his father Siegmund von Zedlitz, a sworn enemy of the clergy, when he heard that a monk in Wittenberg had begun to write and teach.

against the papacy, sent two deputies to Luther, who had to ask him whether he was the swan of which Johann Hus prophesied? and what Luther had given them as an answer. 1518.

From Tentzel's Hist. report, Vol. I, p. 348. Tentzel notes that this story took place in 1518.

At the Concilio in Costnitz, there was also one of Zedlitz, named Siegmund, whom the papists subsequently always hostile, scolded as a Hussite heretic, put him under ban almost everywhere, even in the countryside, and thereby gave cause for him to hostile them again, to have a special prison built for them in Neukirch under the ground without windows, so that they could not know whether it was night or day, and he took those who had put him under ban on roads and footpaths, even from their beds with his people, into such a prison, and had his fun with them, that his ban was much stronger, as they themselves found, than theirs; But he did no harm to anyone's body, as did Köckritz, who had many of them castrated; and because the papacy at that time did not have as much power with fist and sword as it did afterwards, they had to leave him unchastised, even after they had banned him, and there had been great trouble in Bohemia because of religion, the monasteries were torn apart, the monks, priests and nuns were driven out, and many of them were killed. Therefore he also led a rhyme, and wrote it everywhere, as is customary: God's friend, the bishop of Breslau and enemy of all priests; below his name, Siegmund von Zedlitz. This rhyme was also used by Duke Christian of Brunswick during the Thirty Years' War, and was stamped on the well-known thalers: God's friend, the priests' enemy. The above-mentioned Siegmund left behind an only son, named Georg, who was born in 1444 and died at a ripe old age, after having raised a hundred and some eighty children up to the fourth generation. He died in 1552. When he heard that a monk in Wittenberg had begun to write and teach against the papacy, he sent two subjects, called widowers, reasonable people, out to him in 1518, greeting him diligently and asking whether he was the swan of which Johann Hus had predicted. To which he replied: Time would tell what God would want to do with him.

1) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XIX, 1962,? 3. See also Mathesius, St. Louis Edition, p. 19.

**Luther's report on how his good friends, especially
 Carlstadt, did not agree with him. 15 Feb. 1518.**

See Appendix, No. 4, § 4.

**Luther's relation of the fury of his enemies and how
 they shouted in all the pulpits that he must be burned
 as a heretic in fourteen days or four weeks at the
 longest.**

March 21, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 3, § 2 and No. 4, § 4.

**Luther writes to Spalatin how he is not deceived that
 people speak ill of him and consider him worthy of
 banishment and church censures, but rather rejoices
 because he is convinced that his cause is from God
 and is not at all afraid of men.**

Jan. 14, 1519.

See Appendix, No. 5, § 2. 3.

**Luther's letter to Pope Leo X concerning his
 disputation on indulgences, with the transmission of
 his resolutions, so that he would be all the more
 secure under papal protection.**

[May 30, 1518.]

This letter is the dedicatory writing by which Luther assigns his *disputationum de inculminum virtutis* (St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 102 ff.) to the pope. He expresses the hope that he will thus be all the more secure under the protection of the papal name. Luther sent this letter together with the resolutions (handwritten, because they did not appear in print until August 1518) with a letter dated May 30 to his vicar of the order, Johann von Staupitz, for forwarding to the pope. These two letters are therefore prefixed to the *resolutions* in the Latin editions. In the collection of Lutheran writings published by Johannes Frobenius in Basel, in all editions, namely October 1518, February 1519, August 1519, and March 1520, the letter to Staupitz comes first and is followed by Our Letter. Likewise in *voet*. *Llartini P'utUsrii Ineudrntionum pni-g now, Lasilsas npuck Xcknm no LI. D. XX LlenKk 3ulio*. The letter to Leo X is p. 2. In the "Gesammtausgabe" in the Wittenberg (1550), tom. I, H. 100I>; in the Jena one (1579), tom. I, fol. 741; in the Erlanger, opp. vnr. nrS., torn. II, p. 132; in the Weimar one, vol. I, p. 527. Further, in Löscher's *Ref.-Acta*, vol. II, p. 176; in Aurifaber, *tona. I, fol. 68N*; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 119 and in the Erlangen "Luthers Briefwechsel," vol. I, p. 200. German

in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 2IN; 1) in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 56; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 66; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 115 and in Walch. We have retranslated according to Weimar's. The date set above is not in the original, but Conjectur from the letter to Staupitz.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the Most Holy Father, Leo X, Pope, Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian, wishes eternal salvation.

Most holy Father! I have heard a very evil rumor that has come upon me, from which I understand that some friends have made my name stink very badly before you and yours, as if I had presumed to diminish the prestige and authority of the keys and the pope; therefore, I am accused of being a heretic, an apostate, a faithless one, and of being called by a thousand names, yes, with disgrace. My ears are ringing, my eyes are flickering. But the one rock of my good confidence stands firm, my innocent and quiet conscience. And I hear nothing new. For with such excellent adornment have also in our country these quite honorable and truthful people adorned me, that is, those who have a very evil conscience, who strive to expose their abominations to me, and to glorify their shameful deeds with my disgrace. But you will deign, most holy Father, to hear the matter for yourself from me, who am a child and clumsy.

In recent times, the Jubilee of the Apostolic Indulgence began to be preached in our country, and this became so rampant that the preachers of it, thinking that everything was free to them under the terror of your name, dared to teach quite ungodly and heretical things publicly, to the great annoyance and ridicule of the ecclesiastical authorities, as if the decrees about the abuses of the indulgence preachers did not concern them at all. And not content with spreading their venom with the most impudent words, they also published books 2) and

1) This evidence for the Wittenbergers is given only in the Erlangen correspondence; that for the Jenaers is missing everywhere.

2) This refers to Document No. 72 and 79 in this volume, Albrecht's Instruction for the Untercommissarien and Tetzels Instruction for the priests.

they spread among the people. In them, to say nothing of the insatiable and outrageous greed, which almost every single point is most grossly redolent of, they have brought forth the very same ungodly and heretical things, and have brought them forth in such a way that they have bound the confessors with an oath to inculcate these very things most faithfully and urgently among the people. I tell the truth, and there is nothing by which they can hide from this heat. The books are there, and they cannot deny them. And this went well with them at that time, and the people were sucked by false hopes, so that, as the prophet sMicha 3, 2.] says, they played the flesh from their legs, but in the meantime they themselves grazed in the richest and sweetest way.

One thing was available, with which they quenched the agitations, namely the terror of your name, threats of death by fire and the disgrace of the heretical name. For it is incredible how much they are at hand with these things, threatening them, even if they only notice a contradiction in their loose things, which are nothing but empty delusion. Surely this does not mean: to appease arousal, but rather to arouse divisions and finally sedition with mere tyranny.

But nevertheless, in the taverns the stories of the greed of the priests and the rumors about the keys and the pope increased more and more, as the common speech of this whole country is witness to. But I was inflamed, as I confess, by zeal for Christ or, if one prefers, by youthful heat; but I saw that it was not in my power to set or do anything in these matters. Therefore, I privately admonished several great men of the churches. 1) Here I was accepted by some, to others I was a mockery, to others I appeared still different, because the terror of your name and the threat of the church punishments kept the upper hand.

hand. Finally, since I could do nothing else, I thought it best to at least work against them in a very gentle way, that is, to cast doubt on their teachings and to arrange a disputation about them. So I issued a disputation note and invited only the scholars to negotiate with me about it, as must also be obvious to the opponents from the preface to this very disputation.

Behold, this is the conflagration of which they complain that the whole world is set on fire by it, perhaps because they are unwilling that I, as a hasty unifier, who am a teacher of divine doctrine by your apostolic power, have the right to dispute in public school, according to the custom of all universities and the whole church, not only about indulgences, but also about divine power, divine forgiveness and divine indulgences, which are incomparably higher things. But it does not move me much that they begrudge me this power, which was given to me by the power of your holiness, since I am forced to begrudge them much greater things against my will, namely, that they mix the tears of Aristotle in the middle of the matters of theology, and argue about the divine majesty, against and over the power that is given to them.

Furthermore, what fortune alone has driven these disputations of mine before all others, not only mine, but also those of all teachers, so that they have gone out to almost all countries, that is a miracle to me. For they were published by our people and only for the sake of our people, and published in such a way that it is unbelievable to me that they are understood by everyone. For they are disputations, not teachings, not doctrines, which, as is the custom, are dark and enigmatic. Otherwise, if I could have presumed, I would certainly have taken care, as much as lies in me, that they would be easier to understand.

Well, what should I do? I cannot retract, and I see that this publication has created an extraordinary hatred against me. I am reluctant to come into the public eye and under the extremely dangerous and

1) Namely the Archbishop of Mainz and the Bishops of Brandenburg, Meissen, Frankfurt, Zeitz and Merseburg. Cf. Documente No. 109 and 114 in this volume. Table Talks, Cap. 31, 8 7. St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 983.

I am not a man of the same mind, because of the manifold judgments of men, especially since I am unlearned, limited and uneducated; then in our exceedingly prosperous time, which, with its good prosperity in the sciences and many good minds, could drive even a Cicero into the corner, who has otherwise confidently stepped out into the light and the public. But necessity forces me to cackle goose among the swans.

Therefore, in order that I may both pacify my adversaries and fulfill the desire of many, behold, I send forth my little work, in which I explain my disputations; but I omit them, most holy Father, that I may be more secure under the protection of your name and under the shadow of your covering. From this all who wish may see how pure and simple-minded I have sought and cultivated ecclesiastical authority and reverence for the keys, and at the same time how unreasonably and falsely the adversaries have disgraced me in so many ways. For if I were such a person as they want me to be regarded, and if everything had not been done correctly by me out of the power to dispute, it would have been impossible for the most illustrious Prince Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Empire 2c., to allow such a plague at his university, since he is above many others a special lover of Catholic and apostolic truth, nor would I have been able to suffer the very strict and highly learned men of our school. But I give myself unnecessary trouble, since those exceedingly lovely people are not afraid to sully with me also the prince and the university with the same disgrace. Therefore, most holy father, I fall at the feet of your holiness and surrender to you with all that I am and have. Make alive, kill, call, revoke, approve, disapprove, as it may please you. Thy voice I will acknowledge as the voice of Christ, who reigns and speaks in thee. If I deserve death, I will not refuse to die. For the earth is the LORD's and all that is therein [Ps. 24:1], who is blessed for ever and ever, Amen, who also upholdeth thee for ever and ever, Amen. In the year 1518.

Luther's letter to Hieronymus Scultetus, Bishop of Brandenburg, in which he sends him his *resolutions*. Probably on February 6, 1518.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), toua. I, col. 98b; *in the Jena (1579), toM. 1, toi. 72 d; in Aurifaber, tom. I, toi. 63 d; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 173; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 112; in Kapp's "Sammlung," p. 390; in the Erlanger^a opp. vur. ur^a, tom. II, x", 126 and in the Erlanger "Briefwechsel," vol. I, p. 148. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 19; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 52b; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 63; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 114, also in Kapp's "Sammlung." We have taken the presumed date of this letter from the Weimar edition of Luther's works, Vol. I, p. 522 f.. The reasons for this assumption are not given there, as v. Enders notes in the Erlangen correspondence, but if one adds what the Erlangen edition brings for its own dating, February 13, then it is easy to see that Knaake will be right with his assumption. The Wittenberg and the Jena editions, both the Latin and the German, have the date Lubbutbo HxuucU, which Aurifaber has changed into Kubbutbo LxuucU. The latter has been assumed by Tentzel, Bericht, vol. I, p. 345, by Löscher, De Wette and the Erlangen edition opp. vur. and resolved by "22 May". The Erlangen correspondence, which followed a Dresden manuscript, has neither year nor date in the text. Enders assumes the original had stood Subbutbo bx. which was read by the editor of the Wittenberg edition in Lx and resolved by Lxuui. Knaake will have made the same assumption, and he correctly resolved the above date by: "Saturday before Sexagesimä", which is February 6, while the Erlanger incorrectly resolved by: "Saturday after Sexagesimae." In analogous cases, Enders without hesitation took the former type of resolution from De Wette, Burkhardt, Seidemann 2c. into the correspondence, e.g. Vol. I, p. 315; Vol. IV, p. 124, p. 125; Vol. V, p. 157, No. 912. So much is certain, in any case, that the correct date of our letter can be neither the Sainstag before nor after Exaudi, which is the 15th. On March 5, Luther wrote to Scheurl that the Bishop of Brandenburg, whom he had consulted about the reasons for his theses, had not yet given him a reply after a long time, because he was prevented from doing so by many things. At the end of March 1518, Luther wrote to Spalatin that the Abbot of Lehnin had negotiated with him on behalf of the bishop (No. 116 in this volume), and asked him to postpone the publication of the resolutions. Luther promised this, but was soon released from his promise. We translate according to the Erlangen correspondence, which has some advantages over the text of the old editions. In the old translation there are several quite absurd things.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the reverend Father and Lord in Christ, to the Lord Jerome, Bishop of the Church at Brandenburg, his exceedingly kind and especially gracious Lord, (wishes) Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian (at Wittenberg, salvation). 1)

Since recently, beloved bishop, new and unheard-of teachings about papal indulgences had begun to be preached in our region, so that both very many learned and unlearned people were astonished and moved, I was asked by many, both acquaintances and those who were unknown to me by reputation, in many letters and conversations, what I thought of these new (not to say impertinent) speeches. For a while I was reluctant; finally they pressed me with sharp disputations, so that even the reverence for the pope was endangered.

But what was I to do? It was not for me to establish anything in this matter, and I shied away from contradicting those of whom I most desired to be regarded as having preached nothing but the truth; but these persisted in proving the falsity and nullity [of their sermon] 2) with such clear grounds of proof that they completely overcame me [I confess the truth] and captured me.

In order to satisfy both, it seemed to me to be the best advice, neither to agree with them nor to prove them wrong, but to dispute about such a great matter until the holy church determined what one should hold. Therefore, I arranged for a disputation, to which I publicly invited everyone and privately asked all those whom I knew to be the most learned to open their opinion to me by letter. For I saw that in these matters neither Scripture was against me, 3) nor the teachers of the church, nor the

1) The bracketed words are in the Wittenberg and in the Jena. - Scultetus, that is Schulz, was the son of a village schoolmaster, from Gramschitz in the Duchy of Glogau in Silesia, hence his name. He became bishop of Brandenburg in 1505, died in 1522 (Tentzel, 1,345).

2) Here the old translation offers something that is completely contrary to the meaning.

3) All editions except the Erlangen one have the nonsensical reading suKruAuri instead of rsfrAAuri, which the old translator has faithfully rendered thus: "weil ich sahe, dass ich in dieser Sache für mich habe weder die Schrift" 2c.

spiritual law itself, except for a few teachers of spiritual law, and these, speaking without text, and some scholastic teachers who follow their delusion in the same way, also prove nothing.

This seems to me to be by far the most ridiculous thing, namely, when something is preached and heard in the church of God, that when the heretics ask where we get the reason for it, and we cannot give it, we expose Christ and His church to them for laughter and ridicule.

Furthermore, it is certain that we should not believe the scholastic teachers and canonists when they present their mere opinions, and as it is commonly said: It is shameful for a jurist to speak without text. But it is much more shameful for a theologian to speak without a text; I do not say of Aristotle's (for they speak this more than enough, strongly beyond all measure), but of our text, that is, of the holy Scriptures, of the ecclesiastical canons, of the Fathers.

Therefore, I have considered that this matter belongs to my task and office, namely, to dispute about the most doubtful things, but at the same time, if they are wrong, to assert them most dangerously, since it has been permitted until now that the teachers of the high schools also dispute about the most holy and venerable things, about which no Christian has doubted for so many centuries.

But, dear one, who cannot even grasp with his hands how humble and devoted is the shyness or reverence of those who think that one should not dispute about the power of the church or the pope, but keep silent and give thanks? Why don't they also keep silent and give thanks and leave their unworthy disputations about the power and wisdom and goodness of the one who has given this power to the church? Yes, what is so hidden, both in this supreme majesty and in the most holy humanity, that they have not so nearly defiled it with loud antics, that by stopping with their lies they have almost extinguished the affection and reverence of all hearts toward God? But of this elsewhere.

When I called everyone to this battlefield, but no one came, I then also saw that,

my disputations got around further than I had wanted, and were accepted everywhere not as something to dispute about, but as something asserted, so I have been forced, against my expectations and wishes, to bring my childish nature and my ignorance to the people, and to publish the explanations and proofs of the disputations publicly, thinking that I would do better if I put myself to the shame of my ignorance than if I let those err who perhaps think that everything is asserted. But there are some things among them about which I have doubts, some things I do not know, some things I also deny, but I do not stubbornly assert anything, but 1) submit everything to the holy church and its judgment.

Since you, beloved bishop, have been given to us by the mercy of Christ as ordinarius (as it is called) of this place, who not only extraordinarily love good and learned people, which many praise highly in many, but according to your peculiar luminosity and humility also venerate and care for them to the point of endangering your episcopal dignity (far be flattery!). I do not praise you, but the gifts of Christ in you), then it was the right thing for me to offer you (who is entitled to supervise and judge the high school of this place) first and foremost, and to lay at your feet what it is that I have to deal with.

Therefore, most gracious bishop, you will deign to accept this little work of mine, and so that all may know how I do not boldly assert anything, I not only permit it, but also implore you, venerable father, to take the pen and strike out what you please, or light a fire and burn the whole thing; I do not care at all. I know that Christ has no need of me; he will preach good things to his church without me. If the work is not his, then I do not want it to be mine, but nothing and no one's; 3) and because, as I have said, I do not want it to be mine.

1) Erlanger: camouflage, for which we have assumed 86ä with the other issues.

2) pontiuealik here is not "papal", which the old translation offers, but: episcopal.

3) What precedes in this sentence is, as it seems to us, in all editions except the Erlanger in the wrong place, almost at the end of this letter.

Gregory of Nazianzus says that even in the Church it is not safe to speak the truth, especially to grave sinners:

Therefore I do not forget mine, and testify (protestor) with these words that I disputire, not finally decide. I disputire, I say, but do not assert, and disputire with fear, not because I am afraid of the bulls and threats of those who, touched by no fear at all, want everything they have only dreamed to be believed as a gospel. For at the same time the boldness and the ignorance of these people (I confess it) has forced me not to give way to my fear. 4) If this [boldness and ignorance] were not so great, no one but my corner would have known me. 5) I have had to seek nothing but that I might not be a cause of error to anyone. Glory be to him to whom alone it belongs, to him who is eternal, amen. May he keep you for us and guide you long and salutary, dearest bishop. Farewell, yes, I beg you, you will also wish me well. From our monastery in Wittenberg.

Spalatin's praising report of this bishop of Brandenburg, Scultetus.

From Spalatin's annales, p. 37.

In addition, Bishop Jerome of Brandenburg, as the Ordinary of Wittenberg, was kind in all ways, and would have liked to have been involved in things where he could have given a thorough report. For he died in time, and without danger in the 20th year, that he had not reached the right consolation light and knowledge.

Luther's report to Spalatin on how he himself had a verbal discussion with the Bishop of Brandenburg in Wittenberg, and how the Bishop had questioned him extensively, but in a friendly manner. 12 Feb. 1519.

See Appendix, No. 6, the last paragraph.

4) Erlanger: oëære, in the other editions: oreckers.

5) Here the outputs insert the piece shown above.

Luther's letter to his former teacher, Jodocus Trutfetter of Eisenach, professor in Erfurt, in which he especially reminds him that he learned from him to hold the Holy Scriptures in high esteem and seeks to appease him. May 9, 1518.

On his return journey from Heidelberg, Luther had tried in vain to speak to his old teacher in Erfurt, so he addressed this letter to him there. It is found in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 59 b; in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 611; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 107 and in the Erlanger "Briefwechsel", Vol. I, p. 187. Löscher and Walch have erroneously "the 16th of May". We have translated according to Aurifaber.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the excellent and dear man, Mr. Jodocus] of Eisenach, the theologian and first philosopher, his superior who is always to be revered in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail in the Lord! I was at the door of your house last night, my dear lord and most revered teacher, and wanted to talk to you and answer orally to your letter that you wrote to me the other day, prompted, as I felt quite clearly, by exceedingly great love for me and more serious concern than I ever deserved. But your servant, who is waiting at the door, said that you were not well enough to suffer my visit, and so I left. Therefore, I am now answering by letter, not entirely to everything you have suggested; this I will perhaps do otherwise, when I have more leisure.

First of all, I thank you for your anxious love, undeserved by me, and I beg you for the sake of the Lord Jesus that you may never suspect that I could be so offended by you that I would defame you with biting and abusive letters, as you write, fearing that I might do so. For I do not take such revenge even against those who are most against me, who proclaim me from the pulpits by name before the people as a heretic, a nonsensical man, a seducer, and as one of I know not how many devils.

How much less would I repay you for the evil to which I owe everything good. I am truly sorry that the suspicion of such great evil against me has arisen in you as well.

Then you dislike my theses, and I suspected that it would come to this. But of those concerning grace and works, 2) you should know, dear Lord, that I do not claim them alone, nor do I claim them first. You know the talent (*ingenia*) of those who are with us, namely Carlstadt, Amsdorf, Doctor Hieronymus [Schurf], Doctor Wolfgang [Stehelin], the two from Feldkirchen, 3) finally Doctor Peter Lupinus. But all of them are constantly with me, yes, the whole university, except for instance the one licentiate Sebastian, but also the prince and the bishop [of Brandenburg], our ordinarius. Then many other prelates and all insightful citizens say with one mouth that they had neither known nor heard Christ and his gospel before.

It is fair that I do not prefer these good minds to mine, and since, as you know, they are very learned and skilled in scholastic theology, suffer, I pray you, that I may be wise or unwise with them until it is decided by the Church. And, to give also my explanation, I simply believe that it is impossible to reform the Church, unless from the bottom up the Canons, the Decretals, the scholastic theology, the philosophy, the logic, as they are now, are eradicated, and other studies are established. And in this opinion I increase in such a way that I daily ask the Lord that, as far as it can be done as soon as possible, again the Bible and the purest studies of the holy fathers be put on the track. I do not seem to be a logician to you, perhaps I am not; but this I know, that I do not know the logic of any

2) This is the "Disputation on Scholastic Theology," Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 18 sf.

3) namely Bartholomäus Bernhardt and Johann Dolz, both from Feldkirchen. Walch offers here: "D. Wolfgangi bey der Feldkirchen." - Lupinus is Peter Wolf of Radheim, also called Raättrsnius. - The immediately following "Licentiat Sebastian" is according to Seidemann at De Wette, vol. VI, p. 694: Schmidt; but according to Dibelius and Lechler, Beiträge zur sächsischen Kirchengeschichte, Heft 2, p. 355 probably: Küchenmeister (Erl. Briefw., vol. I, p. 191).

People fear when defending this opinion.

But about the other theses, about indulgences, I have written to you before that I do not like that they have been spread out so far. For you have never 1) heard that this has happened fei, I have also not been able to expect what has happened with these alone, otherwise I would have made them clearer, as I have done in the German sermon 2) which displeases you more than all this.

I ask you, dear Lord and my Father in the Lord, do you not also dislike that the poor people of Christ are tormented and mocked with indulgences for so long? Is then the remission of temporal and arbitrary pardon something so great that it should be necessary for the people to come into danger of faith? For there is almost no one who does not believe that he is gaining something great, the grace of God, as it were, through indulgences. It was good that we ourselves uncovered the matter first, so that people would not, if we covered up the matter, finally notice the pious, as it is called, but rather the exceedingly godless fraud of the indulgence merchants, and pay us what we have earned. I truly confess that I would like there to be no indulgences in the whole church, for which the people of France do not ask in the least. It serves only for profit, yes, only for profit, and for nothing else, as I will say more extensively in my measurements, which, God willing, shall soon be published.

But I am surprised that you could even believe that I was the author of the burning of Tetzel's theses. Do you think that I have lost my common sense so much that I, a monk and a theologian, where it is not my office, should cause such an extraordinary insult to a person in such a high position? But what should I do, since everyone believes everything about me? Surely I cannot resist the tongues of all or

hinder them? They may say, hear, believe, each one what he pleases and where he pleases: I will do as much as the Lord has given me, and I will, by God's grace, neither fear nor be presumptuous.

But that I defended the Magister Johannes Egranns, preacher in Zwickau, they did not tell you the truth. He is a learned man and does not need me. Admittedly, I wrote a little letter in which I approved of his all-sayings, which the Leipzig theologians, in order to denigrate him, have quite treacherously pulled off. I could not refuse the man my judgment, since he asked for it so persistently. But if you want to suffer the audacity of your student and most obedient servant, that is, mine: I have learned from you first of all that one must believe only the canonical books, but judge all others, as St. Augustine, yes, Paul and John command.

Therefore, let me be free to do the same against the scholastics that you and all have been free to do up to now. I will follow if I am taught better by the Scriptures or the Church Fathers; without these I will listen to the scholastics, as far as they have fortified theirs with ecclesiastical sayings, and it is my firm resolution that I will not be deterred from this opinion by your reputation (which certainly weighs very heavily with me), much less by that of anyone else.

This, my dearest teacher, what I have written on the journey and in a hurry, take down for the best. If it pleases you that we discuss it in writing, it will be exceedingly pleasant for me. I am ready to suffer and receive your rebuke in such a way that, even if it should be very sharp, it will be quite mild to me. Therefore, speak out against me in the most full manner without all fear, yes, pour out safely. I will not and cannot become bitter against you, God and my conscience are witness;

1) Instead of nns^arn we have assumed nnn^nain, as the old translator did.

2) Sermon on Indulgences and Grace, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 270.

3) Luther's explanations of his Disputation von der Kraft des Ablasses, Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 100 ff.

4) This is the small letter Egranus added to his writing: ^poloAstiaa responkio aontra äoZlnata ^nas in iVI. I^rannin a aalnmnatorikns invulZata 8 "nt, had preprinted. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 592. De Wette, vol. I, p. 103.

That is how I feel about you today. Farewell, my dear father. From our monastery in Erfurt, on the Sunday Vocem Jucunditatis [May 9] 1518.

Yours truly, Brother Martin Luther,
Augustinian.

132 Luther's letter to Johann Staupitz, with which he sends his resolutions and asks him to forward them to Pope Leo X, to whom they are dedicated. May 30, 1518.

In order not to repeat what has already been said, we refer to the introductory words to the 127th document. In the Latin collections and the "Gesamtausgabe" of Luther's writings mentioned there, our letter is found immediately before the above-mentioned letter of Luther to Pope Leo X.; furthermore in Löschner, Ref.Acta, vol. II, p. 180; in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 66; in De Wette vol. I, p. 115 and in the Erlangen "Briefwechsel," vol. I, p. 196. German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 20; 1) in the Jena edition (1564), vol.I, M.54U; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 65; in the Leipzig, vol. X VII, p. 117 and in Walch. We have retranslated according to the Weimar, Vol. I, p. 525.
Newly translated from the Latin.

Brother Martin Luther, his student, wishes salvation to his venerable and rightful father Johann Staupitz, Professor of the Holy Doctrine of God, Vicar of the Augustinian Order, and gives himself to him.

I remember, venerable father, that in your exceedingly sweet and wholesome conversations, with which the Lord Jesus used to comfort me miraculously, this word "repentance" was sometimes mentioned, where we, bearing sorrow over the many consciences and tormentors, who teach a way of confessing (as it is called) with innumerable and indeed unbearable commandments, received you as if you were speaking from heaven: that true repentance is only that which begins from the love of righteousness and against God, and that this is rather the beginning of repentance, which is considered by those to be the end and the completion.

This word of yours stuck in me like the sharp arrow of a strong man, and after it I began to compare it with passages of Scripture that were written by

of repentance, and behold! an exceedingly sweet play. From all ropes the words entered into agreement with me, were favorable to this opinion and fell in with it, in such a way that, since before there was hardly a word in the whole of Scripture that would have been more bitter for me than the word "repentance" (although I also eagerly placed myself differently before God and sought to express a fabricated and forced love), for me now nothing is more sweet or pleasant than "repentance". For thus the commandments of God become sweet when we realize that they must be read not merely in books, but in the wounds of the sweetest Savior.

Later this was added, that through the effort and favor of very learned men, who teach us Greek and Hebrew in the most serviceable manner, I learned that this word in Greek is called μετάνοια, from μετὰ and νοῦν, that is, from post and *mentem*, so that repentance or μετάνοια is a recovery (resipiscentia), and after the received damage and the recognized error a recognition of his evil, which can not possibly happen without a change of mind and love. All this corresponds to the theology of Paul quite actually, so that, at least in my opinion, almost nothing else can explain Paul more appropriately.

Yes, I came further, and saw that not merely from post and mentem, but also from trans and mentem could be derived (may this after all be forcible), so that μετάνοια meant a change of mind and spirit, that it seemed to indicate not merely the change of mind, but also the manner of the change, that is, the grace of God. For this change of mind, that is, true repentance, is very frequently mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. Scripture, as that old Passover (phase == passage) foreshadowed, fulfilled Christ, and long before that also Abraham pictured, since he was a Passover, that is, a Hebrew [xxxxxx, 1 Mos. 14, 13.] began to be called, because he had crossed over to Mesopotamia, as Burgensis teaches in a learned way. 2) Da-

2) Compare Luther's interpretation of Gen. 11:13. Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. I, 715, tz 106, where Luther renounces this view. - Burgensis was called, when he was

1) As with Documente 127, this evidence for the Wittenberg edition is given only in the Erlangen correspondence; that for the Jena is missing everywhere, even in the Weimar edition.

The title of the Psalm [Ps. 39. 62. 77] also agrees with this, where xxxxxx, that is, one who skips, a singer is introduced.

By holding on to this, I dared to think that those were in error who attached so much importance to the works of repentance that they left us hardly anything of repentance except some cold 'amends and the exceedingly burdensome confession, namely, misled by the Latin word *poenitentiam agere*, which means more a doing (*actionem*) than a change of meaning, and in no way satisfies the Greek μετανοήν.

While I was thus busily occupied with my thoughts, behold, the trumpets of the new indulgence suddenly began to sound around us, yes, to blare, and the war trumpets of pardons, by which, however, we were not inspired to a right zeal for war. In short, setting aside the doctrine of true repentance, they presumed to exalt-not repentance, not even its very lowest part, which is called satisfaction-but the remission of this very lowest part, so that it was never heard to be exalted so high. Yes, they taught ungodly and false and heretical things with such great prestige (*sacrilege*, I meant to say) that he who even grumbled against them was immediately condemned to death by fire as a heretic, and guilty of eternal damnation.

Since I could not counter the rage of these people, I decided to decisively make known my dissenting opinion and to cast doubt on their teachings, trusting in the judgment of all teachers and the whole church that it is even better to do enough than to remit satisfaction, that is, than to buy indulgences. And there is no one who has ever taught otherwise. Therefore I have disputed, that is, I have provoked everything that is high, middle class and lowly, to unhappiness over my head, as far as it is

by these zealots for the money (ah! for the souls I should have said) can be done and directed. For so these quite lovely people, armed with quite coarse deceit, since they cannot deny what I have said, invent that the authority of the pope is violated by my disputations.

This is the reason, venerable father, that I now step into the public undesirably, while I have always loved my corner, and have more desire to watch the exceedingly beautiful play of the gifted people of our time than to be seen and mocked. But (as I see) even the bad vegetables 1) must be seen among the good ones, and the black must be placed among the white, namely for the sake of adornment 2) and beauty.

I therefore ask you to accept this little work of mine and, by whatever means, to send it to our good Abbot Leo the Tenth, so that it may serve me there as a kind of assistance against the actions of malicious people. Not as if I wanted to involve you in my danger, but this I will have done at my own peril. Christ will see whether what I have said is his or mine, without whose wink not even the pope can speak a word, nor even the king's heart in his own hand [Proverbs 21:1]. For I await him as the judge who pronounces from the Roman chair.

By the way, I have nothing to answer those threatening friends of mine but the words of Reuchlin: "He who is poor fears nothing, he can lose nothing. I have no goods, nor do I desire them; if I have had good reputation and honor, he who loses now loses without ceasing. Only one thing is left, my poor, weak body, tired by constant adversity; if they destroy it by force or trickery (GOTte to do a service with it), they will perhaps make me poorer by one or two hours of my life. I have had enough of my sweet Redeemer and Reconciler, my Lord.

1) EoroNornm inwr olsra is a saying. 6oroNornm or ooroNorus is a bad vegetable that grows wild in the Peloponnese.

2) Erlanger: äeoores instead of: ätzcörls.

He was a Jew, Solomon Levita, after he became a Christian, Paul of Burgos; became Bishop of Cartagena, Burgos, Chancellor of Castile and finally Patriarch of Aquileia, died Aug. 29, 1435, 85 years old, increased Nie. von Lyra's glosses on the Bible (Erlanger "Briefwechsel").

I will sing to Jesus Christ all my life [Ps. 104:33]. But if someone does not want to sing with me, what is that to me? He may howl if he pleases, even for himself. He, the Lord Jesus, keep you forever, my dearest father. Wittenberg, on the day of the Holy Trinity [May 30] 1518.

C. Luther's journey to the General Convention of the Augustinians and the disputation held there. 1)

Luther's report to Joh. Lang that he had been advised against the trip to Heidelberg. March 21, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 3, § 2.

134 Luther's letter to Spalatin, in which he reports on the journey to Heidelberg, as far as Coburg. April 15, 1518.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv in Zerbst. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 58; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 609; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 104 and (according to the original) in the Erlangen "Briefwechsel," vol. I, p. 183. According to the latter we have translated.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To his Georg Spalatin, priest of Christ and ducal librarian in Wittenberg, his beloved in Christ.

"To Wittenberg Magister Spalatin's Handen."

JEsus.

Hail! I believe, dear Spalatin, that you learned from our Pfeffinger 2) everything that we talked to each other, since I met him in the village of Judenbach 3). For among other things, it was a comfort to me that the opportunity presented itself to make the rich man poorer by several pennies. For you know how much it pleases me to make the rich man poorer by a few pennies.

1) Cf. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 3 f.

2) "Degenhart Pfeffinger, a Bavarian nobleman from Alberskirch, Dr. jur. and councillor of the Electorate of Saxony, patron of Luther, died in 1519".

3) Judenbach, a village on the Thuringian Forest, in the Oberland of the Duchy of Saxony-Meiningen.

can be conveniently thnu to fork out a little, especially friends. Because intentionally he also paid for the breakfast for the two foreign companions, together for all of us ten pennies. For now, too, I will, if I can, work so that the Kastner (oeconomus) of our most illustrious prince, who is here in Coburg, 4) pays for us; if he does not want to, we nevertheless live at the expense of the prince.

Of course, I have not yet seen the man, nor do I know whether I will see him. Since we arrived very tired in the evening, we delivered the letters to him by messenger. But he left late for the castle and has not yet returned; I do not know what he will do, perhaps he is too busy to take care of us. Then the messenger Urban 5) himself knows very well that he has been ordered to go with us to Würzburg. Whether he comes or stays, we will, God willing, continue our journey tomorrow.

Everything else stands, thank God, except that I confess that I have sinned, that I have undertaken the journey as a pedestrian. But this sin, since the contrition is complete and the most full satisfaction has been laid upon me, does not need the forgiveness of indulgence. I get very tired, and there are no carts anywhere, and so I become superfluous, all too contrite, repent and do enough.

Until now I was unknown to everyone, except as much as I became known through Pfeffinger's presence. But even in Weißenfels a pastor unknown to me recognized me and entertained me well; he is a Wittenberg magister. I have no other things to write now, only that you pray to God for me, and the father, the venerable Jacobus, who is afflicted with podagra, 6)

4) According to Seidemann, De Wette, vol. VI, p. 644, the Kastner in Coburg was Paul Bader; according to Schlegel, vita I-ÄNK6ri, x>, 4, Conrad Rode.

5) Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, 599, note 2, says: "I think Urban is Mühlmann."

61 The Franciscan Jacob Vogt, confessor to the Elector.

greet you from me. Farewell. From Coburg, Thursday after Quasimodogeniti] 1) [April 15], at the fifth hour in the evening, 1518. Brother Martin Eleutherius.

**Luther's letter to Spalatin from Würzburg, similar in content to the previous one.
April 19, 1518.**

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv at Zerbst. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 59; by Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, 610; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 105 and in the Erlangen "Briefwechsel", vol. I, p. 185. In Löscher and Walch, as in the previous letter, the 20th of April is given by incorrect resolution of the day of the week. We have translated according to the Erlanger, which brings the original.

Newly translated from the Latin.

His Georg Spalatin, the priest of Christ in Wittenberg.
JEsus.

Heils We finally arrived in Würzburg, my dear Spalatin, just on Sunday Misericordias (Domini), and that same evening we handed over the letter of our most illustrious prince. We did not find Sigismund von Thüngen 2) because he was absent and it was said that he would not return before two or three days.

The venerable bishop 3) himself called me to him after he had received the letter. And since he spoke with me face to face, he also wanted to give me a messenger at his expense on the way to Heidelberg. But since I had found several of my order here, especially the Prior of Erfurt, our Johann Lang, I thanked the extremely kind Für-

1) Walch: "Freytags"; Löscher has also interpreted and resolved Ieriu quinta just as incorrectly: "6. 16.

- The addition of the missing in the original: post HrmsirnoãoZeniti in the editions is correct, as can be seen from the following letter.

2) Sigismund von Thüngen zu Burgheim und Bucholt, Würzburg councilor, courtier and bailiff at Carlsburg, died in 1522 (Erl. Briefw.).

3) Lorenz von Bibra (1495 to February 6, 1519) wrote to the Elector in his own hand shortly before his end (866lr6nc1ort, üist. 4>rM., lik. I, p. 29, [äck. II.): "Your love does not want to let the pious man, Doctor Martinus, move away, because injustice would be done to him." See the next two docs. '

steu, since I did not consider it necessary that a messenger be hired for my sake. For I want to go with them, since I am quite tired from walking. I have only asked that he provide me with written testimonies that would serve me (as it is called) as a free escort. I have received them at this very hour and will leave by carriage, after I have left the letter to Sigismund voll Thüngen with the chaplain of the reverend lord.

If our messenger Urban were given a little more, it would seem all right to me. For he has been forced to go slower on the way for our sake. I would do this to our Hirschfeld 4) if I were present, for this deserves the loyalty and righteousness of this man, and you too be an intercessor for him. I am poor and must be; I have given him too little. The Franks hope for a good wine year, for that is what they are counting on, because this May is looking good. Farewell. From our monastery at Würzburg on Monday after Misericordias Domini [April 19] 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

Spalatin's report of the godly bishop of Würzburg, Laurentius von Bibra.

From Spalatin's description of the life of Prince Frederick, printed in Tentzel, Hist. Bericht, Vol. I, p. 323. Cf. Seckendorf, nist. 4>utü., lik. I, p. 29.

In this 1519th year, in the month of February, Bishop Lorenz of Wuerzburg, of the family of one of Bibra, an honest, pious, wise man, died, who recently wrote with his own hand to this Elector, Duke Frederick of Saxony, about D. Martin Luther: "Your love should not let the pious man, D. Martinus, move away, because he would be 5) wronged. Which of the bishop's words pleased this Elector of Saxony so much that he sent it to me, Spalatin, rewritten with his own hand, to the Lochau, and also still asked me for this word, a few weeks before their departure from this Jam-

4) Bernhard von Hirschfeld zu Otterwisch, born 1490, died 1551.

5) In Seckendorf and Tentzel: "geschehe", which in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 186, Note 2, is incorrectly resolved by "geschieht".

merthal, by Joachim Sack 1). This bishop of Wuerzburg was such an intelligent, wise and honest man that in one year he became the councilor of the Archbishop of Cologne, the Count Palatine, Elector of the Rhine, and also of the Roman Emperor Maximilian, and at the same time bishop of Wuerzburg. If this Bishop Lorenz von Bibra had lived longer, people who knew him well believe that he would have accepted the Holy Gospel. For he had been very angry with the Romans and did not want to accept their fictitious golden jubilee and indulgences, the longer the less. I have also heard noblemen from Franconia say that if a subject had come and asked him for favors to transfer some goods; if he had heard that he wanted to give a son or daughter to a monastery, he would have said: "Dear, give your daughter a husband, do not give her to a monastery; if you have money for it, I will lend you. He had been so very bad about monasticism, monasticism and nunnery.

137 Another message from this bishop.

From Tentzel, Hist. report, Vol. I, p. 125.

In a written chronicle of Würzburg, this bishop is numbered as the sixty-first, and it is reported that he was elected on May 12, 1495, and consecrated on October 11. In 1518, he attended the long Imperial Diet in Augsburg and helped to speak about the resistance of the Turks and the discord of faith; he was held in great esteem by the emperor and all princes of the empire, all the estates of the empire had a sensation at the Imperial Diet on his advice, and he finally died in 1519 on February 6.

138 Luther's report to Spalatin, from Wittenberg, about his honorable reception in Heidelberg by Count Palatine Wolfgang. May 18, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 7, § 2.

Luther's further report to Spalatin on the disputation in Heidelberg. May 18, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 7, § 3.

1) A Silesian nobleman, at that time among the Junkers (spüsbos) of the Churfürst (Seckendorf).

140 Alting's report that Bucer, Brenz, Billicanus and Schnepf came to the knowledge of the truth through the disputation in Heidelberg.

From [^]ItirAÜ kist. 6661. kalatinas reprinted in the wounisutis pistutis st üttsrariig published in 1701, pars I, x. 142. also in Seckendorf, Hist. imtü., 115.1, x. 29.

Translated into German.

Among the audience were Martin Bucer, Joh. Brenz, Erhard Schnepf, Theobald Billicanus, along with other great theologians, who were very surprised at Luther's astuteness, heartiness, and modesty in the disputation, but after the disputation they went to his house and inquired further about one and other points that they had not sufficiently understood and grasped. In particular, Martin Bucer, who was now no longer a student but a preacher for Frederick of the Palatinate in Heidelberg on the recommendation of Franz von Sickingen, believed that he was entitled to this before others. And as he copied most of Luther's writings according to his skill, he talked to him orally in more detail and asked him about various things, to which Luther answered him clearly and adequately.

The letter of Count Palatine Wolfgang to the Elector of Saxony, which he gave to Luther on his departure from Heidelberg.

May 1, 1518.

From Tentzel's Histor. Bericht, Vol. I, p. 330, who "diligently gathered and copied it from the torn original", printed in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p.60.

Our friendly service and what we are able to do, all the time before, Highborn Prince, friendly dear Lord and cousin, E. L. Briue, therein was written by the same, that we Doctori Martins Luder Augustiner-Orden Leser Inn E. L. Vniuersitet zu Wittenberg. L. Vniuersitet zu Wittenberg, so er vnns Inn synen Sachn zu einigen Notturfft ersuchen" würde, Im nach vnnsere Vermögen zu behülfflich seyn, haben wir empfangenn vnd mit Vliß gelesennt, vnnd geben darauf E. L. that we, as one and the same transferee, wanted to be helpful to the above-mentioned doctor after all his efforts, on account of E. L. with all his means, if he alone had indicated and requested to do something that was within our means,

However, he did not reveal anything to us in which he needed our help, which E. L. himself probably denied. He has also been so skilful with his arguments that he has not made a small praise of E. L. University, it has also been said to him by many learned people that we do not want to behave E. L. as a sun friendly maynation, but to serve the same, also to give fruit, love and goodness to him.

witnesses we are to do allzytt gevliffenn unnd genaigt 2c. Datum Heydelberg vff Philippi unnd Jacobi [4. Mai] uo, 2c. In the eighteenth.

Wolffgang von GOttes Gnaden Pfaltzgrave Bei Rheyenn vnnd Hertzog Inn Beyern 2c.

Luther's report to Spalatin on his return journey from Heidelberg. May 18, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 7, § 1.

The second section of the second chapter.

From the counter institutions of the Roman court.

Pope Leo orders the new general of the Augustinians, Gabriel Venetus, to dissuade Luthern from his nobility.

143 Pope Leo's letter of January 23, 1518, in which he offers Gabriel Venetus the office of General of the Augustinians.

This and the following document is taken from the Papal Secretary, Petrus Bembus, Writings, lib. XVI, no. 17 and 18, x. 376.

Translated into German.

To Gabriel Venetus, Promagister of the Order of Augustinian Hermits.

After last summer we received Egidius of Viterbo, from the Order of the Augustinian Hermits, whose teacher I have been for some years, into the Order and into the College of my brothers, the most reverend Cardinals of Rome, we have been thinking in particular during these whole months, who would be most capable of holding Egidius' position as Promagister of this Society until the time appointed by the laws to proceed to the election would come, at which time the whole Order itself and the Society could ordinarily single him out and elect him as Head. For, indeed, this great and extensive Order itself, which is divided into eight and twenty provinces, has 1393 buildings and very many excellent colleges, could justifiably demand of us that we see to it that from the great number of the

I was driven by the love and affection with which I have always been attached to this order, as well as by my old kinship and connection with this order, to spare no effort and labor in searching for a man to accomplish what I wanted and ardently desired: namely, that I would bring to this position and make a promagister a man who surpasses all others in honesty, godliness, prudence and erudition. Since you alone, according to the testimony of Egidius himself and of many understanding men, are considered capable of this office because of the many conversations you have had, I hereby also appoint you in Egidius' place as Promagister of the Augustinian Order until the time of the election, and grant you all the liberties, privileges, dignities, income, remuneration, and advantages that you are to enjoy before the other magistrates. And since you will easily see from this how highly I think of you, you will see according to your prudence that you may not only maintain but also increase the confidence that everyone has in you, based on my good opinion of you, through your justice, integrity and diligence. And because I have been told by many, which I was very pleased to hear, since it is a proof of your honesty, sincerity and your good, quiet, gentle and peace-loving disposition, that you never asked for the higher positions, dignities and services in your order, but rather, after the once with glory and honor administered and given to you without your pleading, that you have not asked for a higher position.

If you have refused all other prefectures, renounced all honorary offices, and have much rather been devoted to the beautiful sciences and to the holy divine teachings in silence and tranquility, than have been popular in public offices, and therefore it could easily happen that you would also refuse this honorary rank, which is the highest among all of you, then it shall not be withheld from you that you are not allowed to refuse this office. Accordingly, be cheerful and confident, and prepare yourself to assume the care for the preservation and government of your Order, which has spread so far and almost into all parts of the world, and to take up the office, which I hereby command you of my own free will, joyfully and to administer it magnanimously. Given January 23, 1518, in the fifth year. From Rome.

144 Pope Leo's letter of Feb. 3, 1518, when Gabriel refuses to accept the office offered to him, in which he commands him that, by virtue of his owed obedience, he should take up this office without further delay, and seek to quiet Luthern as quickly as possible, both by letters and by learned and pious negotiators.

Translated into German.

To Gabriel Venetus, Promagister of the Order of Augustinian Hermits.

Your letter, so emphatically as wisely arranged, in which you thank me for the office voluntarily offered to you by me, and reject the same under certain stated reasons why you could not accept it, encloses a request that you be spared with it, partly because of your nature, which would be more accustomed to rest than to public activities, partly because of your all too weak mind and dexterity, which is why you detest high and important things, partly because of your weak physical constitution, has been very pleasant to me, because I can therefore take the opportunity to tell you my opinion frankly. For I am very pleased that you are not puffed up by any desire to rule over others, which is otherwise found in the vast majority of people; and that you, in humble contemplation of your powers and your ability, consider this to be quite small, stems from your, where

not perfectly virtuous nature, but from your immense honesty and your not insignificant intellect. As for your qualities, although I have heard them praised and extolled by everyone, I am also very pleased that I have been convinced of them myself from your letter. For the fact that you state in it that you have a weak body and often fall ill does not bother me at all, because you are all the stronger in mind. For I hope that the Lord will give you strength and power so that you can bear his burden, which he has placed on your shoulders through me, with courage and to great benefit. Therefore, this careful apology of yours has done so much for me that I love you even more and think much more highly of you than I did before. However, it did not bring me to the point that I should give you leave of absence. Rather, I can assure you that this has strengthened my judgment of you, increased my affection for you, and refreshed me, so that, since no one has ever been heard of before (but I am speaking of your own brethren) who would have refused this generalship, and most of them, on the other hand, were eagerly striving for it, I would all the more like to see you placed above your order. For I am not at all concerned that you should let yourself be led astray either by avarice, because you have made nothing of the whole matter, or by love or hatred of others, since you have not looked to yourself, in conferring certain honorary positions and offices, or that you should proceed unjustly in the administration of justice and in punishment, since you demand nothing to be done, strive for nothing, want nothing: since it is almost impossible that he who knows how to govern himself rightly should not also do justice to others. Such a man must be given a regiment; such a man must be set above others. Therefore I command you under the law that deals with the resigned office of governor that you take up this office immediately and do not hope that your excuses will be accepted. And that I charge you immediately with something so that the most noble and important part of your office may now be occupied: I want and wish that you may take the trouble to dissuade Martin Luthern, a monk of your order, of whom you will know that he is starting all kinds of unrest in Germany, from lecturing new teachings to our people, which they are to accept, if possible, according to the authority which the prefecture grants you, from his intention, both by letters as well as by

by learned and righteous negotiators, of whom many will be found everywhere, who will endeavor to calm and appease the man. If you do this soon, it will hopefully not be difficult to dampen the fire that has just arisen. For anything that is still small and has only raised its head a little will not withstand a great and violent attack. But if you linger and lose heart, I worry that we can no longer provide the means to extinguish the fire, even if we want to. For the evil is gaining the upper hand from day to day, becoming stronger and more powerful, so that nothing seems to be so dangerous as delay. I consider it unnecessary to order you to do everything piecemeal in this matter. Your virtue, your conscience, your righteous nature, your peculiar erudition will already teach and remind you what you have to do and how you have to attack the matter. In general, I recommend to you only this, that you use all your mind and thoughts, diligence, effort and work, so that we reach our goal. This is rightly demanded of you, partly because you now have to command him, partly because you surpass others in intellect and erudition, partly because the common being you serve cares so much about it, partly also because I especially demand it, who love you so much and put so much emphasis on you that you secretly have to thank me for everything. Given February 3, 1518, in the fifth year. From Rome.

The papal confirmation of the new General Gabriel, who was unanimously elected in Venice on June 5, 1519, when deputies of the Augustinian monasteries from all countries had gathered there.

From the writings of Petrus Bembus, lid. XVI, no. 22, p. M2.
Translated into German.

To Gabriel Venetus, General Emeritus of the Augustinian Order.

I waited with longing to see how your election would have gone. For a day passed before I received your letter, in which you reported and mentioned many pleasant things, among which one always pleased me more than the other: first, that Cardinal Egidius had returned from the Spanish legation and had landed at Venice at a time when the sea was completely calm, and that the entire Senate had caught up with him and taken him to a splendid house with great solitude.

I have accompanied. But I am not surprised about that. For this city is very hospitable to distinguished men, and it has always held him in great honor. But I am surprised that he came from such a remote area at that time to attend the election. Oh, how did not this arrival happen at such a convenient time! You thought that there would have been more than 1100 of your brethren to cast their votes, and that you would have received a considerable amount of money for the maintenance of these people from the common treasury. All this is pleasant to me. For it seldom happens, and we never remember, that the Augustinians gathered somewhere in such numbers and stayed together for so many days in a row, nor that they ever spent so much money together. But that you were appointed and declared General of the Order by all their votes in such a way that not even a single electoral vote was against you, I consider that almost a miracle, and not only I, but also those who were with me when I read your letter, especially Cardinal Ruffus, who thinks very highly of you, and could not refrain from bursting into these words: something like that would not have happened at that time. Therefore, I congratulate you, not only that this office has fallen to you, who have always made nothing of it, but rather that the same has been done to you in such an excellent way and with such general applause from your Order that no one among the large number of men could be found who would not have considered you worthy and skilled for this office. But as far as I am concerned, I am also pleased that my judgment of you has been approved by the entire Order, and that it has turned out in such a way that everyone seems to have had the same good opinion of you in which you stood with me. Since this is the case, you must make every effort to ensure that all your brothers recognize and are convinced that you have proved yourself in the administration of the Generalate just as they thought you were before it was handed over to you. This so strange and wonderful agreement of your brethren and my glorious testimony given to you is what has imposed on you the great burden, which will not do you honor if you act rightly, but rather disgrace if you administer it badly. For a man who is considered honest and righteous is not admired and praised at all if he has done something good and praiseworthy; most people demand this.

But if he is carried away by malice or injustice, they do not consider both those on whom he undertakes to act unjustly, but rather themselves to be deceived. But I am by no means writing this because I am concerned that you will not satisfy people's desires, hopes and wishes, but only to incite you to satisfy them completely. By the way, since the Augustinian Order asks me to confirm what it itself ordered and decreed when you were appointed to this office, I have also done so and have added my own words to this letter. Farewell, fear God, hold above justice.

Since Gabriel Venetus, Promagister of the Order of Augustinian Hermits, has called an assembly of his brethren in Venice, and 1100 such brethren from all regions have gathered for this assembly, but Gabriel, for the sake of his virtue and piety, was unanimously elected General of the Order on the day of the election by the named 1100 men, I, Pope Leo the Tenth, recognize this election as valid, consider it approved, approve it and am satisfied that he takes up this office. Given June 5, 1519, in the seventh year (of our papal dignity). From Rome.

B. How one wanted to make the trial of the Lutherans in a nutshell.

Luther is cited before the spiritual court in Rome.

Luther's own report of the papal citation issued to him to appear in Rome within sixty days. Beginning of November 1518.

See Luther's gloss on the Breve of Pope Leo X to Cardinal Cajetan, Document No. 177.

Luther's letter to Spalatin at Augsburg, in which he asks him, after receiving a citation, to have his cause investigated by the Elector in Germany. August 8, 1518.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv in Zerbst. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 53; by Löschner, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 620; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 131 and (according to the original) in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 213. We have translated from the latter.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the highly learned and at the same time very best friend, his Georg Spalatin, now at Augsburg, who is to be loved sincerely in Christ.
JEsus.

Hail! I am now in the greatest need of your help, dear Spalatin; indeed, the honor of almost our entire university needs it with me. But it is this, that you stop at our most noble prince and D. Pfeffinger, that our prince and the imperial majesty affect this to me at your pope, that my matter is referred or transferred to German lands, as I have written to our prince. 1) For thus [by dragging the matter to Rome] you see how treacherous and malicious those preachers, my murderers, are out to destroy me. I would have written to Herr Pfeffinger because of this very matter, that he would effect this favor for me with the imperial majesty and the prince through his and his friends' service, but this must be done hurriedly. They have set me a short time, as you can see in this bog (*Lerna* 2) of the citation. You will read them at the same time with their many-headed monsters (*hydris*) and abominations. Therefore you will see to it, you love me and hate godless beings, that you soon obtain advice and help from the prince. When you have obtained this, you will report it to me, or rather to the venerable father, our vicar Johann Staupitz, who is perhaps already with you in Augsburg or will be soon. For he is staying in Salzburg and has promised the Nurembergers to come there for the Feast of the Ascension 3). Finally, I ask you not to be anxious or distressed for my sake: "The Lord makes an end of temptation" [1 Cor. 10:13].

Now I answer to Silvester's dialogue, 4) which is quite forest (*sylvestro*) and completely uncouth. You will soon have the whole, as well as it will be finished. Just the-

1) This letter seems to be no longer available.

2) I, 6ma literally of very many evils that have been brought together and piled up at once against one (Erl. Briefw.).

3) This is to be understood from Assumption Day (August 15).

4) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 310. Luther's response to this *ibid.* col. 344.

This extremely lovely person is both my adversary and my judge, as you will see in the citation. Farewell. Since I am burdened with many writings, I cannot write more extensively. Wittenberg on the day of St. Cyriac [August 8] 1518. Brother Martinus Eleutherius, Augustinian.

Luther's letter to Spalatin, in which he testifies to his courage and asks the Elector to ensure that he is denied a letter of safe conduct. August 21, 1518.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv in Zerbst. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 76; in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 621; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 132 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 218 after the original. Löscher and Walch have the wrong date: August 15. We have translated according to the Erlangen edition.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To his Georg Spalatin, priest of Christ, now at Augsburg, librarian to Duke Frederick of Saxony, his learned friend.

JEsus.

Hail! The messenger I sent to the most illustrious Prince Frederick has not yet returned, so I am still waiting to see what the Lord will do through you in my cause. I have heard, however, that the most reverend Cardinal Cajetan has mainly been instructed by the pope to make the hearts of the emperor and the princes hostile to me with all zeal. So much does even the conscience of so great popes fear, nay, so great and so intolerable is the power of truth over the works done in darkness."

But I, you should know, my dear Spalatin, fear nothing in all these things. Even if their flattery or power succeeds in making me hateful to everyone, I still have the position of my heart and the awareness that I recognize and confess that I have everything I have and everything they dispute from God, to whom I also gladly and willingly offer and present it: if he takes it, let it be taken; if he receives it, let it be received; and his name be hallowed and praised forever. Amen.

I do not yet see quite how I could escape the church punishments intended for me if the prince does not come to my aid. Again, I would rather lie in punishment forever than have the prince come under any evil suspicion for my sake. Believe, therefore, that as I offered myself before, so I offer myself now, and say this to whom you will or to whom it seems good to you. I will never be a heretic. I can err in disputing, but I do not want to assert anything firmly, nor do I want to be caught by people's opinions.

It seemed good to our friends, both the learned and those who are well advised, that I asked our Prince Frederick for a safe conduct (as it is called) through his dominions. If he should refuse me this, as I know he will refuse me, then I would have a quite just objection and excuse not to appear in Rome (for that is how they talk). Therefore, if you would also, in my name, send a written notice to the most illustrious prince, in which he would deny me the letter of safe conduct, and leave it to me at my own risk if I wanted to go, you would do me a great favor. But here action is needed soon. The days are hurrying by, and the appointed day is approaching, and the land separates us too far, and business hinders us.

I am sending the explanations of my theses, 1) but printed incorrectly; so my temporary absence has harmed 2). Against the dialogue of Silvester, yes, at the same time as the dialogue itself, 3) my answer is printed in Leipzig, which I will also send to you shortly. I am very sorry that my name and my cause have risen so high and grown so much, that it has caused trouble even for such great princes, and that such a great clarity of such great lights 4) is about me, who am a very small person. I thought that I would be too contemptible, especially as a disputator, than to

1) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 100. The printer of the *resolutiones* was Johann Grünenberg at Wittenberg.

2) in Heidelberg.

3) by Melchior Lotther. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 344.

4) It seems to us that this is to be referred to New Year's Eve.

My peers, let alone mediocre people should move. Fare well in the Lord forever. Wittenberg, on Saturday [in] the Octave of the Assumption of St. Mary [August 21, 1518.

Brother Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian.

But they [our friends] also advise that care be taken that the date of the writing (as it is called) be anticipated, so that it be dated as written before the evening of Bartholomew [August 23]. And they say that this is not a lie, because it is certain and known that the Prince's heart and mind have always been such that he wanted to deny the permit.

149 Another testimony to his confident courage in a letter to Staupitz, the

Sept. 1, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 8, § 1.

2. Luther is granted the right to travel to Rome through the mediation of Lhursach and the concession of the University of Wittenberg.

Luther's report to Lang that the Elector, out of special favor and affection for thorough theology, had taken him and D. Carlstadt into his protection without being asked, and would by no means suffer the indulgence merchants to drag him to Rome. March 21, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 3, § 2.

151: The University of Wittenberg's letter of concession to Pope Leo X concerning Luther's citation to Rome. Sept. 25, 1518.

This document is found in Latin in D. Ooäkr. 8vsvus Veaušwia ^VitzksrjnZis, Oot. 8, 3K; in the Wittenberg Collection (1550), torn. I, tot. 206k; in the Jena (1579), tona. I, tot. 183k; in the Erlanger, opp. var. ar^., tom. II, p. 363 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol., II, p. 384. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 34k; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 106k; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 119; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 171 and in Walch.

1) Most Holy Father, let not H. H. gentleness and right episcopal goodness consider it a sacrilege or impudent audacity that we dare to come before H. Holiness with this writing of ours. Fear of God and the truth

We hope that, instead of our stupidity, H.H.'s most gentle love and favor shown to everyone will sufficiently reconcile and satisfy us.

One, Brother Martinus Luther, professor of the liberal arts 1) and holy scripture, a faithful, pleasant member (as it is called) of our university, has humbly asked us and, trusting in our intercession that it should be beneficial to him, requested a writing to H. H. in which we should give him a testimony to his teaching and conduct, both of which, as he complains (and is publicly in the day), are accused and condemned by some, unfairly.

In addition, he is also currently being cited by force and authority of H.H. through commissaries, with serious orders that he should personally appear in Rome, because he has publicly disputed several sayings about indulgences in the school here. However, because he cannot do what he should and would like to do, due to his weakness and dangerous journey, it is difficult, even impossible, for him to obey such orders. Therefore, we are moved by his need and request to have compassion on him, so that we do not want to deny him our testimony, which he believes is necessary.

4 We therefore ask, most holy father, in all humility and submission, as willing obedient sons of H.H., that you consider this man to be such, whose mind and thoughts have never been tainted with some stain of untruthful, false doctrine, contrary to the Roman Church's opinion, only that he, according to custom and right, like other doctors of theology, has set some matters to debate more freely (but nothing finally decided, much less defended), than some of his opponents could have suffered.

(5) For we ourselves have never wanted to be considered as those who would stubbornly hold something against the common Christian doctrine, but are willing and ready to be obedient in all things to Your Holiness and the Holy Church's opinion and will. We are willing and ready to be obedient in all things to His Holiness and the Holy Church's opinion and will "in Christ Jesus our Lord and God, who will also graciously grant us His Holiness to be asked of us, and through His divine grace may He appear here and there to be followed with eternal glory, amen.

Given at Wittenberg, September 25, Anno 1518.

E. Holiness devout, subservient sons, Rector, Magistri and Doctoren of the University of Wittenberg.

1) artium is missing in Löscher.

152 Letter sent by the University of Wittenberg to Carl von Miltitz, the Pope's chamberlain, concerning this very matter. Sept. 25, 1518.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg Collection (1550), toru. I, tot. 206; in the Jena (1579), tom. I, lot. 183; in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 385; and in the Erlanger, opp. var. ar^h, tom. II, p. 361. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 34; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 1055; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 118; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 172 and Lei Walch.

To the worthy and noble Lord, Mr. Carl von Miltitz, secret chamberlain and apostolic nuncio, our most revered patron.

1. We have heard, not without great sadness and distress, dear and venerable sir, that the venerable father, Martin Luther, Augustinian, Master of the Holy Scriptures and the liberal arts, the most honest and noble member of our university, has fallen into such great disfavor of the holy apostolic see, that he, after being cited and demanded to Rome, with manifold appeals of his faith, godliness and office, which are befitting a Christian man, has not yet been able to obtain that his case be ordered to impartial, unsuspicious judges in Germany, be heard in a safe place and be laid down.

2. For we are attached to the common Christian religion, to the holy apostolic see and the holy Roman church, and are so opposed to them that, if we knew for certain that Doctor Martinus had fallen into such ugly, abominable and godless errors, we wanted to be the very first not only to hand him over to the laws, but also not to suffer him further, separated from us, among us, let alone that 'we would want to be sympathetic and favorable to him, if he had departed from the truth of the Gospel and was in error.

Because we have seen and experienced his skill, diverse knowledge and high intellect in all kinds of arts, adorned with irreproachable morals and Christian conduct for many years, which is known not only to us here, but also in many countries where Christian faith prevails, we think it is our duty to intercede for the pious, God-fearing father, who also well deserves it for us.

4 For if he were not such a one as we testify of him, neither our Christian and most noble prince and lord, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, nor our Christian and most noble prince and lord of the Holy Roman Empire, would have him.

Our university founder, patron and favorable father, until this day in his lands,' also we in our assembly, have not suffered.

For this reason we ask you, venerable Lord, most earnestly and most diligently, to command this godly and highly learned man to the most holy of our Lord, Pope Leo X, so that he may obtain what he has offered to do for his defense. Because we know that you are dear, pleasant and valuable to the supreme bishop, we do not doubt that we will obtain what we ask for all the more easily through your support and help, the more gentle and kind the supreme bishop is, educated from childhood by the most excellent and learned men in the best arts.

For this reason, show this friendship to your dear fatherland, so that it may be known that one German does not abandon another, especially because it has such an opportunity for the sake of the pious father Doctor Martin's accident that we do not doubt that if papal sanctity had thoroughly recognized his innocence, godliness and skill, he would find favor with it, and his cause would become good. For we know that D. Martinus will do everything that a Christian theologian is entitled to do, and will not do anything that an impartial judge would reproach him with, as if he had sought unnecessary confusion and bickering.

(7) If you, venerable Lord, will please us in this, we will surrender to you completely and praise your praise without ceasing. Your Honor is well pleased. Given at Wittenberg, September 25, 1518.

Rector, Magistri and Doctores of the University of Wittenberg.

C. About the further efforts of the papal court against Luther.

153 Emperor Maximilian I. Letter to Pope Leo X concerning Luther's cause. Aug. 5, 1518.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), loiu. I, lol. 203; in the Jena edition (1579), lom. I, col. 1795; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 317 and in the Erlanger, opp. var. urZ., tom. II, p. 349. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 26; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 99; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 113; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 169 and in Walch.

I. Most Holy Father, Most Reverend Sir! A few days ago we heard that a brother of the Augustinian Order, Martinus Luther ge-

The brother, who is called the "brother of the church," has spread some conclusions concerning the trade of indulgences, according to the custom of the high schools to discuss it and to converse with others, has also taught much in his sermons about the same trade, and further about the virtue and power of the apostolic ban, among which the several parts are considered harmful and heretical; and that the same trade is now recorded and contested by Silvester Prierias, your sacred palace magister. This deal is all the more displeasing to us, because the said brother, as stubbornly as we are told, intends to insist on his doctrine, and has also received many patrons and defenders of his errors, among whom are also great men and people of great renown.

Because such suspicious conclusions and dangerous doctrines can be recognized and discussed by no one better, more correctly, and more truthfully than by your holiness, which alone, as it is able to do, so it is also responsible to silence and curb the founders and beginners of loose, useless, and foolish questions, sophistical causes, and quarrels over words. More harmful people than these have never existed for the Christian religion, since they alone have in mind that what they have learned should be valid and respected above all others, not 1) what at this time the unanimous opinion of scholars, and of those who have blessedly fallen asleep in Christ, considers pure and thorough doctrine to be right and approved.

There is a very old decree of the papal law on how to appoint teachers, in which nothing is ever decided about sophistry; only that in the decrees it is put in doubt whether it is right to learn it or not, and its study is disapproved by many high learned people.

(4) Therefore, because one despises what is commanded and commanded by papal authority, and accepts only that which is uncertain, even that which is rejected and condemned as unfit, it must certainly follow that such masters sometimes grossly err, deal in dreams, and are blind. We have to thank them that for such a long time righteous teachers, accepted and approved by the church, have not only remained unread, but most of them have also been falsified and mutilated.

5 We are silent that through these masters many more heresies have grown up and arisen than have ever been condemned. Want also swiss

1) This "not", which is missing in the Latin editions, was added by the old translator; as we think, rightly.

I am not aware of the evil rumors and annoyances that have been spread throughout the world by Reuchlin, and now by this most dangerous conflict about indulgences and apostolic authority by these harmful teachers; where your Holiness and the most reverend Fathers' (the Cardinals') authority do not put an end to them, they will soon not only seduce the common simple man, but also attract the favor and chance of great lords and princes, to the ruin of both of them.

6) Then it will follow, if one stands by longer with slumbering eyes, leaving free space and room, that all the world (after which they also strive with the highest diligence) must have before their eyes, instead of the best and holiest teachings, their foolheiding 2).

(7) Out of special deference to the Apostolic See, we wish to make this known to Your Holiness, so that Christian truth will not be falsified by such foolish, impudent disputations and cunning, seductive arguments, which would offend many. For what Your Holiness will conclude in this matter, for the praise and glory of God Almighty and the salvation of the believers in Christ, we want to keep seriously, and see to it that it is kept by everyone in our kingdom.

Given in our imperial city of Augsburg, on the 5th day of August, Anno 1518, in the 33rd year of the Roman Empire, and in the 29th year of the Hungarian Empire.

154 Luther's indication of the cause that had forced him to publish his Resolutions in three letters to Spalatin of Feb. 15, 1518, Sept. 2, 1518, and Nov. 11, 1517.

1) Because the stupid people did not cease to accuse him of being a heretic in all sermons, yes, not only to declare the Wittenberg University infamous and heretical because of him, but even to accuse the Elector and to make him hated by all the world, as if the whole being came from him, since he had induced Luther to do this out of envy against the Archbishop of Magdeburg. He (Luther) finds this very difficult to hear, and therefore asks Spalatin's council whether it should be brought to the attention of the Elector, and he can well suffer that the Elector offers him a disputation or court, wherever or however it may be, only that he be safely escorted and that the innocent Elector not be involved in it; At the same time, he reports how it causes him much struggle to keep himself in check in such a way that he does not sin against Christ and forgive the truth by remaining silent. 2) In the meantime, Spalatinus should only tell everyone, one should only have to do the matter with him (Luther) alone, he wants to give a speech and an answer about it, and be

2) Wittenberger: usrüus instead of:

sriaeniass.

ready to argue with anyone about it; but the innocent Elector should be left alone and not be involved at all. 3) For this reason, he did not allow his positiones to come to court until they had been published in print in everyone's hands, so that one could swear that the Elector did not know anything about it, whom one suspected because of the Archbishop of Magdeburg.

See Appendix, No. 4, §§ 5.6. No. 9, §§1.2. No. 11, § 2.

155 Prince Frederick of Saxony's very wise answer to Cardinal Raphael's letter concerning Luther's cause, with the title *St. Georgii ad velum aureum*. Lochau, July 10, 1520.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), torn. I, toi, 227 b; in the Jena (1579) torn. I, col. 180 and in the Erlangen, opp. var. arA., tom. II, p. 351. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 56d; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 100b; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 113; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 170 and in Walch. Latin and German in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 313. In all editions with the wrong date: "Augsburg den 5. August 1518", and with the note that Raphael's writing is "not available" (ynana ckemdk-amus). However, the original of Raphael's letter is in Weimar, dated "Rornas 3. 1520", and likewise the concept of our letter from Lochau of July 10, 1520 (Knaake, in Köstlin, Martin Luther (3), vol. I, 789,1. note). - Löscher names the addressee: Raphael de Rovere, from the princely Urb mischen family; his name is Raphael Petrucci.

Most reverend in God Father, dearest Lord and friend! After I have read your love letters, given to Rome on April 3, and delivered to me on July 7, I have received and heard of your love in a friendly opinion, especially that E. L. still remembers my most dear Lord Father, of blessed memory.

For I have always provided myself for your love's honor and all good, as E. L. has so far easily been able to hear from my letters; I also provide myself for nothing less to E. L., and am again quite willing and ready to owe E. L. such with thanks.

And because I hear that E. L. has encountered and is supposed to have encountered I don't know what kind of unpleasantness and misfortune, I have borne a heartfelt pity for E. L.. However, if things had turned out better for E. L., as I hope, I would have been very happy to hear that and would have enjoyed it.

Furthermore, I have heard what E. L. writes about D. Martin Luther. God willing, E. L. shall never know that I intend or want to do otherwise, nor shall I have any other mind or will, except that I am against

The following is a list of the most important things that can be done in this way.

(5) Thus, I have never so far undertaken to defend either the writings or the sermons of Luther, and I do not undertake to do so even this day, as I have reported this to Papal Holiness Legate, Cardinal St. Sixti, and even to the Papal Nuncio Carl von Miltitz, both in writing and verbally at the present time.

6 Nevertheless, I have heard that D. Martinus has always offered, if he would be assured with sufficient assurance and free escort from all violence, to appear obediently before pious, impartial, unsuspicious, learned and Christian judges, to defend his doctrine himself, and if he would be told better and holier things from divine scripture, to let himself be instructed and to follow.

I also hear that the Archbishop and Elector of Trier, my good friend, is admitted to him as a commissary, and I have no doubt that he will appear obediently if he is well and sufficiently guarded with free safe conduct. So that no one can blame me for anything in this matter.

8 It would also grieve me from the bottom of my heart that at my age error in the holy general faith should arise and have its continuation; but it would be much more burdensome to me that such errors should be promoted and protected by me. May the merciful God, as I earnestly pray, graciously keep me unstained from this horrible sin.

9 I did not want to behave this on E. L.'s letter, and ask that E. L. will kindly accept and understand this writing of mine, which I hereby command the Almighty God to keep in His grace and protection. Given Lochau, July 10, 1520. 1)

Luther's report, which was actually the intention of Cardinal Raphael.

This and the following number are from the first Eisleben part, p. 2, printed in the Altenburger, Vol. I, p. 151. According to what we have contributed in the introduction to the previous number, there is an obvious "anachronism" in this relation. Aurifaber will not have taken his information from Luther's mouth, but from the collections of his works, and is misled by the wrong dating. About the unreliability of Aurifaber and the Eisleben collection published by him, one should read what we have further explained in the introduction to the 22nd volume, p. 53 ff.

1) In the editions: "From Augsburg, August 5, 1518."

The parish priests immediately became afraid, since Luther's positiones were going out, and Raphael, the Cardinal, wrote to Duke Frederick, the Elector, very kindly, and among other things he indicated: I hear. Your Electoral Grace has a monk who wants to weaken the power of the Christian Church. I would have liked to see Duke Frederick burn me.

Luther's story, which Aurifaber copied from him.

The pope and all the priests urged Maximilian the emperor to schedule an imperial diet at Augsburg; Cajetan the Cardinal also came there; but they had negotiated with Duke Frederick, the old Elector, of blessed memory, that if the imperial diet broke up, he should send me out to the Cardinal.

158a. Luther's report to Spalatin on Cajetan's intention. August 21, 1518.

See the 148th document at the beginning.

158 b. The Vicar General of the Augustinian Order, Gabriel Venetus, orders Luthern to be seized and held in custody bound hand and foot. August 25, 1518.

This piece, because it is important and belongs in this section, we have inserted here from Kolde, Martin Luther, Vol. I, p. 162. Cf. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte 2, 432 ff. 476. Kolde, Augustinercongregation, p. 318. 411. Köstlin, Martin Luther (3), Vol. I, p. 228 f. remarks that we still possess this decree, which was not further known at that time.

His judges did not think of anything else than Luther's condemnation. Above all, they wanted to get Luther under their control. First, he received a formal citation, which arrived in Wittenberg on August 7; then he was to appear before his judges within sixty days. But a few weeks later, it was felt that other means should be used. Hieronymus Ghinucci [Bishop of Ascoli, who, along with Prierias, was appointed Luther's judge] and the Pope himself therefore turned anew to the Vicar General of the Augustinian Order, Gabriel Venetus, - the position of General was vacant. The latter had to say to himself that it might have its difficulties to fight against

Luther because of the order, since the relations of his immediate superior Johann von Staupitz to him were well known. But he believed to have found a remedy by basing his hope on the old jealousy between the Saxon Provincial 1) and the Vicar General of the German Congregation. Thereupon he ordered the former - it was Gerhard Hecker, later highly deserving of the Reformation of Westphalia - in a letter of 25. In a letter of August 25, with reference to a papal decree that Luther was an accomplished heretic, he ordered him, under penalty of forfeiture of all degrees, dignities, and offices, to be seized, imprisoned, and held in custody with his hands and feet bound; indeed, he gave him the authority to impose excommunication and interdict, depending on whether it appeared necessary for the execution of the enterprise. It is doubtful whether this order reached his address; an attempt to carry it out was probably never made. Nevertheless, the document is a telling proof of the means that Rome did not shy away from.

v. How Luther's life was secretly confessed with poison and assassination.

Luther's report of this in a letter to Link. July 10, 1518.

Appendix, No. 2, § 2.

160 Luther's report to Spalatin about how a doctor who was a sorcerer had been bought against him, who could make himself invisible at will, and who had been ordered to kill Luther.

April 16, 1520.

Annex, No. 12, § 2.

Luther's report to the same, how von Hutten could not warn him enough about poison, adding that the Elector would not want to grant free access to everyone.

Sept. 11, 1520.

Annex, No. 13, § 8.

1) The Provincial of the Augustinian Order for the Province of Saxony is to be distinguished from the "Vicar" who was set over the Congregation of the Reformed Monasteries or the "Observants" (Köstlin, M. Luther, Vol. I, p. 229).

162: Narrative of how they tried to kill and murder D. Luther in 1520 by trickery, told by him in 1546 at Eisleben.

The following two numbers have passed from the Eisleben Collection, vol. I, p. 24, into the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 546, and the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 378. This number is also in the Erlanger, vol. 64, p. 365.

1 In 1520, after the death of Emperor Maximilian, one of them went to Wittenberg to see D. Luther. Luther and pretended to be the emperor's chancellor. When D. Luther left the college after his lecture and wanted to enter the monastery, he offered his hand to the doctor and asked to speak with him. The doctor received him kindly and led him to his room. There he said: "My dear doctor, I am surprised how you can be so bold and offer your hand to anyone so easily; someone could have a gun in his sleeve and shoot a bullet into you, I am alone with you now. To which the doctor replied: How would one get away with such a thing if he had to put his body on it and die? Then the same man had said: If I strangled you and died, the pope would make me a saint and you a heretic whom he would hand over to the devil.

When the doctor heard this, he was a little afraid of him and called his servant Wolf. But the same man soon departed from the doctor and also made his way out of the city. The doctor thought he was a traitor and murderer, and that he was justified in killing him; but God had taken away his courage, so that he could not do anything.

163] A few other histories of how the bishops in Poland, through a Jew, and likewise through a Bohemian, took Luther's life.

Around the same time, some bishops in Poland bribed a doctor of medicine with money (to whom they promised two thousand guilders) and decreed that he should kill Luther with poison, which he then agreed to do. But the same bishops had another doctor of medicine with them, to whom they revealed this as their trusted friend. Who then, through the

of Breslau in Silesia warned Luther and told him that a Jew would come, who called himself Franciscus, and would pretend to be a physician, and could speak many languages, and wanted to be a highly famous astrologer; thus his person was finely described, that he had yellow hair, item, well dressed, would also be a polite and experienced man; he should beware of him, because he intended to kill him with poison.

2 Doctor Luther has been waiting diligently for this guest; but over a year ago, one came from Prague to Wittenberg, and joined D. Luther's good friends and became known to him; he wanted to throw a ring or a bismuth apple into a cup and drink to Doctor Luther. Luther's good friends and became acquainted with him; he let himself be heard that he wanted to throw a ring or a bismuth apple into a cup and drink to Doctor Luther. If there were poison in the cup, it should not harm him, for he wanted to take an antidote for it. Since he now came under the suspicion of many, as if he were Franciscus from Poland, he was warned to flee the city, which he did.

Not long after, a Jew came to Wittenberg to the Aurogallo, and wanted to have the doctor's confession 1) through him, pretended to be an astrologer, also wanted to know many languages, and had all the signs on him that those from Breslau had previously written about Franciscus from Poland; only his hair was brown. Now D. Luther had thought that he had dyed his hair so, and had him imprisoned and washed with sharp lye. When the Jew was frightened by this and did not know why he had been washed, although his hair remained brown and he was found innocent, he was made to swear an oath and released from prison.

The impostor came from Poland to Wittenberg over five years ago, was well dressed, and came to Philipp Melanchthon's inn, because he had heard that Philipp Melanchthon was interested in astrology. Because he had let himself be heard against Philipp Melanchthon, he wanted to see D. Luther and make friendship with him, so Philipp Melanchthon asked D. Luther to be his guest. Over the table, the Pole told many princes and lords about Gnesen [*genesis* == sign of birth (?)] by heart, and said his Judicium on it, and also talked about the Turkish and Tartar religion; for he had traveled through almost the whole world, and could be quite friendly to the people, was also of such sweet, funny conversation, that everyone could tell him the truth.

1) That is, acquaintance.

The man listened with pleasure, and Doctor Luther himself bore a great favor to him.

5. But as the doctor left such a supper, and on the way was very surprised about this man's politeness, arts, kindness and skill, and came to the monastery at his stairs, the doctor remembered what had been written to him by those in Breslau (and the doctor said that the angels must have given it to him and reminded him, otherwise he would have forgotten it), because all the signs agreed, and the rogue had also said to him: Doctor, can you play chess, I will come to you and play with you. But the doctor had traveled to Torgau early in the morning and ordered in the monastery that he should not be let in. While the doctor was in Torgau, the Pole came to the monastery and asked where the doctor had his bedchamber, and had diligently investigated other opportunities.

When this was reported to the doctor in his return, he sent for Philip Melanchthon and the captain of Wittenberg, and revealed to them his suspicion and suspicion of this Franciscus, that he would come to Wittenberg to strangle him. Then the same Franciscus was summoned before the captain and this was held against him. But he denied it to the highest degree, also excused himself, he was not a Jew, also offered himself, he wanted to reject the prepuce, and pretended that he had come to Wittenberg because he wanted to have a bible printed in seven languages there. Since the captain now let him come with good from him, and the rumor of his knavery

When the war broke out, and he came under suspicion of such treason from honest people who even spoke out against him, he secretly rolled away from Wittenberg again.

7 And Doctor Martin Luther said in response: he believed that many of you had been sent to Wittenberg to kill him, but God had frightened these boys so that they would not have had to harm him. He also said that he truly believed that the chairs and backrests on which he preached were often poisoned, and that the Almighty God miraculously protected him.

8) D. Mart. Luther also said the same time in Eisleben that he believed he had often drunk poison, and it did not have to harm him. And he had certainly gotten poison, since he had once been in a convivium in Wittenberg, and went home at night, he became ill in bed, and felt great pain, began to break three times in a row, and soon after had six great sedes; in the same hour he also got a violent thin catharr, followed by an immense great sweat, which had stunk very badly. There had not been a single hole in his whole body where something had not come out. But it had not harmed him, for he was quite healthy in the morning and very merry afterwards. And said D. Mart. Luther said: I believe God thought: You want to forgive him 1) and kill him, so I will make it a purgation for him.

1) In the old edition "him". But "forgive" [vergiften] is transivum and requires the accusative.

The third chapter.

From the Imperial Diet in Augsburg Anno 1518 and the Augsburg world-famous events between the papal legate Cajetan and Luther

First Section.

About the Reichstag itself and the actions and transactions concerning religion that took place there.

164 Emperor Maximilian I requires the prelate of the church at Herrenalb to attend an Imperial Diet at Augsburg scheduled for St. Catharine's Day (Nov. 25) 1517. Oct. 1, 1517.

This document is found in the äoenmentu mormsteriorurn VirtenberAensiruD, Theil II, p. 212. - It actually does not belong here, but we have retained it to preserve equal counting with Walch. In the old edition, it has the completely inverted heading: Wie der Kaiser Maximilian I. diesen Reichs

The first day of the year was announced mostly at the instigation of the papists, in order to have Luther publicly declared a heretic. This document is dated October 1, 1517, but Luther did not appear in public until October 31. This Reichstag is postponed to the year 1518 (Tentzel 1,60).

Wür Maximilian, by the Grace of God elected Roman Emperor, at all times Merer of the Empire, in Germania, in Hungeren, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. We offer Our Grace and All Good to the Most Reverend Abbot of the House of God at Herrnalb. Our dear and dear Abbot, the princes, rulers and sovereigns of the Holy Roman Empire have described before you at the Imperial Diet in Maintz, out of the misfortunes which have befallen us and the Holy Roman Empire and which are still before us, as has been seen and warranted, and have therefore raised us out of our Lower Burgundian lands and invited us up to the Rhine, But the princes, rulers and sovereigns had still arrived in small numbers in our time, and yet the need appeared to us through great conspiracy, practices, and the actions of our and the empire's repugnant and disobedient rulers, and it became clear from day to day that we should not allow ourselves to be deceived for the sake of such a thing.

For the sake of necessity, conspiracy, practices and deeds, to wait out the same besides the action of the Imperial Diet, which is to be discussed and promoted, we have gone up to Swabia, have left our councillors and authorities in action with the princes, princes and sovereigns at Maintz, and through them have promoted and advertised our and the Holy Roman Empire's necessities and obligations, as is known. 1) However, because such our advocacy and solicitation could not take place or be successful, and therefore we had to turn our and the kingdom's necessities and obligations into another way, and allowed the princes, princes and sovereigns (to spare their persons and property) from the day at Maintz on, they wrote us a letter and reminded us of it, how they could not nor would not, before their departure, have thought 2) of what might give cause and possibility to our and the Holy Roman Empire's obligatory and otherwise pending grievous outrages in the German Nation, and that, if they did so, they would not be able to change their minds, except that they arose from two or three foundations or roots. Namely, from the rights, uniqueness, and security that they subsequently specified in two, namely twenty-eight hundred articles (therefore all things 3) and a number of the three pieces mentioned above), and therein stated what disgrace, insult, complaint, untruth, tail, schedules, checks and

1) The following, about a columnne, is also found in Tentzel's "Historische Bericht", Vol. I, p. 57 ff, but in a frequently different spelling. Tentzel says that the Emperor took this passage from the petition addressed to the Emperor by the German Estates from the Imperial Diet at Mainz.

2) In Walch's old edition: nachgedenckhen.

3) Tentzel: Causes.

The laws of the Holy Roman Empire, the princes and rulers of the German Nation, but also all lesser sovereigns, both religious and secular, widows and orphans, advisers, travellers and merchants, for the sake of these three causes and shortcomings, are incumbent upon us alone, 1) where it is not to be seen, nor to be assumed and averted, that nothing else may result from it, than the destruction and ruin of the Holy Roman Empire, of all of its sovereignty and of the German Nation, and whereupon we are under the highest and most solemn command and are urged to do so, to take these things to heart, to exemplify and give us examples from past histories, to look at and consider the present situation, to advise and help, so that all these things may be seen to be done, and that they may be met and remedied in a proper manner, or at least turned to the least possible advantage, with a request as to what advice and help they may be able to give, so that no lack of property may appear or become apparent to them. 2c., with further content of the 3) Electorate, Princes, Sovereigns and Administrations' writs, which we not only highly appreciate, but also have and still have much mercy on, in humble gratitude to the Almighty, so that his grace may be extended to our and the Holy Roman Empire's Electors, Princes, Sovereigns and Sovereigns, and princes and sovereigns to such early and necessary considerations and counsels, as well as to such kindnesses and faithfulnesses (so that we may have long been here, but which we have never been able to raise), and that his grace will confirm that, if he has thus interceded in you, such wills and kindnesses of ours as we bear in these matters, We have given the princes, princes and sovereigns notice by letter from this time on to the princes of Mainz, and have asked them, for the sake of the court, to rise up from Maintz by their councils and authorities and to go to Augsburg, since we have left our councillors behind us to take up such actions and to continue until they arrive, and a beginning may have been made, after the growing troublesome times, which we have had from the infidels, that the kingdom of hunger and afterward our inheritance must also be taken down to our principality of Austria, because of our other needy affairs, since we are now shortly to be transferred and advised, the may-

1) Tentzel: oblegen wäm

2) Tentzel: mynst büß

3) "the" is missing in Tentzel.

4) In the old edition: and.

(Although unwillingly and with difficulty, but according to the truth and truthfulness, credible information and intelligence about the Turkish attack they recently had on the king of Babilonia, how they completely destroyed him, exterminated him, and conquered all his land and power from him, They have also greatly exhausted the sovereign of Persia, pressed for the holy land of our Lord Jesus Christ with a mighty hand, obtained it and more for their will, and that from this it is no other matter and burdensome to care for and wait for, then when they have accomplished and executed their will in the same mighty places, they will get their sighing defiance into the imperial territory, and for the time being our mighty and tyrannical interventions and practices against Christendom (unless the matters are faithfully considered, and the same are met with unwarranted force and consolation) will be hard to resist before them, whereupon our Holy Father the Pope has also decreed for our holy Christian churches, and for this reason he requests our help and protection, as well as that of other Christian kings, Because we have been informed by our councillors of the day and the departure from Mainz, that the princes, rulers, sovereigns and rulers may not, out of their own authority, have been forced to come up to Augsburg, but have previously requested that they should not be misled and should comply with our councillors from Augsburg. Accordingly, in consideration and mercy of the princes, sovereigns, saints, and councils, the act, petition, and offer of the Diet of Mainz, as set forth in the foregoing letter of theirs, and in consideration of our good faith and willingness to do so, together with the unspeakable grievances and grievances which we, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, and the common Christendom, have before us from all the above-mentioned men and words, and from the towers. We have therefore considered and accepted the necessity of a new Imperial Diet, which we hereby appoint for you and for other saints on St. Catherine's Day, that is, the fifth and twentieth day of the month of November, the ninth of July, in the city of Augsburg, both ours and the empire's, but we intend to spare your and other saints' persons and expenses as much as possible. We therefore recommend to you with all seriousness that you first and foremost secure your authority at the appointed Diet, with full authority and power, together with our and other Stendt councillors and authorities, who have been appointed above.

We have the right to consider and discuss the matters of the council and to agree and compare them until a decision is reached, and if between these acts we personally attend such a Diet and require you and others with your persons, which we will certainly do, then you personally will also hasten to take action against all hindrances, in such emergency acts, and to carry them out and perform them. And so, first of all, by your authority and following people, you personally do not refrain from such necessary actions, but prove yourself obedient and faithful to us and to the Holy Roman Empire, and also keep yourself in accordance with the actions of the curates, princes, sovereigns, and authorities, the actions and the actions (to be done to us in Mainz), and do not deny them, nor do you give anyone else cause for them to do so by your failure to do so. As we have graciously comforted and relied upon you for our needs and the needs of the Holy Roman Empire and the common Christianity, we will also consider and acknowledge this in all graces toward you. Given in our city of Baden in Austria on the first day of October, Anno Domini in the seventeenth, of our kingdoms of the Roman in the twentieth and thirtieth, and of the Hunger in the eighth and twentieth.

Ad mandatum Cesaree Majestatis proprium.

A. The imperial estates make great complaints to the emperor about the Roman court.

165. complaints of the German nation, with the means and counsel against them, to Emperor Maximilian, and the Emperor's edict. 1510 and 1518.

These complaints were handed over to the Emperor Maximilian at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1510 and then brought up again at the Imperial Diet there in 1518. They were initially printed separately, then included by Flacius in his *catzloZus tostiniu vsritatis*, p. 469. After him, *t?rstism8* published them in the second volume *rsruna Mrnmn*, x. 373. 373. wolf in his *Isation. rnworud.*, p. 202. *gvldast* has them latin in the constitution. *lnperial.*, tom. II, toi. 119 and German in the "Reichs-Satzungen" Theil I, p. 215 under the title: "Oravawinu Asrmanions nutionis, Beschwerden der Teutschen Nation und des Heiligen Römischen Reichs wider des Pabsts zu Röm Geytigkeit und Tyranny, mit ihren Remedien und Avisen an die Kayserliche Majestät." In 1518 they are reprinted at Schlettstädt *euurn lieeutia imperatoris NmxiirüHau* in *otkeiuu LedmreriLNÄ* *ack iuererueuturu OermÄuue et Dex Aoriaru*. In Tentzel, Hist.

1) In the old edition: with

Report, Vol. I, p. 36 ff., the complaints are found word for word, the remedies in a detailed excerpt. Since Tittel's translation in Walch's old edition is very incomprehensible, we have inserted the better old translation of the first piece from Tentzel here, and improved the following according to his information.

Translated into German.

a. Ten complaints against the Roman See on the part of the German nation and the Holy Roman Empire.

1. That the popes of Rome think and entirely believe that they are not guilty of keeping their forefathers, in whose place they have taken the covenants, pacts, privileges, liberties, and letters, given by them, without any contradiction, in perpetuity, but act and do against them without hesitation, at any person's instance and request, whoever comes, even bad, by all kinds of dispensation, suspension, revocation, and the like.

2. that the election of prelates has often been rejected and overturned.

3) That the election of provosts, which some church capitulars obtained with large sums of money and bought for themselves, is violated; namely, Speyer and Basel, whose bull of freedom to elect a provost was weakened during the lifetime of the one who gave it.

4. that the great ecclesiastical benefices and dignities be reserved to the Cardinals and Protonotaries.

5) That *expectativæ gratiæ*, that is, letters of expectation of grace, are given without any number, and often their many about a position to be awarded. 2) Therefore, there is much strife, quarreling, and legalism every day, and much money and property is wasted, since not only are great expenses incurred in obtaining the letters of pardon, which never achieve their effect, but it is much more important for all parties to carry out justice. Hence the saying arose among some: whoever brings with him a letter of expectation of grace from Rome, should at the same time put a hundred or two [hundred] gold florins in the box, which he will need to carry out the right.

6. that the annals are strictly demanded without any delay and mercy (even if a bishop reigns only a few years and departs with death). At times, more than one is obligated to give is taken away, because of the new

2) Tittel: "before a collator". Tentzel: "over a oohntnr".

The church in Mainz and Strasbourg is an obvious example of this.

7. that the governments of our churches be bestowed and given to the unskilled and unworthy at Rome, who are better shepherds to feed and herd donkeys than to govern and care for men.

8. that the old indulgences be revoked, suspended, and that new indulgences (with great murmuring and displeasure of the laity against the clergy) be granted and given to collect and raise money.

9. that the tithe is raised under the pretense of fighting the Turk, and yet no Turkish campaign follows.

(10) That the cases which could have been judged and ended in Germany (in which there are also learned and just judges) are brought before the See of Rome without any distinction, which the holy abbot St. Bernard also rejects and contradicts as unjust in his epistle to Pope Eugenius.

b. The remedies against the complaints of the German nation.

If it seemed advisable to their imperial majesty, the highest and most holy pope of the holy Roman church would have to be informed that it is difficult, even unbearable, for the German nation to suffer such great expenses and burdens from now on, to have so many annals to confirm archbishops and bishops, especially since they are supposed to be increased in some bishoprics and even doubled in some. For the Mainz see, as it is said, formerly had only 10,000 florins, and since an elected bishop did not want to give them there, and insisted firmly on this until his end, the one elected after him, who wanted to have the confirmation soon, did not want to resist the papal see, but offered the old sum, namely 10,000 florins. However, he was not able to obtain such confirmation, so he would also give up the 10,000 florins still in arrears from his ancestor. Thus he had to give 20,000 florins, which were undoubtedly entered into the chamber account (or register) in such a way that they were demanded from all archbishoprics up to our time, not only 20,000 florins, but even 25,000, because of new offices and new servants of the popes. Finally, 27,000 florins were demanded by the archbishop.

Bishop Jacob recently had to pay, as the ecclesiastical vicar of Mainz has told. Thus, in the life of a man, 25,000 (that is, 175,000 florins) of the mere archbishopric of Mainz came to Rome seven times for the confirmation of the archbishop. And since Archbishop Jacob held his see for barely four years, the lord Uriel, elected after him, had to pay at least 24 or 25,000 florins as well, of which he borrowed about half from merchants; to pay which he had to impose an assessment or subsidy on his poor subjects and peasants, some of whom have not yet paid off the previous tax or assessment because of the episcopal mantle purchased by the ancestor Jacob. And so our people will not only be oppressed and made beggars (as the most venerable Lord Bernardinus, Cardinal of St. Creuzo and recent legate, well knows), but will also be stirred up to rebellion and, as far as possible, to create freedom for themselves, and will talk at every opportunity about how they want to go along with the clergy.

2 The pope will also have to be reminded that the lands of the Germans have been devastated from time to time by many wars, and the number of the living has been reduced by frequent deaths. Thus the fields lie desolate here and there because of fewer buyers, and the customs duties have also been cut by all kinds of cases, and the mines exhausted, so that the income falls daily, of which the archbishops and bishops (who otherwise also have a lot to spend on honest and necessary expenses) may submit the annals to the apostolic see. At the end of his life, Archbishop Jacob said, not without reason, that his death would not hurt him as much as if his poor subjects had to pay a heavy tax again after his death because of the coat.

3 As a kind father who loves his children, and as a faithful and wise shepherd, let the pope deal more gently with his sons of the German nation, so that persecution does not soon befall all the priests of Christ, or most of them, like the Bohemians, fall away from the Roman Church. At least he would like to act less harshly when an archbishop or bishop has reigned only a few years, as happened with the Bamberg bishops, three of whom died within a few years. How did it go with many other bishoprics? because Germany (according to Aeneae Sylvii testimony) has more than fifty bishoprics; how with the abbots? some of which are confirmed in Rome. Assuming that in Germany there would be a greater income from goods, mines and customs,

Imperial Majesty and the other princes would need treasure and war costs against the enemies, especially the infidels, and to maintain peace in Germany and to let justice be done to everyone, for which the Royal Court of Appeal, which has been ordered quite sacredly at great expense, is extremely useful. Moreover, the imperial majesty needs money to restrain the rebels in the empire and to exterminate the disturbers of the peace and highwaymen, some of whom are not afraid to attack the churches, to plunder their goods, and even to attack and act mercilessly against the clergy.

Finally, our nation needs gold and money not only to rebuild churches and monasteries, but also for hospitals, foundlings, widows, childbeds, orphans, poor girls (so that they do not fall into traps), for the poor of the house, the elderly, as well as sickly persons, even those who are unclean in body, of whom Germany, unfortunately, has a great deal, which is also otherwise populous, because it is not averse to the female sex.

c. Funds for the imperial cities and welfare of souls.

1. If, by order of Her Imperial Majesty, it were obtained from the apostolic see (which the Archbishop of Mainz, Uriel, has obtained) that no one in imperial cities had canonries or vicarages in different churches of one city, but that all had theirs separately and distributed, There would be fewer disputes, the commonwealth would have more benefit, more learned persons useful to the realm and faith could be promoted, more masses could be read, and the entire church service could be conducted more freshly and commendably, as the examples of Basel and Speyer could be cited. For in both cities, according to a quite holy usage, no one can have several canonicates or vicariates in different churches. Therefore, religion and worship are in good condition everywhere. And it is incumbent upon the pope (according to Aeneae Sylvii testimony) to diligently see to it that God is honored and that hymns of praise and thanksgiving are sung to him.

It would also be very helpful for the countries and the salvation of the souls if the pope were to order invariably that in every college there be at least two prebends, which are not included in 1) the graces and 2) the blessings.

1) of *sndjootÄk*, that is, which the pope, according to his grace, could not confer or give a claim to.

The first two theologians, or one theologian and the other a canonist, could only be promoted.

3) And that competent people, that is, scholars of worldly wisdom, of Canonum or of spiritual law and of the Holy Scriptures, should go the sooner to the pastoral care, it would be expedient that by apostolic decree the monasteries and convents should give sufficient and certain benefits or revenues to the parishes which are incorporated or attached to them. For this is what a pope (as Aeneas considers it) must see to, that the Gospel of Christ, which is the best pasture for the soul, is preached to all in a pure manner, that all error and blasphemy are eradicated, that wars are stopped, and that theft, robbery, arson, murder, adultery, drunkenness, carousing, hatred and evil are done away with. Theologians and canonists seem to be more capable of imprinting such things on people's minds than stingy Roman courtiers. Yes, even learned theologians who are good at preaching can, through their speeches, better preserve and defend the honor and reputation of the pope and the most reverend cardinals.

d. Council or suggestions for her imperial majesty.

(1) As the kingdom of France has its pragmatic sanction (or public church settlement with the pope), after which it goes into forgiveness of the benefits, so the Roman Empire has the concordats of the princes, and imperial majesty is concerned that they be kept. Since then, however, they have seldom been broken by the Roman popes, and the *auditores rotæ* (or assessors of this so-called Roman court) are said to have always spoken according to them. And if a courtier, by means of any papal exemption (dispensation), should dare to break the same, then the bishop or prince or council of the same place should at the outset defend him, and hold the Concordats in his face, and godly admonish him that he should not act contrary thereto, because such insolence could not be tolerated, and even Turks and Jews should keep faith. Which (Roman) courtier would be so foolish and subject himself to live in any city against the will of the bishop, prince or any other community?

2 Imperial Majesty could also easily learn in France through letters or envoys how the beneficia would be distributed there, and what the pope would have to say at such distribution. This could also be done in the Roman Empire.

that the insatiable avarice of the courtiers be curbed and restrained. If the excellent universities, especially the theological faculty in Paris, approve of the manner in which benefits are dispensed and forgiven in France, then everyone can believe that the imperial majesty and the German princes, if they act in accordance with it, will be safe and pardoned by God. For it is to be considered certain that so many and great prelates, teachers and honest men who live in France and at the University of Paris do not approve of anything that would be done against God and justice.

3. however, may imperial majesty see to it that the archbishops and princes do not separate themselves from them in this holy undertaking and do not make common cause with them because they fear the papal ban; for the people will not tolerate the common ban (interdict) for long.

4. let the Imperial Majesty also see to it or decree that the mendicant monks do not preach against them (their Majesty), as those who like to please the apostolic see, because they fear to lose their liberties or rights, of which it would be desirable that they rhyme with Christ and nature, although they would have long been justly authorized to preach against such avarice and such abuses.

5. may their imperial majesty also prevent the pope from ordering the electors to proceed to the election of a new Roman king, as against Frederick II, the landgrave in Thuringia, and William, count of Holland, have been elected at the pope's behest.

6. may their imperial majesty prevent that not the prelates of the church, especially the provosts, who have the duty to report to the pope.

May Her Majesty prevent our most holy Lord, the Pope, from releasing the subjects from obedience and inciting the surrounding peoples to fall into the lands of the Emperor or the Archduchy of Austria, which these people will otherwise do willingly under the pretense of obedience to the apostolic commandments.

8 Let also Her Imperial Majesty be mindful against the papal ban, which will probably not remain outside of our most holy Lord Pope.

(9) Let the Imperial Majesty also be concerned that the pope does not, by the most pointed little fingers, cause the poor simple-minded people to hate the pragmatics, and the simple-minded to hate the pragmatics, and the pragmatics to hate the pragmatics, and the pragmatics to hate the pragmatics.

He is building the church of St. Peter in Rome at great expense, and is also making armor and fortifications against the Turks in many places, and that he has never harmed anyone with his wars, because he is reconquering the lands belonging to the church or the inheritance of St. Peter, to which he is bound by official duty. Therefore, let the Imperial Majesty think about it and consult how to counter such Roman attacks (where necessary) with the wisest caution.

e. Conclusion and most obedient (faithful) exhortation to Imperial Majesty.

Her Imperial Majesty will be able to do nothing more holy, more pleasing to God, nothing more worthy of praise in eternal times, than to moderate such great complaints and extortions of the German nation, to thereby remove the causes for the laity to persecute the clergy, to take the parishes (some of which Aeneas holds of such high income as Italian bishoprics) out of the jaws of the (Roman) courtiers, who cannot preach, advise nor comfort, that it strengthen the worship, curb the avarice and excesses of the courtiers, and preserve the laymen's right of patronage in both the appointments of canons and the appointment of clergy in the ordinary months; that it also provide for the best of many children in Germany, of noble and bourgeois families, who study divine and secular subjects at universities from their youth; that they also attain spiritual prebends outside the Roman court, without such highly burdensome plagues and costly, even shameful, legal disputes, which can help the Roman Empire with counsel and action and the entire Church with their prayers. For it is no small cause why France flourishes so, that it has so many great and excellent learned people. If the emperor will curb this godlessness, and set Germany, which is pressed with such heavy interest, in former freedom, if he will open the way to prebends for learned and righteous people, then he will justly be called by all a savior of Germany and her freedom, and a right father of the fatherland at all times, He will bring glory to himself and benefit to Germany as if he had acquired a country by the sword, and the country will owe the same gratitude to Maximilian as it does to all those who long before brought the empire from the Greeks to the Germans and ruled in it.

k. P. Rasteriscus to Mr. Jakob Wimpheling, Licentiate of Holy Theology.)

Greetings and Hail! I send back to you, most honored sir, with this my faithful table companion, the contents of the Pragmatica, which you copied very cleanly and faithfully, together with the most wise Instruction for Imperial Majesty. May the faithful God grant that our sharp-sighted and prudent eagle [that is, the Emperor] may also tear it off from the highest pinnacle (that is, the Pope), just like the Prince of the Lilies [that is, the King of France], and keep it, so that henceforth the benefit robbers do not completely devour and ruin the whole of noble Germany. In fact, I cannot praise the matter other than highly profitable and divine, and in truth I praise your diligence and the Roman imperial majesty's zeal for the common nature of Germany most highly. We have (especially in these pernicious and for us troubled times) not considered it necessary to do anything of this or to add to it. I will bring back Aeneas Silvium from Germany's mold as soon as possible, either myself, or send him back to his master with a faithful messenger. I wish [you] to live always most happily, and to use your, although shabby and rough, Rasteriscus (that is, mine) to all your liking honestly. In haste, because this my room mate, a righteous, pious man, whom I command your kindness in the best way, talked into me to continue. Dec. 1, 1511.

g. To the Most Serene Roman Emperor, Major of the Empire, Maximilian, Jacobus Regius.

Since I recently heard that Your Imperial Majesty is getting ready to travel to Rome, I have written to their secretary, Johanni Collauro, to remind Your Imperial Majesty of some things that will add to their high honors and Germany's prestige, in order to obtain them from the Holy Apostolic See and bring them back. For I think that they can obtain everything, since Your Majesty will visit and speak to Pope Julius II himself.

2. Among other things, I have specially informed the secretary, Johannes Collauro, that your ancestor of most charitable memory, Henrich, Roman Emperor, endowed a prebend (which is therefore called the royal prebend) in the Strasbourg church, which infallibly all successors in the Roman Empire had to forgive, and should have to forgive, as your Imperial Majesty still today possesses two similar prebendaries, which her ancestors established in the church at Speyer by their own, the same right of forgiveness (or patronage). How, however, the Roman king obtained such a right in the Strasbourg church (if not through an interregnum), and how it fell to the provost there, I cannot know at all. However, many believe that their imperial majesty could easily regain the same right of patronage from the pope in both months according to equity, that from now on, for God's honor and the church's best, a learned and righteous man, whom your majesty knows, but not NB. a slave of beasts (such as horses and dogs), or of the cook, nor even a whore-keeper or boy-abusing lecher (sodomite), who knows neither scholarship nor godliness, be appointed. For your Majesty and all your successors in the Roman Empire know the lives and gifts of the people much better than they can be known to other such benefactors.

3. But it has pleased me also this [as] most pleasant and pleasing to God, salutary to souls, and most praiseworthy to Your Majesty in particular, if she would bring forth from the Holy Apostolic See, with whom such abuses are to be rebuked, by an irrevocable law, that henceforth no one of lowly origin or wholly unlearned, who, contrary to divine and "natural" law and contrary to the most holy canons, has two or three priesthoods under one roof, three or four prebendaries or canonships in different foundations, which lie within one wall or border of the Roman Empire, or so many fat parishes by some dispensation (soon would have said dissipation or waste), received from the popes, may possess them, since each canonry or parish church may honestly nourish a licentiate or doctor of one or both rights and of the holy divinity, that each one may have enough in one, and live happily thereby. I do not believe that Your Majesty God could accomplish anything more pleasing and more useful to Germany, not to mention that in this way pious young men, who in the higher schools have earned their inheritance with a lot of effort and out of love for the study of God, can be educated.

1) This document is related to what Tentzel, Vol. I, p. 44 reports: The emperor sent on September 18, 1510 his secretary to Jakob Wimpheling, professor at Strasbourg, with the crown of France *pruAmabieu* sanctions, from which the latter drew the best, and with an instruction (as Rasteriscus calls it in Freher) sent it back to the emperor on November 1.

The church would be better off if they could receive a portion of the spiritual salary, support their fellow heirs in the paternal inheritance for the common good, serve Christ and pray for the welfare of the entire Roman Empire and the emperor. In this way, competent teachers of the holy Scriptures and the holy Canonum could be appointed in all churches, and more easily reach the prebends, and other learned and virtuous people would also come to the inheritance of Christ; there would be no need to wish for the death of others and to wait for it, and there would not be so much quarreling and right-wingedness, with the greatest damage to property and assets in all of Germany, nor so much fraud. The innocent would not be so plagued by those who can do nothing but quarrel, take, complain and plague. Then those who can best move their neighbor or endure the longest in proceedings would not be able to cheat and deceive so much under the pretext of privilege, preference, first place, or *regressus*, and under the cords of instruments written by their own servants, and the youth, who should put their trust in scholarship and virtuous works, would not have the opportunity to wander about so much, nor be led around with legal disputes. The spiritual state would not stand in such confusion, nor would some, who were not fit for any work pleasing to God or useful to our faith, be disgracefully left to occupy many apartments (stalls) and positions in all churches belonging to an imperial state; and thus the parishes, which are occupied by strangers (*barbaros*) and sometimes hirelings, would be much better served with scholars, and the divine service would not diminish, and the intercessions for souls would not be omitted; the holy dwellings (places) would not remain empty, the wills would not be destroyed, there would be less loss of letters and deeds of the churches, the freedom of hospitality would not be in decline, the alms, the houses and other church buildings would not perish, the goods and lying grounds would not be alienated; there would not be so much displeasure and grumbling among the people against the priests, because of a few, most stingy and insatiable oppressors. And I am not the first to wish that the priesthoods become many. For Francisco Petrarch, an honest man, also disliked such impiety, who was allowed to write to Urban V in the following form: I have heard that you (the pope) have put a stop to the former ambition, which was cruelly increased by the former license, and that you are capable of doing so,

with one or a few benefits, according to each one's learning and virtue. For what is more disgraceful than that some, who, moreover, have attained to it by evil arts, should burst with abundance, while others, who are much better, should perish from time to time from hunger and want? And the wise Gregorius Nazianzenus applauds with these words: It is a great disgrace to our religion and doctrine when the priesthoods are granted more by ambition and favor than by respect for gifts or skill. And Franciscus Picus, the noble prince, in his address to the Lateran Concilium, complains that the churches and temples are commanded to lions, sodomites and wolves.

(4) Your sacred Majesty will already know many other things, in accordance with her great wisdom, which will urge your Imperial Majesty to seek the cessation and moderation of such avarice from the Holy Apostolic See. May our Lord God graciously grant His help and assistance to Your Imperial Highness for the blessed government of the Empire and the spread of the Christian religion.

h. Maximilianus, Emperor.

As we have hitherto honored the highest shepherd of the church and the entire clergy, according to the example of our most beloved father, Frederick III, Roman Emperor, we have also graciously given absent clergy and prelates large revenues of the dignities and parish churches from our country's borders, which we also, if they were lacking due to human weakness, gladly wanted to cover with the imperial mantle with our ancestor Constantino. But since so much results from our charity that the divine service decreases, since divine praise, hymns and masses should rather increase through it: It is incumbent upon us, who have been unworthily elevated to the throne of the Roman Empire, among other things, to see to it that, in addition to the business of war and peace, we see to it that the churches do not perish, that religion does not fall, nor that the divine service is diminished, and that the departed souls, who have done good to the churches and priests from their wealth, are not helped too late, contrary to their last will. Which, unfortunately, we have evidently seen and still see, that it stems from some unspeakable avarice, which cannot be justified by any human being, and which, in conjunction with this, has led to the death of the departed souls.

The church service is destroyed, the last wills of the benefactors are destroyed, and the souls of the departed are saved more slowly from purgatory, the buildings fall down, the churches come down, the freedom of the church is violated, the letters and deeds are lost, the freedom of hospitality and alms are weakened, the inheritance of the parents and the goods of the commonwealths disappear through frequent mobs of such miserly people; clergymen, too, who because of their learning and virtues would be well worthy of benefices, and with their prudence could promote the best of the churches physically and spiritually, are repelled from the prebends, prevented from them, shamefully plagued and unjustly led around with legal disputes, give the laity annoyance, and arouse and increase their hatred and grumbling against other honest priests: For this reason we exhort and request, on account of the office of imperial majesty, out of love for the growth of the divine service and out of zeal for the common good, that from now on no one who has a canonry or vicarage in one of our cities and in the Holy Roman Empire hold another prebend in another church of the same city, if he does not want to cede the first one within a year's time to a capable person who is useful to the church; nor, in order to obtain benefits, disgracefully harass or lead another around by unjust quarrels or prolixity; nor falsely pass off as such a servant someone who has not been properly among his appointed attendants or friends (according to the Concordats of the Princes and Settled Points of the German Nation), to the detriment of the proper assigning persons (Collatorum); nor seek to deprive the laity of the right to grant, or to burden small prebendaries, especially where there are parish churches, with interest, nor use any fraud, cunning, false instruments, bribed witnesses or even concealed simony to obtain the benefices and bulls; nor seek to obtain a recourse (or reinstatement, recovery) or anything else contrary to the sacred canons, against law, equity, honor and reason, under penalty of the vice of offended majesty and our severe punishment, in which not only those who thus offend against God and all honor, but also all their assistants, patrons and contributors, who give their advice, help, shelter and loans, and all messengers, runners, negotiators, intercessors, notaries, guarantors, and other persons, shall be punished.

The people, lawyers and other friends are to be forfeited, that they suffer due punishment for such misdeeds and contempt of this order of ours. From Inspruck [1510]. 1)

Appendix.

If these reminders, useful not only to the kingdom but also to the church, were read in advance, which serve for peace and harmony among one another, they could also be added among many others, and the pope be notified of the fall and collapse of the houses and other buildings belonging to the churches and priesthoods: that e.g. one has been absent for more than thirty years from a parish of our fatherland, which until now has been devoted to the popes, and has gathered and received much and great income in portatis, or sent things that I need their words, and yet, to teach the congregation entrusted to his pastoral care, never ascended the pulpit, nor built anything ornamental in the house, as witnessed and shown before everyone by the miserable rooms of three servants of the sanctuary, which the least brother or shepherd would hardly consider enough for himself; Nor did he do the least thing more to the daily donations and gifts, or only donated a common memorial of his name; nor did he bequeath the least booklet in his will to the book room of the parish churches, or order alms to be distributed to the poor. To this one could also add that an unskilled and foreign Roman courtier, who is as badly suited for singing, sacrificing (reading mass) as a tame or wild donkey, as his well-known and good friend always called him, living in laziness and idleness, can thus gather more priesthoods in all kinds of ways, than a basic scholar, who is well suited for the promotion of the divine service, in disputes and for all council and defense of the Roman church. Furthermore, that a becker or cook, whore-keeper or knave, yes, with honor to report, a sodomite, who has rich prebends and parishes, thus enjoys and devours more of Christ's inheritance than probably the most diligent and faithful governor of a populous large parish with his most vigilant assistants, Yes, even chaplains, who in turn assist the same assistants, when they have much to do in administering the sacraments and hearing confessions, even in the canonical hours, masses and vigils (Metten) Absingung and in

1) This is the year given by Tentzel, Vol. I, p. 43 f.

to give a helping hand. Such assistance and relief will hopefully always be provided in our fatherland by six chaplains, after the right to grant such chaplaincies out of the kindness of the Holy Apostolic See has been transferred to the mayors of our commonwealth, who from now on will not entrust them to anyone who does not personally have their seat to await the service and fulfill the last will of the founders. It also seems to serve imperial intentions very well what the most venerable Bishop Erhard in Liège recently reminded in a most Christian way in the Princes' Assembly in Augsburg Anno 1518. 1)

166 Erhard von der Mark, Bishop of Liège and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, writes to Emperor Maximilian I and the Estates assembled at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518, in which he describes the intolerable abuses of the Roman Court and humbly asks that they be stopped.

From Kapp, *Nachlese nützlicher Reformation-Urkunden*, Theil II, p. 409.

Translated into German by J. F.

1. To the most holy imperial majesty, the most reverend and high-born princes, lords, prelates, orators of the cities, and all the estates of this respectable imperial assembly, it is brought with due reverence and willing obedience, in the name of both the most reverend in Christ the Father, Lord Erhard of Marka, bishop of Liège and prince of the holy Roman Empire, as well as the entire clergy serving God under him and the holy Roman Empire: that, although many salutary things had previously been decreed in the Constance and Basel Assemblies concerning the granting of certain benefactors and the election of clerical persons to be regularly employed, nevertheless, for the sake of one and other things standing in the way at that time, none of these things had yet been observed and put into practice. The French clergy, after the end of the assembly at Basel, entered into a book certain points in accordance with the general law and the sayings of the Holy Fathers, which at their request, under the title of the pragmatic sanction, were confirmed by their King Carl the Seventh with the French 2).

It freely distributes the sees of the Kingdom of France and of the Delphinat, which become vacant every month, and also arranges the canonical election freely, properly and properly. And because perhaps at that time the pope was worried that something like this might arise among the Germans, he not long afterward sent Johannes, Diaconus of S. Angeli, to the church.

and Cardinal *a latere*, to Germany to Frederick the Third, Roman King, of Godly memory, and to other spiritual and temporal princes, lords, prelates and orators of the cities of the Holy Roman Empire, where the treaties made by you, Highborn Princes, and your German nation, were confirmed by the Roman bishop, with the approval of the entire Cardinal College, whereby this nation, although it had rendered as much service to the Holy Roman Church as the French, was nevertheless satisfied that it could also only grant its monasteries on a rotating basis, one month at a time; as these and other circumstances are more extensively expressed in the Bull issued on this subject, the originals of which are diligently preserved with the Supplicants. And since the Germans have held such treaties sacred and unbreakable three times, because they are subject to international law, and such treaties have been confirmed by the apostolic see, as has been reported before, everyone knows how they were held on the other side.

2. for there has undoubtedly come out of hell one of the worst furies, which Paul, 1 Tim. 6, 10. Greek ψιλάργυριαν^Λ, avarice.

or greed for money, as a root of all evil, and which has completely taken over the minds of those people who are generally called Curtisans, to such an extent that they seem to think day and night of nothing else than how they can prevent, ridicule and overthrow the proper appointment and canonical election in a thousand ways, and, as people who are otherwise soft and despondent, extort money from the Germans as barbarians. For there are so many pardons to be conducted under many and various adventurous names that a whole day would not suffice to recount them all. However, we want to tell a few, which we got to know with our constant danger, lightheartedly. Therefore, the Exspectanzgratien, the Commenden, 3) in which one can get to the Regularstiften,

3) Luther explains this word in the writing "An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation", Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 291, tz 50.

1) This is the following document.
2) In the old edition: "at the Bituricis".

arise. Furthermore, the reservations, which are of equal weight, or which bring in several thousand ducats, by which these brave hunters and money cutters, as sons and descendants of Nimrod, fish away whole monasteries, provostries, decanates, personatus, offices, canonicates, prebends, likewise parochial churches, in great quantity, and leave churches without prelates, servants and sheep of Christ without shepherds. This is not contradicted by the *C. de nulla, nor* by the Constitution *Execrabilis*, which also circulates among the Indians outside the clergy. For it holds the prerogatives and privileges with the most detrimental, strongest, most violent, unusual and such clauses, which neither the astute Chrysippus, nor the cunning Scävola could grasp, as which lie deeply buried and hidden in the heart box of the pope. We pass over those gratuities with diligence that have been devised to steal the private pens made for old and sickly persons, and easily give occasion for another to long for death. Next to that, new acts of charity come out of this workshop from one hour to the next, which are also granted to the servants of the Cardinals.

3 New confidences and secret friendships are also established, which extend even to those who have hardly ever appeared before the papal table. New protonotariates, new clerics in ecclesiastical matters, are introduced over the seventh number; the number of caplains is uncertain, except for those indicated on the epitaph. Every year new services are raised, although no one, as they say, is served by them; the annals or half of the revenues are made heavier and larger from day to day; the pens of the papal servants, even of those who have been dismissed from office and have died in the fatherland, are drawn to the Roman court as reservata, contrary to the express content of these contracts. However, the entrance and departure fees, the indulgence fees, and the auxiliary fees shall also be suspended by law in the simple monasteries, with the clause on resignation or death, even if they have not benefited either the ecclesiastical or the secular state, for all months. Is it not now in the day that by these inventions those, who should draw them in the proper way, are deceived? Thus, from an abuse of this freedom, some worldly wise men (philosophatri) of lions, whom they call artistas, have undoubtedly, by their all too much rude begging and pleading, although with the greater loss, as they say, of their many years of accumulated fortune, brought about the unheard of fullness of the lion.

The power to distribute monasteries of the otherwise not unknown members of this holy realm has recently been acquired by the dioceses of Liège and Utrecht, so that it seems as if the ordinary conferment has completely disappeared in all places.

4 For every ten years they demand two endowments from every collatoribus, be they of any kind, and be they as important as they want. They also undertake to squeeze two church foundations out of all monasteries, churches and collegiis that have something to give, at the same time, through the church censures accumulated in their letters, since hardly ever have so many foundations stood empty every ten years under a proper collation, which would have been much better served if they were provided with righteously learned men, who were capable of presiding over their office and creating benefit, rather than with such shrewd heads. Incidentally, the monasteries, against their knowledge and will, which were given away by godly kings to respectable and venerable monasteries, are often incorporated into other collegiis, monasteries and dignities. And since so many prelatures, honorary offices, churches, chapels, altars, which cannot be named nor counted, weigh down the conscience of the Roman Court, it attaches some of them to a more glorious priesthood for life, as if then the care to be taken for the pasture of Christ's sheep would cease, or the papal and truly divine bull would itself administer the offices and services incumbent upon it in various churches. For God does not allow Himself to be mocked, who knows that people's thoughts are vain. One sets aside titles of honor that dispute with each other, and makes one devour the other. How much strife and contention arise from day to day. For hardly any priest of the order grants a chaplaincy, lest every sycophant come here, disturb the owner, accuse him at court, fabricate a petty cause. The Roman court fights on both sides for a little money, and investigates the matter to our greatest expense, even if the whole estate should go to it. Finally, the dispute is settled and the sycophant, or false pretender, is reserved half of the income for his annual salary. This too is considered nothing special, that all the income of the priesthood, which is called standing, immovable (*fixi*), is given to one at court for salary; but one leaves him only the mere title with the incidental *emolumentis* for food and drink. And a wretched man is still raised by the hope that nowadays the payments, important as they may be, can be paid without simony for cash.

money. Therefore, our pastor, after selling all the household goods and gathering money from all sides, frees the pen, which is weighed down with large sums of money to be paid out. This is the way to empty our coffers. Thus the German money, to which even the shoulders of Atlas are not equal, flies over the Alps, to the amazement of nature itself. Those who have experienced it know how much money the overmatched annuities and the use of the pallium eat up for the Germans; although Pope Leo the Other, according to Platinum's report, forbade to give the least for it, and King Louis, whom the Roman Church otherwise placed in the number of the saints, likewise denied this by a royal order. Finally, consider for yourselves, most godly princes, how far religion and worship have been degraded by the robbery and theft of these monasteries. For even a simple ass-kicker, not to say a lottery boy and court orator or rabulist, understands that one has much to thank such noble and brave men in Germany with all justification. They are only shepherds in appearance, who neither with words nor works feed the flock of Christ, which care and office they entrust to their poor wage-servants with a penitential carene. But as is generally seen, they are not concerned with the sheep themselves and their salvation, but rather with pulling the wool over their eyes. They eat the sins of the people, for whom they neither pray nor sacrifice; honest and righteous priests, on the other hand, let them go begging to the detriment of the spiritual order. In your schools, people are lax, indolent and disgruntled, because unworthy people take away their well-deserved wages in front of their mouths. Mass offerings and other sacrifices of praise, which were instituted by your ancestors at great expense, have ceased, and the godly hands of the benefactors cry out for vengeance, depriving these money cutters of their so desired refreshment. If you, O most Christian emperor, and you, most devout princes, prelates, lords, venerable elders, wise heads of cities, have come together here for common benefit, we call for the sake of the German nation's common, not to say supplicants' private offense, which seems to be important enough, we appeal for help, and humbly ask you to enable our most holy Lord Pope Leo the Tenth, through your joint letters, to prevent this and other intolerable abuses, with which a large book can be

out of fatherly love and vigilant loyalty to the shepherds, and to insist on the unbreakable observance of the treaties formerly established with the apostolic see, as we have thought above, may not arise, as you have all requested and desired from the bottom of your hearts, with the further decree that if his Holiness should desire to draw up and establish with you some other treaties more beneficial both to the said See and to your nation, he would communicate them to your distinguished assembly, otherwise you would be held above the common law and the statutes and decrees of the holy fathers. We do not doubt that he who is so kind by nature and instructed in good arts from his youth, who therefore knows very well what St. Gregory wrote to the bishop of Arelat, Vigilius, and said: As we hold over ours, so we also hold over the rights of any church. Far be it from me that I should offend what I have decreed with my priests in any church, because I do not mean well with myself when I do violence to the rights of my brethren. We do not doubt, I say, that the so long desired pope will give a desired answer to your so holy and blameless request.

167 Emperor Maximilian I's order, given at Augsburg July 2, 1518, to hold the Concordats of the German Nation in the Liège Diocese.

Ans Kapp's "Nachlese," Theil II, p. 417.

Translated into German by J. F.

Maximilian, by the grace of God chosen Roman Emperor and King in Germany, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Archduke in Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Count Palatine, to the venerable Erhard, Bishop of Liège, ecclesiastical prince, our beloved, and to all and every collatoribus of the monasteries located in the diocese of Liège, our imperial grace and all good beforehand.

Because we well recognize that the treaties of the German nation, which were entered into and made between the apostolic see and the now said nation by our then most beloved Lord Father, Frederick the Third, Roman Emperor, have in many and various ways in this diocese of Liège, with your permission and approval, especially by the multiplication of the treaties of the German nation in the diocese of Liège.

The Holy Roman Empire and the German Nation are in danger of being violated and invalidated by the following abuses: the abolition of the apostolic pardons, reservations, unions, incorporations, appointments and powers of appointment, extended acquaintances, inaugurations, resignations and irregularities, and other abuses of this kind, to the greatest prejudice and detriment of the Holy Roman Empire and the German nation, but we want to remedy and counter this so dangerous storm and the rights of the Holy Roman Empire and said nation detrimental consequence, according to our imperial duty, in good time: We order you all and every one of the aforementioned, as well as all other princes in the Holy Roman Empire who have their territories or offices in the aforementioned diocese, and enjoin you by our highest disgrace and punishment set below, that you, as soon as you have received this letter, you shall without delay remove as unlawful owners all and any who, in prejudice to the ordinary collators and the treaties of the said nation, have invaded the monasteries of the said diocese, or have allowed others to come into their possession; those who have been duly legislated upon, and who have entered, as it were, through the door of the sheepfold, and have sought out the lawful and canonical possessors, and have made answerable to them of such revenues by your tithe takers and payers, and others, they may have names as they please, in a real and effectual manner, and for the rest, let no one, be he of any standing, office, or honor, as he pleases, by virtue of certain letters, or of the aforesaid apostolic pardons, or of other letters, even those issued, issued by us, or extorted by force, although it has never occurred to us to approach anyone in favor of the treaties and concordats, to accept him as an independent foundation, or to take the liberty of accepting him, of conceding possession, or of speaking about the revenues. If anyone should dare to act contrary to this imperial decree and will, let him know that he has thereby deprived himself of all the privileges and liberties granted by the Roman Court and contained in the *Corpore Juris*, and shall be punished by imperial excommunication and confiscation of his property. What punishments, if you should be guilty of them, which is far away, we want to demand them from each of the above-mentioned, by virtue of our power, and have the present edict duly executed. In witness whereof we have made this letter and caused it to be kept with our attached seal. Given in our imperial city, July 2, 1518,

of our empires, the Roman in the thirteenth, the Hungarian but in the 39th year. Sealed by the king, and thus by the emperor's own order. Renner.

B. The papal legate is denied his request for money for the Turkish war.

The report of Achilles Pirminius Gassarin that the estates of the empire did not want to allow either the priestly tithes or the further collection of the indulgences to continue.

From Cyprian's *Urkunden zur Reformationgeschichte*, Theil II, p. 40.

Translated into German.

The more praised emperor started to hold a great imperial diet, attended by six princes, in the month of Julius, whereupon the tithes, so far imposed on the priests in the German Empire, and other extortions of money from the mob through the letters of indulgence, were completely refused to the Lord Thomas de Vio Cajetan, Pope Leo of the Tenth (who soon after was truly overcome from the Scriptures as the Antichrist and was quite clearly revealed to the whole world) Cardinal Tituli St. Sixti. Sixti, has been completely denied.

169: Raynaldus' excerpt from a speech delivered by the Cardinal Legate Thomas de Vio.

Speech in which he asks the Germans for money for the Turkish War.

From the *uuuul. nun.* 1518, toio. XX, no. 85 sqq. Translated into

German.

The new and unusual name of the tenth, twentieth, or fiftieth part should not frighten you; they would be frightening to me, too, which I gladly confess, if they only occurred. But since they are not to pay the fiftieth, twentieth and tenth part, but only to deposit it in a safe place and with the condition that, if it is not needed at the appointed time for the campaign, the money will be returned to those who have deposited it, you will consider it something godly and holy, and not unpleasant for any Christian man.

So let them refrain from fearing, since there is nothing to fear; and from saying that this procession is only a pretense to dazzle the people, so that the insatiable desire for money will not be so obvious. We, they say, are the Turks whom they want to chase away and drive out of the country; the whole procession is aimed at us. Be calm, and first see how unnecessary and superfluous your fear is; hear how innocently and honestly one deals both with the first confirmed and with all peoples; we do not want to hold the office of treasurer or collector and have the money in our power. The pope does not seek yours, who is willingly and abundantly to distribute what is his among you. But why should we bother to show what the pope's mind is, since it is worth the effort to prove it ourselves. Find out for yourselves, and all those who are so afraid will find out, that all the gold and money that has been contributed is in such a safe place that neither the collectors nor the custodians will receive any of it, but that the entire sum will be used for the benefit and promotion of this procession, or will be returned to those who have given it. We are by no means trying to lead the German treasury to Italy, but the pope wants the German soldiers to be paid from the money received, and he wants the slightest fraud to be committed. Because you also clearly see that the Christian communities, religion, empire, temples, cities, are coming to your protection, they call to you for help and prostrate themselves at your feet. If you abandon them, you Germans will abandon yourselves, if we all stick to Maximilian's flag and expect protection from nowhere but the Roman Empire, even if it concerns your cause as well as that of other countries, since Germany borders on the Turkish Empire before others. For if the Turkish fleet can pass more easily through Italy, the Turkish infantry, on which all luck in war depends before it makes an incursion into Italy, must head for Germany; we would deny that Carinthia, Styria, Croatia, and Hungary would be front walls of Germany.

It is impossible to express how much the most gracious Pope Leo cares about this matter: he cannot refrain from these thoughts day or night; he does not deal with anything else over the table; he has a heartfelt desire to sacrifice not only what is his, but even himself, even blood and life for the Christian religion and the German Empire. Only one thing is left,

that this imperial council announces the war campaign against the Turks and brings it to a conclusion. The Roman Church is waiting for this. All heads and members of the Christian community are looking to this most noble assembly. If nothing is agreed now and the matter is postponed until another meeting, all our hopes will turn to water. Be careful that such a postponement does not give the enemy the opportunity to make peace with the Persians and other neighboring powers, but that it does not bite with the German princes and bring the Christian nation into the greatest misfortune.

Consider for yourselves that this great assembly is the foundation on which the whole work of the procession rests; and if you hesitate long, other Christian princes will undoubtedly withdraw their hands and hearts from it and speak: If Germany, who is most interested because she gets her glory from the honor and majesty of the Roman Empire, who is also responsible for protecting the church, gives a negative answer and postpones the conclusion of one assembly to another, what shall we do? we will follow her example. And so, your delay will bring about the downfall of the Christian community, which is far away. As an excuse, many will plead the freedom of the absentees and say: "We have taken an oath to our church not to do anything that would harm its well-being without its knowledge; we have no authority to interfere with absentees; we first want to consult with them and present the matter at the next convention. That is, with your permission, as much as to say that we do not want to. No one asks you to do impossible things; to break the loyalty that one has to keep even to one's enemies is something we make up our own conscience about; we seek nothing but what concerns you and is within your power, namely to take a decision on a war campaign against the Turks, to think of a way to raise money without doing injustice to anyone; and finally to take a voluntary oath from those who are present that they will help faithfully and honestly so that the above-mentioned will be carried out. This does not conflict with the keeping of your oath and your duty; it does not exceed the limits of your possessive power; nor does it oppose the freedom of the absent. Therefore, remove delay from the way, for it is generally harmful and dangerous.

From this it was clear and obvious that the pope did not proclaim the holy war in order to extort money from the Germans, because he had

He did not want to send a penny to Italy, but rather that the German people should contribute to the preservation of their nation by a joint resolution of the German council; On the other hand, those who advised against this war allowed themselves to be taken in by the vice of avarice out of a mere impiety to the detriment of the Church, by refusing, as first indicated, to contribute any money to the glorious work to be undertaken and carried out for the restoration of religion. But by no means did Pope Leo try to enrich the Mediceans with the German money and to buy them new principalities for it, since he himself had in mind to advance with a hundred armed ships before Constantinople and had already sent envoys to various kings.

17V. Answer given by the princes of the German Empire to Cardinal Cajetan and other papal legates at Augsburg in 1518.

This answer came out under the following title: responsio principum Germaniae, data reverendissimis dominis legatis sanctissimi domini nostri Leonis X. et ceteris oratoribus in August. Vindeli- cor. 1518 per eruditissimum dominum Richardum Bartholinum Perusinum, capellanum reverend. cardina! Gurcensis in litteras relata. 1518. quarto.

Translated into German.

The Cardinal, titled St. Sixti, made his entrance into Augsburg with a rather Persian splendor, as befitted an emissary of the Roman court, for he was resolved either to return to Rome or to be met by the Emperor together with the German imperial princes when he entered Augsburg.

In order that the plea of the papists might be heard in the assembly of the imperial princes, a special meeting was held for this purpose. The papal delegates went there and were received in the second gate of the palace by Marquard von Stain, supreme commander of Bamberg, a brave and handsome man, who represented the emperor in this, as well as by the Cardinal of Mainz and other German princes. First of all, the papal letters and apostolic credits were read, in which the Roman Pontiff informed the German imperial princes of the great danger facing Christendom, and how much they were in danger.

that they needed the help of such considerable states of the empire. He also exhorted them to be concerned for their own honor as well as for the welfare of the whole Christendom, considering their power and the good hope they had everywhere. After various things had been said about this matter by both parts, the Cardinal of the title of St. Sixti gave a very delicate and appropriate speech to the princes assembled there, and after he first of all appealed for their goodwill and testified that they were good ambassadors, he presented the actual reason why they had been sent here; namely, because a particularly great danger was now imminent for the whole of Christendom. He tried to prove this from the many victories that the Turks had achieved for some time. He also took evidence from our own discord at that time, and exhorted the estates to undertake a campaign against the enemies of the Christian faith, because now there were more reasons to begin the war in an active way against this enemy than to keep it away from them in a defensive way. He took evidence from the prosperity, usefulness and religion, as well as from the power, bravery and good state of warfare in which the German Empire currently stood, to show that the estates were both obliged and able to do the same. He added that they would not be able to escape from this matter without the involvement of a disgrace, since the welfare of the whole Christendom depended on the present imperial assembly. In explanation, he cited the example of Emperors Henry and Otto, who had very often saved Christendom from being harassed by foreign enemies; and the closer Germany was to the Turks than Italy, the more zeal and vigilance they should reasonably show, so that they would not only look after and advise their own best interests, but also those of the general public. Finally, in the name of the Roman Pontiff, with many beautiful and thoughtful words, he exhorted the estates assembled at that time to peace and unity.

After the German princes had discussed this proposal together, they replied that they had understood the will and opinion of the Most Holy Father both from the credentials read to them and from the delicate and well-placed speech delivered by the Cardinal, and that they wished to make the necessary mature deliberations for themselves on this important matter.

The most reverend gentlemen envoys should already now give the Roman Pontiff the assurance in the name of the German imperial estates that they would contribute everything that could help His Holiness to defend and protect the Christian name. For in such an important matter they would never let themselves be lacking. With the next, however, they wanted to communicate a more circumstantial answer to this.

When the German princes of the empire had deliberated for a few days on what answer they wanted to give to the papal envoys (for so much time had passed), a speaker from the priestly college of Liège appeared in the prince's court and would have made a speech if he had not been forbidden to do so by the German princes, who at that time had various other annoying matters on their minds. However, they ordered him to put down on paper what he wanted to say and to hand it over in writing. As he had his speech 1) already written out, he handed it over immediately. But it contained nothing but invective and blasphemies against the Roman court. In it, he recounted all the intrigues, vices, knavery, mischief, and frauds that were encountered at the papal courts in those days. He testified that everything was fundamentally corrupt, that nothing good, nothing godly, nothing just and holy was found there anymore. This, however, and various other things were only mentioned and carried out because all legal claims to the benefits of the clergy had been taken away from them. The situation was now everywhere and in all things as the great thieves and swindlers in Rome wanted it to be. It had come to the point that one could no longer promise anything certain because of the many recourse, access and secret reservation in the ecclesiastical office. Expectations, revocations and thousands of other things were all the same, and it would not be long before the previous *reservationes mentales* would be transformed into *reservationes pedales et tibiales* 2). Yes, what was most intolerable was that the most stupid and wretched people, who possessed neither virtue nor learning, who had been educated only in the cattle stables or in the cookshops, and who had evil, depraved minds, would be elevated to the most important positions of honor.

1) This is the Document, No. 166.

2) that is, they would be turned into hand and foot cuffs.

in their, the Liège, order; therefore they most humbly requested and entreated the German princes to restrain the unruly outrages of the papal court henchmen; and as all this had been done without the foreknowledge of the very best and holiest Pope Leo the Tenth, they did not doubt that if the German imperial estates heard the complaints led by and to the colleges, those would be seriously punished who in such a way disgraced the Roman court before the world and deprived it of its prestige.

After this and various other pertinent matters had been read, the discussion to be held on the matter was postponed until the afternoon.

In the meantime, the papal letters that he [the Pabst] had given to his envoys were read. For since he had hitherto been accused by many partly of avarice, partly of arrogance, he endeavored to avert such accusations from himself, and to persuade the princes that it was so far from him that he should ever undertake anything out of ambition, that he would gladly leave the honor of defending the whole of Christendom to others, if they would only lay their hands earnestly on such protection. As for the accusation of avarice, he was accused of it improperly, since he had wished nothing else than that the German princes would announce war to the Turks, from which they would certainly have the greatest benefit.

(7) When the princes read this, they are said (as I have been assured) to have been very displeased about it; they also let themselves out harshly against those who scattered such seeds of dissension, since they now had to take care of public affairs rather than being able to decide what this one and that one wanted to bring up.

But this seemed to them, as the estates of the German Empire, to be the most indecent thing, since they were not afraid to write that the princes should be forced by force if they did not want to be moved by reasons.

Response:

9th When the princes wanted to communicate the answer that was to be given to the envoys of the pope, and which they had written in Latin, they thought it good to subject it to the assessment and censorship of the emperor before it was made public. However, as far as I can assume, it was neither accepted by the emperor, nor was it published.

The same was announced the following day in the following manner.

(10) When the envoys and spokesmen of the Roman Pontiff and the King of France, and on the imperial side the Bishop of Triest and the Provost of Waldkirchen, had met and discussed among themselves the answer of the princes of the Empire, they went to the Emperor. The spokesmen of the King of Poland also met. And after the emperor and the others had organized a session, the bishop of Trieste spoke as follows:

Most Sublime Emperor!

After the princes of the German Empire had well and variously considered what had been presented to them by the most dignified envoys and spokesmen, they had well understood that what they had been asked to do about a campaign against the Turks was a very important and precarious matter. Considering that this matter was of the utmost importance and that more time was needed to consider it, they thought that they could not make an explicit statement about it now. But as soon as each of them would have returned to his hereditary lands, each of them would consult his estates, and what they would deem good would be announced at the next meeting, which, however, was to be scheduled before their departure.

11 The bishop of Trieste presented this briefly and delicately, and perhaps with more caution than our condition and that of the times required. For he did not bring along everything that he had written out and with which one already publicly carried oneself. Therefore, it will not be unhelpful if I communicate here what was actually written by him.

answer as it had been drawn up in writing.

Since the princes of the German Empire had many things to consider that could not be hurried because of the great importance of the matter, there were three causes in particular that could be sufficient to prevent an enterprise against the Turks, if not completely, then at least to postpone it somewhat.

The first is because the power of the enemies is so predominant that at least from Germany fifty thousand men of arms would have to be provided for a war against them. To which end the annual pay and an incredible amount of food would have to be found.

The army would have to pass through Thrace and Mösia, where there is no livelihood to be had and no booty to be taken. The Germans would therefore have to rely on their forces alone, and not on others, to settle their accounts. After various other things, which could reveal the greatness and difficulty of this matter, had been presented in many and emphatic words, he touched on the following points

3) On the other hand, also that very modest and delicate thing that caused the most stir among the common man at that time. This was a main obstacle, because the priests and monasteries could hardly be made to pay tithes, since in Germany no place could be found that was not filled with everyday complaints about this, since up to now the occupation of the ecclesiastical offices had been such that neither the concordats or treaties of the German nation nor international law had remained unoffended. The other nations, the French, Hungarians, Poles, Danes and Britons, enjoyed their liberties without any offence; the treaties and alliances which the Roman Pontiff had recently established with them were held sacred; only the Germans had to be the prey of everyone, even of the strangest people; It is so far away that the courts of the princes, the free imperial cities and ecclesiastical estates are free from the deceit and oppression of the Roman court, that rather all their rights and liberties are curtailed, invalidated, abolished and destroyed, and even the episcopal rights are not spared; hence the so-called patrons and rabulists have gained their wealth at the Roman court. Before one could attain something certain and become entitled to a small spiritual benefit, one had to go through various burdensome procedures, in which each one was set up only for money-making, so that because of terrible expenses and great effort, the church utensils and altar cloths often had to be moved and sold. And it would still be good, if only this would help. For in Rome new canon laws and statutes were daily being devised; and if everything was lacking, silence was not lacking, whereby all law and equity were overturned. Hence it had come about that the ecclesiastical goods were completely exhausted because of protracted processes or many expenses (without which nothing could be obtained in the present state); it was also no longer a secret that one was even ill-disposed against the pope there. For this purpose

4) Thirdly, the complaint of the laity was added, which made this matter even more difficult. They said freely and publicly that they would give as little as the twentieth or fiftieth part of their fortune for this purpose. And if the princes wanted to force them to do so, it would be the greatest injustice, since they had already been plundered in so many ways, and their sovereigns had been led around by the nose by the Roman court. They should count for themselves how much war tax they had already had to pay; but they had not started a war against the Turks with it, but had been in a scramble to seize the money they had collected. He also refers, not unreasonably, to the annals, which are said to have been intended for war against the Saracens and Turks from the beginning. He had good reason to ask where these astonishing sums of money had come from, and what had been done with the variously advertised plunders of ecclesiastical properties? So that such a thing would not happen with the tithes demanded from the clergy and the twentieth part from the laity, which has happened up to now, and that would become a custom or rather law, which necessity once requires, they would prevent their part with all their might, so that such impositions would not break down.

These, then, are the reasons why the German princes, in considering such an important and precarious matter, must take time for reflection, so that first of all the people may be soothed by an amicable presentation, and then everything may be arranged for the undertaking and execution of such an important matter with due deliberation.

C. What edicts have been drafted from the imperial deliberations) and from the imperial farewell.

171: The Pope and a commission assembled in Rome sent a letter to Emperor Maximilian I, telling him how to proceed with a campaign against the Turks throughout Christendom. 1517 and 1518.

From Goldast's 6o "8titut. imp., tom. II, p. 127. - The proposals belong to the year 1517, the emperor's answer to the year 1518.

Presented and considered at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518.

In the name of God, amen. Since the undertaking of important things is very well thought out, Her

But since, when good advice is taken, it must also be put into effect without delay, we have also put the considerations that must be made about a very necessary campaign against the Turks into a certain order and explained them in a few chapters. To wit,

1. whether it would be advisable to undertake such a war?

2) Whether it must be conducted in an insulting manner or only in a defensive manner?

What are the most important things that can resist and hinder such a war, or how to remove such obstacles?

4. whether the war to be started should be waged by all Christian princes at the same time, or only by some, and by how many or which ones?

5. what preparations should be made for this, and where the necessities to pay for them should be taken from: namely, first, how to propitiate God; second, where to get money; and third, where to get the soldiers. With regard to the money, it should again be considered in what way it can be collected, how much is required for this, and by whom the account for it should be kept. With regard to the troops, however, it would have to be considered: from which nation they should be recruited, and how many foot soldiers as well as cavalry would be necessary. This would be part of the deliberations on the preparations for such a war.

6 As for the conduct of the war itself, it would have to be considered, firstly, by which route one should go to meet the enemy, by sea or by land, or by both routes at the same time. Secondly, whether the army to be formed should be divided into two parts, a sea power and a land power, or whether it should be left together. Thirdly, what route the army should take on land or where it should be brought to the ships. Fourth, where the army is to assemble, and where it is to attack the enemy first or foremost. Fifth, what arrangements to make so that our army does not lack the necessary sustenance. There are two other external circumstances that are useful and necessary for the conduct of this war:

First, how that which is conquered or captured in this war, if God gives happiness and victory to it, is to be distributed among the Christian princes; who is to do the pronouncing, or whether the distribution of what has been conquered is to

Avoidance of all disputes should be postponed until after the end of the war.

Secondly, whether one of the infidel princes, who is afraid of the power of the Turks or believes himself to be dangerous to them, could be invited by us to take part in this war.

We have presupposed the main articles occurring in this investigation in their order; now let us make them again in such order and give our opinion about them.

The first chapter.

Whether such a war should be undertaken against the Turks, however.

There is almost nothing left to discuss on this point. It is no longer in our power and freedom, since our eternal and at the same time very powerful enemy has already made the greatest efforts, and will continue to do so in the future, to expel us from our lands and goods, and even to deprive us of our lives; just as he boldly and proudly lets himself be heard to say that now that he has brought the Orient under his control, he will turn with all his strength to the Occident, and will not rest until he has seized the whole of Christendom. Therefore, we must decide either to sacrifice our blood and lives to him voluntarily, or to let it come to the edge of the sword. Therefore, where there is extreme need, there is no room for far-reaching deliberation.

The other chapter.

Whether this war should be waged in an offensive or defensive manner.

There is also no doubt that among contending parties, the one who fights the other party hostilely is better off than the one who only tries to defend himself against an attack. For once it is a mark of greater courage and superior power to attack others than to expect the attack from them. The courage of the opposing party must always begin to grow more despondent the more one sees the one against whom one is to proceed hostile daring and undertaking. On the other hand, what is weak or uncertain on the enemy's side can best be recognized when the opportunity arises. And much of this will be discovered in the condition in which the Turks are standing, when our armies first come to the point where

The enemy's discoveries can be used for our good and to their detriment. Finally, those cities and peoples who have to think only of their own security have no time and means to organize that by which the enemy could be attacked in his own country. Such inconveniences are caused to the enemy when he is attacked in a violent manner, but they are averted from ours by this very means. Various other reasons could be cited as to why it would be more advisable to wage this war against the Turks in an insulting manner; but these can be easily guessed by everyone. However, two things must be kept in mind when starting such a war by insult. First, that the enemy is immediately attacked with such an army that can suppress him; second, that people are at hand and used in the war council who are familiar with the enemy's country and its entire condition. However, these and other things cannot be unknown to a prudent and vigilant commander.

The third chapter.

By what such a campaign can be hindered, or how such hindrances can be lifted.

The greatest obstacle to such an undertaking would probably be the disagreements and discord among the Christian princes, if there were already some of them or if they should arise in the future, which God, by His grace, wants to prevent. For the prevention of such a pernicious evil and the eradication of such a satanic weed, peace would, however, be desirable, all internal disputes would have to be put aside for at least one year, and after the end of the holy campaign, another six months would have to be added. Such a state of peace would have to be confirmed and assured by all princes of the empire in the most binding manner, and would also have to be increased and assured with the usual church censures, banishment, removal from the empire, deprivation of goods and liberties, in such a way that he who would interrupt this state of peace would be considered a public enemy of God and the Christian faith, but all other princes would be obligated to execute the set punishments and censures on him. If, however, new disputes should arise, they shall either be decided by the Roman Pontiff and the College of Cardinals, or the settlement of the same shall be postponed until after the end of the war.

It would also be more holy and salutary if a holy fraternity were established between the princes of the German Empire and the Roman Pontiff, and confirmed by both sides with a sacred oath, and also surrounded with the usual punishments and censures against those who would be tempted to break such a holy union; and all those who would join such a fraternity should commit themselves to persecute with all their strength those who would oppose it; and this fraternity could bear the name *fraternitas sancto cruciatio*, the fraternity for a holy crusade.

The fourth chapter.

Whether the war should be waged by all the princes of the empire at once, or only by some, and by how many, or by which.

We read in the Acts of the Apostles that after the outpouring of the Holy Spirit the faithful disciples of Christ were One Heart and One Soul. If this great gift of God's grace were now to be encountered among the princes of the German Empire, not only would the divine will be evident from an expected victory, but the whole world would also be converted to His most holy faith, which we certainly want to expect from His grace. Now, a certain number of princes who are equal to each other in power does not seem to be necessary for a single army, but nevertheless, for the sake of all kinds of unforeseen human circumstances, it will be good that at least two princes who are equal to each other in power and prestige, who are also in a true friendship with each other through God's grace, command the army. There is also no doubt that His Sacred Imperial Majesty and the most Christian King of France, for many reasons that we do not want to mention now, because they are known to everyone, would be more suitable than anyone else to lead the army on land; And if the other Christian kings or princes were not personally necessary for this work, especially because of the remoteness of their countries, their active help and support in people and money would nevertheless be quite indispensable. And everyone should be willing and ready to pay them, since he is a noble part of Christianity, has to thank God in heaven for his royal dignity on earth, and at the same time protects his own welfare while defending the general welfare. Accordingly, we consider that through such

The war will be waged happily if all the princes join together and under the leadership of two unanimous commanders. Just as these two powerful princes have already offered to do so, various other kings, princes and nobles have also sacredly pledged to contribute their utmost to such a holy campaign. And we hope that through the heart-guiding power of God the rest will also be moved to follow the example of their godliness and bravery.

The fifth chapter.

Of the preparations necessary for this war, and the means required for it, first of all:

Of Obtaining Divine Help.

As such a war requires great and manifold preparations, it will be important to see how we can be assured of divine support. For in God's hands are the borders and dominion of all worldly kingdoms. Without Him, nothing can be called strong or powerful. And even if we have to fear that he has been provoked to anger against us by our sins, if we take refuge in him with a repentant and penitent heart, he is still the same gracious and forgiving God who once looked upon the Ninevites, whom he had decided to destroy, with mercy and spared them because of their repentance. Just as He, for the sake of the sins of the princes and the people, once gave Asia, Greece, Thrace and Africa, along with many other countries, as a prey to their enemies, so we must call upon Him with all our hearts and ask Him not to inflict a similar calamity upon us. But the way in which God can be reconciled with us is to pray to Him day and night, to fast, to give alms, to sacrifice, and above all to bring Him a contrite, penitent and humble heart. For God is most pleased with this, since, according to the testimony of the prophet, He is not in need of our gifts and sacrifices. Therefore, our whole life must be changed, our hearts must be lifted up to God, preachers of repentance must be sent everywhere and among all nations to exhort people to repentance; the most distinguished clergy and prelates must be reminded to set a good example to others with words and works. If God has been reconciled and gracious to us in this way, He will also give us victory over our enemies.

The second is to raise the money needed for the war.

As for the money, which is the most indispensable part of the war, and how it is to be raised as well as preserved and administered, one has to consider first of all the size of this war and the great power of the enemy, which is certainly terrible because of the size of his empire, especially since it has been increased by the recent conquest of Egypt and Syria, which is certainly terrible because of the size of his empire, especially since it has been increased by the recent conquest of Egypt and Syria, to which must be added the great number of his troops and, as they say, the indescribable amount of money among them; Moreover, he has become proud and bold because of the manifold fortunes of war so far, that he thinks of all high and important things. Now, if an army is to be built that will either equal or precede him, a large sum of money will be required. But we thought that it would be sufficient to find a sum of eight times a hundred thousand gold florins. It will not be too difficult to raise such a sum of money. For if, first of all, the Christian kings and princes would make a considerable contribution from their customs duties to such a holy war, since this war concerns their own affairs; and if the enemy should gain a victory, which God would prevent, they would certainly lose far more than they spend on it. As it is said of this enemy that it is his custom to spare the common man, but that he is a sworn enemy of all princes and nobles. Wherever this enemy has ever gone, he has exterminated the princely houses, suppressed the nobility, and thirsted for their blood in a completely insatiable way. Therefore it is all the more advisable that the princes give up a portion of their revenues and customs duties, and thereby make both their own lives and their country secure; whereby we by no means prescribe a certain sum for them, but leave everything to their prudence and generosity.

The other two ways of collecting money depend partly on the clergy and partly on the laity. The clergy shall pay the tenth part of their income from each year; or, if it be deemed good, they shall pay the twentieth or thirtieth part from their lying grounds, according as their income is great; but what has been divested shall be considered as if different tithes had been taken from it.

would have been directed. Or (if it should seem better, and which should therefore be more carefully considered) one could bring all church goods into one estimate, but especially the goods and income of the monasteries, the cathedral and metropolitan churches, and let those flow an annual benefit from it, who are all time owners of it, as much as the maintenance, need and also moderate comfort of the same requires, but with regard to the difference of their persons and dignities, which accompany them; The abundance of all this, however, could be used for such a holy war. It will be necessary, however, that this assessment be arranged with the deliberation of prudent men according to certain degrees, so that those who have little income should annually give no more than the tenth part; those who have a little more, the fourth and third part; but those who have the most income, two-thirds or even three-fourths of their income. Finally, however, it should be seen that every clergyman has so much left that he can live in a comfortable and honnette way; the rest, however, could all be used for this. This should also be done by the clergy all the more inevitably, the more the possessors of the inheritance of Christ owe everything they possess to God, and their example will also inspire others to follow, so that they will gladly sacrifice what is theirs to God.

As for the laymen, they could, if they are of noble status. If they have hereditary and feudal estates in their possession, they may contribute the tenth part of their property to such a war. The others could be made to pay the twentieth part; but those who must seek the support of their lives by their trade and business should not pay more than their hand can manage and their food suffers. Indulgences will also be granted to those who attend such a cross or army march and defend the Christian faith. From these sources, if the war is conducted in an honest manner, a large sum of money can be raised. For faith is not a dead thing in the hearts of the faithful, and the heavenly fatherland is not always despised, but there are and will be many who will gladly buy eternal life for such a small price, if they otherwise recognize that one fights earnestly and without pretense for the honor of God.

This money can now, according to our understanding, be collected, preserved and calculated in the following manner. Once, that each full professor of a

The city and the diocese belonging to it shall appoint a priest and a chapter master of the collegiate church, who fear God and have a good name; furthermore, each diocesan of a city shall appoint a competent person for this purpose; and finally, each township shall elect one or two, either from its own resources or from the clergy, as they deem most useful.

These persons shall now send in the money in the manner previously instructed, and keep it either in a box or otherwise in a safe place, but in such a way that each has a special key to open it, and no one can get to it without the other; and they shall keep a written account of the whole sum in the most careful manner. And no one, be he of any rank or dignity, shall be subject to lay his hands on such money in an ecclesiastical manner, or to use it for any other purpose than the advancement of the costs of war, and that by avoiding excommunication and that surrender to the curse and wrath of Almighty God, of which he shall be absolved and absolved by none other than the Roman Pontiff, and only at the hour of death and after previous sufficient satisfaction. That such money shall be used only for the conduct of this holy war; and if by chance the war should not be continued, then such money shall be faithfully returned to those from whom it was collected.

But since the entire sum of money cannot possibly be brought in all at once, yet necessity demands that the army be paid its pay, it will be necessary to arrange a settlement with reputable merchants and moneychangers in each province so that they will take over the delivery of money to the army and also convert the incoming money into a cheap profit. And with this work, they will get heaven for their reward. It will also be necessary to assign to each merchant or moneychanger the provinces from which the collected money is to be delivered to them. This seems to us to be the best way to keep and administer the money. At the same time, however, it seems necessary to us that at least the third part of the entire sum be collected in cash right from the beginning, in order to promote the recruitment of soldiers the sooner. The rest could then be brought in with greater ease and paid out to the army in a previously determined manner.

From recruitment of the army.

The greatest strength of an army consists of foot soldiers and cavalry equipped with cuirasses; and in both kinds of armor the Christians do it before others. The foot soldiers, however, will be drawn from those nations that are accustomed to serve on foot and to keep battle order; among them are the Swiss, the Germans (who are therefore called national servants), the Spaniards and the Bohemians. Among them, many will have to be supplied with rifles, because the enemy has a large number of such warriors among his army, who are equipped with rifles. At least sixty thousand men of arms will be required; but the French and Italians will be best used as cuirassiers, and will likewise be needed to the tune of four thousand. Twelve thousand men of light cavalry will also be necessary, especially since the enemy will outnumber us the most in this kind of men. But we will have to choose people who are most accustomed to such warfare, such as the Spaniards, Italians, Dalmatians and Greeks. If such a land power, which has no lack of sustenance and is equipped with all the necessary armaments, is well led, it will be insurmountable, even with divine blessing. For the establishment of a sea power, however, the Venetians and Genoese from Italy, those from France who live in the province of Brittany and other regions, the Spaniards and the inhabitants of both Sicilies, as well as the kings of England and Portugal, will be able to equip a select number of ships and ships' people and oppose the enemy, as will soon be reported.

The sixth chapter.

What was to be discussed and accomplished with regard to the conduct of the war.

Regarding the necessary consultation on the war, which was the sixth point, the following is to be mentioned

First to consider whether to attack the enemy by land or by sea. However, a fleet at sea, and a powerful fleet at that, with all the necessary necessities, seems to be indispensable, especially since the enemy has already equipped three hundred warships and more vessels are being brought in every day, which, we assume, are to be used for the replacement of the cavalry. Therefore, it is now necessary.

that a naval fleet should also be set up to oppose it. If they are occupied from Biscay, Portugal, from Brittany in France, from Normandy, England and Italy, would be badly off if we lacked a considerable naval and if they are supplied with sufficient heavy artillery, force. This alone would make us half as weak as they will not only equal the enemy's naval power in enemy. For in this way the enemy would have soldiers, but will also be able to overwhelm or command of the sea. Moreover, without a fleet, the sea, each nation would have to provide them from of the sea, could not be sufficiently defended. Thirdly, its own resources to the ships equipped by them. we would lose a great deal of our prestige with the enemy and make him even more courageous and war would be left, and who would have an unlimited defiant against us if we wanted to wage war against authority, would be the two kings of England and him without having a fleet in the sea. Finally, we Portugal, both of whom, according to their known would be unequal to him in the entire war, and all our godliness, have offered themselves for it. If, however, preparations on land would be in vain, if we did not the King of England should not be able to undertake make it our business to arm ourselves against him at this enterprise because of too great a distance, this sea as well. For this reason, however, a fleet is entire naval power could easily be commanded by the necessary, and one that must not be afraid of the King of Portugal alone.

enemy. It is true that we will not be able to equal them. Secondly, it would have to be considered whether in the number of warships; nevertheless, it will be the enemy should be attacked with combined or easy, at least not impossible, to muster a strong naval divided forces and armies; and there is no doubt that force against him in another way, namely in the unification of our people and the joining of their following manner: A hundred warships can be forces, especially in the countryside, would be the brought together in approximately the following way. most beneficial. For a divided number generally The most Christian king has many of them in the shares courage and heartiness, which would by no harbor of Marseilles, and he can provide at least means be encountered by an enemy who is swarming twenty. If, in the same way, the Catholic king will be with people, and if he had his entire army together, a able to add eight more to the twelve warships lying division of ours would be exceedingly ready in Sicily, it will not even be difficult for him to do disadvantageous. To that extent, our army will not shy so. The Venetians will be able to equip forty of them; away from the multitude of enemies, nor from the and the Roman Pontiff, together with the College of danger that arises during the battle. Next, it will not be Cardinals, will endeavor to put ten warships to sea. advisable to attack the enemy here and there, but if From the Genoese, however, we will receive thirty we attack him or rather the enemy's capital, it will warships, as well as various other larger ships, which enhance the honor of our bravery and bring great they call carachas or galeones. The kings of France benefit to the whole war.

and England will also be able to provide a large. Thirdly, it would have to be considered on which number of such ships. For they have recently had away and through which country the army should take large number of them built. The kings of Spain and its march. Now a threefold proposal would have to be Portugal will also be able to contribute a considerable made. It could go either through Germany and number of such ships. However, each nation will have Hungary. It would be very convenient, however, if they to maintain this fleet at its own expense, and in some had reached Hungary, because then the army could cases a contribution will have to be made from the taken by ship and easily launched on the Danube general tax and war chest. Now these ships, if they before Constantinople. But this would probably be too are in connection with the aforementioned warships far for some princes and therefore inconvenient. Or with sailors from Spa-

the route through Dalmatia and Illyria, which is not far from the sea, could be taken.

is occupied by many areas that are difficult to cross, and is especially inconvenient for cavalry. The third way, in which all these difficulties would be eliminated, would be if the imperial and most Christian Majesties with their troops turned through Italy to Ancona and Brundisium, from where they would have a very convenient entrance into Epirus and Greece. They would be able to pass through these two friendly countries. From Ancona, the troops could easily be shipped across; and once a part of them had gone ahead, their commanders could easily follow.

Fourthly, it would have to be considered where the troops should hold their assembly point, and where they should attack the enemy lands first. The army serving on land could, as already mentioned, assemble at Ancona and Brundisium, but those serving at sea could gather in Sicily, reinforce themselves at the ports of Ancona and Brundisium, and turn with all their might to the enemy shores. In the enemy lands, however, the port of Durach ¹⁾ seems to be the most convenient for the arrival of the ships, although it is in the hands of the enemy. However, it will not be difficult to conquer it if our land and sea power approaches it, since the whole shore is safe and provided with various harbors, and the matter will not be so difficult if one takes people who are familiar with the country.

The first undertaking of the army would have to be directed either at the enemy army or at the conquest of the city of Constantinople. One must immediately go for the main one, and if this is beaten or defeated, the other one will be conquered all the more easily. But this would have to happen no differently than if those who know our and the enemy's forces judged that we were superior to them. If this were not the case, we would not even have to undertake a landing, but would have to be content with the possession of what we have. But we leave this to the wisdom and deliberation of the commanders themselves.

Fifth, as for the provisions needed for the army, it will not be difficult to obtain them if, as we thought earlier, our fleet exercises dominion over the sea. For the merchants will freely depart and arrive from Murcia, Apulia, Calabria, Neapolis and Sicily, and will be able to earn all kinds of livelihoods freely and unhindered.

will be able to bring food to the sea. Those who live in Lombardy, indeed almost from the whole of Italy and France, will be able to bring all kinds of food to the sea by means of some rivers, but especially the Po, and from there it will be easy to transfer it to the other shore; but how it is then to be brought to the army is left to the good counsel of those who are present there. It will only be necessary to see to it that one gets in touch with honest merchants who are in good standing and who will arrange for the delivery of the food to the army for a nice profit; the title and the prestige of commissaries could also be attached to them by each local sovereign, so that they could carry on their business with all the greater vigor.

From some external points.

Of the above two external circumstances, and the first: whether a certain unbelieving prince, such as Sophi in Persia, could not be stirred up against the Turks, whom he hates irreconcilably? should not be unhelpful to discuss; but we cannot place any particular hope in him, but must rather rely on God, on our power and good counsel.

Concerning the distribution of what may be conquered, and so that it may be done so fairly that no one has cause to complain about it or to have a cause for discord, arbitrators shall be chosen for such distribution, The Roman Pontiff together with the College of Cardinals, or the princes themselves may compare among themselves and, after the war is over, decide what is due to each of them from the spoils, according to the proportion of the work and expenses expended on this war. And all others must submit to this decision, avoiding those penalties that were threatened above when the state of peace was mentioned. Or such a holy fraternity would have to be established, by virtue of which what has been conquered would be left undivided among themselves until everything could be decided and divided by appointed and popular persons. For to divide something before one has it for certain is clumsy; but to quarrel about it afterwards, after the war is over, is dangerous. In this way, everyone would soon be able to see how much would fall to him, and would not need to spend time in vain with other people's things.

1) "Durach" is Durazzo in Epirus, in ancient times Dyrrachium.

Up to this point, we have presented our opinion about each piece in particular. But now we want to add one thing and another. For if it were possible for the kings of Hungary and Poland to attack the Turks on the other side with an armed army, there is no doubt that this would contribute greatly to a successful undertaking. For the enemies would be frightened by it and forced to divide their forces at several points. For this reason, however, they can be incited and admonished, and offered the necessary help, but in such a way that the armament of the army discussed above is not deprived of anything. For therein rests the strength of the war and the hope of a victory to be preserved. If, however, without reducing the expenses determined above, something could be given to them by the remote nations, the Norwegians, Danes and Swedes, for example, for the maintenance of an army, then this would certainly be of better benefit to our project.

Similarly, if in addition to the army, which we would like to see united in its forces, as thought above, such a number of troops could be brought to our feet, by means of which we would be able to make an incursion now and then into the enemy countries, and also to occupy the fortresses everywhere well: who does not recognize that such would be beneficial to our undertakings beyond all measure? However, we maintain once again that we must first of all take care only of those things that are most indispensable for war and victory. However, we hope and trust in the Lord that there will be no lack of anything else. For where will one find a noble heart that will not hasten to join in this war, full of a true desire for honor? Where will one find one who is eager to see the world, who should not take up arms on this occasion and march against the enemy? What man will not be impelled by the hope of making spoil to turn with where so great a booty is to be hoped for? Who will prefer to display the specimens of his valor and other praiseworthy qualities before God and man than in so beautiful and holy an undertaking? To all these reasons of motion shall be added the honor and love of God, the welfare of the orthodox church, and the desire to attain the heavenly fatherland. The princes of the earth shall increase their wealth and prestige, the

Brave and noble men contribute their courage and bravery, but all others contribute a part of their temporal fortune to this general cause, help to promote the best of God's cause and human society, and in this way acquire an eternal reward. Even if this enemy is very powerful in numbers, wild and cruel, we are still far superior to him in the bravery of our soldiers and in the good conduct of war, which is most important in war, to such an extent that we can certainly promise ourselves a victory, if God will otherwise graciously hear our prayer. Therefore, there will be neither a lack of money nor of brave men. They will try to follow the example of their most noble kings and princes. These princes will thus, through a moderate effort and toil, by means of such a victory, both increase their own fame and glorify the faith in the true God, spread the inheritance of Christ, and prove themselves worthy of being placed by God in such an exalted place; They will make themselves pleasing in the sight of God, and by such holy warfare they will achieve, besides the increase of their temporal fortune, an eternal fame among men, and their names will be inscribed in heaven.

Marching route.

The Emperor will send the King of Poland and the Electors with his troops, the German national servants, Bohemians, Hungarians, Poles, Danes, and those of the German Order of Knights, 70,000 men strong, namely 20,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry, in good order and accompanied by sufficient heavy artillery, through Hungary.

The King of France will pass through Friuli with the French, Scottish, Swiss, Lorraine, Savoy, Venetian, Florentine, Sienese and Luccian armies, with 4,000 cuirassiers, 8,000 light cavalry, and 50,000 infantry, also with sufficient heavy artillery.

The King of Portugal will lead a fleet of three hundred large and small ships into the sea, among which at least 60 will be warships. This fleet will put ashore 40,000 men, consisting of Spaniards, English, Portuguese, Genoese, Neapolitans, Sicilians, Flanders, where it will be necessary, together with a large quantity of ordnance, and horses to carry them on land. Of Our Most Holy Father, the Roman Emperor

Pabst's fleet could now either unite with this fleet or supply food to another army that is to pass through Friuli on foot. This fleet can also turn to the area of Apollonia and Dyrrachium to await there another army of the king in France. If it should be deemed good, it can turn from there to Peloponnesus, or straight to Constantinople, or unite with the above army, if necessary, at the Gulf of Thessalonica, or go to Jerusalem and Egypt, since another army led by Hungary will not get far from the Gulf of Salonika.

Twelve million ducats would be sufficient for all these undertakings in a period of two years. Now, if the immediate rulers would give the fourth part of their annual income for this purpose; if, furthermore, the ecclesiastical princes would also grant a fourth part for this purpose; Thirdly, if those princes, commonwealths and other secular lords contributed half a tithe of their revenues, and the people paid the fourth part of a penny of every pound in buying and selling, and if the collections collected at the sermons on the cross were abundantly given and diligently sent in, it is to be believed that these five means, if properly used and administered, would amount to far more in revenue than in expenditure, that is, far exceed twelve million.

Consultatio Germanica, that is,

**Consultation, which was held by the
princes, princes and estates of the Holy
Roman Empire at the
Augsburg in the year 1518 held imperial
days were hired.**

In the name of God and under the government of the Holy Spirit, Amen! After our most holy Lord and Father Leo X., Roman Pontiff, together with the whole college of the most reverend Cardinals, also with the participation of the spokesmen of various Christian kings and princes, who have met in the city of Rome for the consideration of the present urgent need of all Christendom, In virtue of the pastoral office entrusted to him over the host of the Lord, he considered and seriously pondered, not without great mortification of his paternal heart, how for some time now the sworn enemies of our most holy faith, the cruel and abominable Turkish people,

raged against the Christians, not only in the neighboring provinces, Aetolia, Peloponnesus, Achaia, Arcadia, all of Greece, Thessaly, Magnesia, Macedonia, Epirus, Eubona [Euboea?], Moesia, Thrace, yes, even Constantinople, the headquarters of the former Oriental empire, first troubled by hostile raids, but afterwards also devastated, filled with murder and blood, and finally even subjected to their authority, but afterwards even penetrated into the heart of Italy, and at times let himself be seen not far from the walls of the city of Rome, where the head of all Christendom dwells and the apostolic see has been erected; there he vented his fury, plundered, devastated, and then returned to his fatherland with much booty, rejoicing and exulting. Moreover, this most holy father also perceived that the Christians themselves, either out of a secret doom of God over our sins, or because the vast majority of them look only to their own self-interest, and do not care about the general cause, are listening to the groans of the wretched, the tears of the oppressed with deaf ears and closed eyes, and therefore no efforts have yet been made to oppose the cruel undertakings of this general enemy of Christianity, or to heal the wounds that have been inflicted. And although such things can still be regarded rather indifferently, since this public enemy had not yet spread so far as we now see it apparently before our eyes, over which also some of the previous Turkish tyrants were so much more easily carried by the Christian rulers, who, although they had brought some small countries under themselves, had nevertheless not yet directed their thoughts at all to spreading themselves over the whole face of the earth. But after he had imagined the present state of affairs, and considered how great and powerful this general enemy had now become, as being now not content with those provinces, countries, and empires which his ancestors had formerly taken from the Christians, nay, no longer content with all Asia and a part of Europe, but, after having made the king of the Persians small and crumbly in various field battles, also strangled two Egyptian sultans in a cruel manner, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, and many African provinces, especially, as they say, Bugia, Tunis, Tremetz [Tripoli]? He also has an insatiable thirst for the blood of Christians, according to his own lust for power,

is an enemy of all princes and all nobility, and publicly boasts that, after having conquered the whole Orient and a large part of the countries of the Middle East, he is now going to attack the Westerners, that is, to rage even into the bowels of the Christians, and, since no one particularly opposes him, to make the whole world submissive to him by force of arms, but especially to destroy the Christian church, which was founded by the blood of the crucified Savior Jesus Christ, and to subject the holy Catholic faith to the shameful impure Mohammedan sect, and to force the Christian peoples to abandon their religion, yes, to conspire against it with the cruelest tortures. To this end he has been made even more proud and audacious by the recent victory, since he has brought under his control even that land in which Jesus was born, and Mount Calvary, on which the footsteps of his cross are still to be found, as well as the tomb in which the most holy body of Jesus Christ was laid, and the fatherland of the blessed Virgin Mary and of all the holy apostles. All these places are now trodden upon by the unclean, shameful feet of these enemies of Christ, and are possessed to our own shame by those who, alas! have variously defiled and polluted their hands with the blood of Christians; not to think that the Christians have now been robbed of the opportunity to make pilgrimages thither, by which they were formerly variously comforted.

Now that all this has been well considered, and it is easy to see that the Christians are not only in great danger, since this strong enemy already has two hundred large and small ships in the sea and is preparing more and more of them, but also that there is an unavoidable necessity to fight with this enemy over property and blood, life and salvation, papal sanctities have considered that it is no longer possible to sit still or to postpone deliberations any longer, and with the involvement of all the above-mentioned persons, have deemed it necessary that a general array and campaign be organized against this general enemy of the Christians; They have also decreed that first of all the most high God must be moved by unceasing prayer and supplication, fasting, sacrifices, penitential exercises, by repentant and humble hearts, that he should not be mindful of our sins, but only of his mercy, that according to the same he should also be gracious to us, and that he should govern our minds and hearts for the happy conduct of such an important matter. But that also,

Secondly, that all wars, hostilities and disputes which have hitherto existed among the Christian princes and potentates be cleared out of the way, and either be settled by a lasting, honest peace, or else be set aside for a time by means of a standstill, so that each one may have the freer hand to arm himself for war against this enemy; Thirdly, everything that belongs to such an important matter, namely the manner in which this war is to be conducted, how people, money and means of life are to be raised and procured, is to be elaborated widely and wisely, and such advice, after it has been drawn up in writing by the unanimous consent of all the members assembled at that time, is to be presented to the most insurmountable Roman Emperor Maximilian, as the head of the secular princes, defender of the apostolic see and Christian faith, who at the same time has the greatest experience in matters of war, for examination and consideration, so that he, according to his wisdom and experience in matters of war, if something should be added to or taken away from this proposal, would open his insight and good advice.

1. Although the most noble Emperor, who was already aware of all the above-mentioned circumstances from undeniable samples, and who is also being increasingly confirmed in this regard by written and oral testimonies, has often regretted this state of affairs from the bottom of his heart, and has also often asked the most holy Father, as well as other Christian kings and princes, for help against this spreading distress, and other Christian kings and princes, he has often sought and requested help against this spreading misery, he has often discussed it with the entire German nation and his advisors, and from his earliest childhood he has wished for nothing so much as that he might one day have the opportunity to attend such a campaign: Nevertheless, the ambassador who brought him this proposal and the reports of so many distinguished men was very pleasant to him. And although he recognized that all and every article had been written with great understanding, skill and wisdom, he did not want to omit that his advisors, who were present with him at the time, read through everything carefully, examined it and considered it, and that what they found necessary to remember should be put down in writing.

(2) But the above-mentioned councilors, after having carefully and thoroughly examined everything, found nothing to be added or done that could be conducive to the execution of such a project; especially if the condition among the Christians were such that

would like that the sooner the better such a war could be started and such a campaign undertaken. But because such a matter is so important and involves so much work that it will be impossible to carry it out in the coming summer; Since the German empire and people consist of many different countries, governed by many different princes and laws, customs and habits, and it is therefore not possible to bring about a general campaign at once and with speed, but it is nevertheless to be feared that the Turk, who has already equipped a large fleet and made astonishing war establishments, will not rest and refrain from filling one and another Christian province; The imperial councillors have therefore wished to submit in writing, with due deference, some of their proposals as to what should be done in the coming year against these enemies; what could be done in the next two years until a general expedition; what generals the army could lead, what people and money the cause could be attacked with: So that the present year may not pass without the slightest counter-event, and at least something may happen to shift his aim, lest he gain a firm foothold in the recently conquered kingdoms, rule them according to his own liking, allow himself to be worshipped therein, and also assault the other African kings and potentates, of whom he has not yet seized, meanwhile with war, from all of whom he would certainly extort astonishing sums of money, and use them against the Christians without any doubt. However, the said councils want to hand over their opinion in all respects to the most holy Lord and Father, and to other councils of Christian kings and princes assembled there, and not to deviate from the above-mentioned proposals sent to the Imperial Majesty, but to stand by them as wisely considered and reasoned. They are also of the opinion that, if in the coming summer no movements arise among the Christians against this enemy, the latter will in the following years curtail all opportunities for the Christians, and all help that could be expected from foreigners will be displaced, if we do not try to get ahead of him soon. Therefore, this matter must by no means remain suspended until the following year, but rather the African kings and princes must be admonished, encouraged and helped, also the Scythians and Tartars, by means of rewards and pay, to a general enterprise against the Christians.

The Turks will have to bring up the troops before the Turks get ahead of them. Since they lost a great many people in the last wars with the Sultan and Sophi, there is no doubt that they will seek to enlist new troops from the neighboring peoples. If the Africans, Scythians or Tartars could be hired by us first in the coming year, there would be all the fewer people left for our enemies.

The Imperial Councillors have indicated in the following how the money necessary for the war is to be raised, and in such a way that it is bearable for the Germans, although they are not at all willing to present this as a law and guideline to those princes who can make a better proposal for raising money in their kingdoms and countries, but they are willing and ready to let others find their insights. The order in which the war is to begin and the command under which it is to be conducted, so that the Christians are not allowed to be idle during the three-year period set, has also been instructed in the following documents.

(4) First of all, the funds to be raised for this undertaking shall be discussed. Next, how the disputes among the Christian princes are to be settled; by whom and how this can be done throughout Christendom; and also which of the Christian princes are to remain at home during the first year in order to settle all disputes. Thirdly, what is to be done in the coming year and then in the two following years. Each point must be dealt with in due order.

(5) First of all, as regards the maintenance and sufficient pay of a numerous army necessary for this undertaking, three years in succession, Imperial Majesty's Councilors consider it convenient and necessary if the whole of Christendom were to arrange for the fiftieth man to be selected by all families and houses in the ecclesiastical and secular classes and provided for this war; the remaining forty-nine, however, would be required to provide him with his annual sustenance. The maintenance itself, however, as determined above by the most holy pope and his councilors, could be communicated in the following manner: a strongly armed horseman or cuirassier would be paid six ducats monthly, those belonging to the light cavalry four or five ducats, and those serving in the infantry three ducats monthly. Such money, however, would be

The money could be collected if a florin or Rhenish florin contribution were imposed on each house or family every month.

In addition to this money, which was placed on each house and family, the entire clergy in all of Christendom (with the exception of the mendicant order, which has no certain income at all) would have to pay the tenth part of all their income and goods for this undertaking these three years in succession.

(7) Likewise, all those in the secular class, but especially those who have their own houses and families, must contribute the twentieth part of their income for this very purpose.

(8) All, both clergy and secular, including widows, if they have no real estate or income, but possess cash or other movable property, they shall be bound, though in silence, by oath to declare the sum of their property. If an estimate has been made of how much they can use annually, then they, as well as the others, shall pay off the twentieth part.

All manual laborers and day laborers, including those who serve other masters for a certain wage, shall pay half a Rhenish florin for this war. However, if among such servants some are found who either have income for themselves or otherwise possess money and movable property, they shall be put on a footing with those mentioned in the previous article.

Moreover, our most holy Father could send people throughout Christendom and have them preach sermons on the cross and the army. If, by means of such sermons, a king, a prince, or any other common man should be induced to attend this holy war at his own expense, he shall then be exempt from all the above-mentioned obligations and burdens.

(11) Those, however, who for other reasons are prevented from personally attending this holy campaign, may, nevertheless, if they have previously contributed their usual contingent to it, be made partakers of the fruits and benefits of this holy war in another way, if they have contributed something to the happy continuation of this war according to their ability and in true, zealous devotion, or if they have enabled others to make such a contribution.

The necessary number of soldiers will be easily gathered from the whole of Christendom, if both spiritual and secular princes, governors and authorities, bishops and priests, in their countries, provinces, cities, bishoprics and parishes, will take care that everything that is male is counted and written out from man to man.

(13) In the ordinary recruitment, however, it shall be kept as reported above, namely that all houses and families shall always provide the fiftieth man. No less can others be recruited from the collected tenth and twentieth part of goods and income. Regarding the money that is to be collected through indulgences and army sermons, the papal holiness, the imperial majesty, princes, estates and communities in Christendom shall select skilful, honest and prudent men, both spiritual and secular, who will faithfully administer the collected money and then give due account of their housekeeping.

As for the equipment and heavy ordnance necessary for war, the kings, princes, and other commonwealths shall be required, according to their ability and strength, to help each other out as necessity requires. The transport and government of these, however, as well as the corresponding powder, lead and the like, along with all other expenses incurred by the carriage, must be paid from the general war chest of Christendom.

(15) Perhaps it would be more convenient and useful in this war, too, if those who want to serve in it were partly taken in full pay, but partly also provided with subsistence, especially because it will be difficult to find so many merchants who can procure such a large quantity of provisions and food. Those, however, who have taken it upon themselves to supply the army with food, will have to be given freedom to buy out everything through the whole of Christendom, and even to buy, pay for and bring in what they need without delay over the sea. Therefore, it seems to be necessary to appoint commissars of provisions for this undertaking, both on this side and on the other side of the sea, who will be responsible for the acquisition of foodstuffs and will then sell or distribute them to the army.

Such commissions for provisions shall correspond with each other according to the nature of the regions, and thereafter give a faithful and honest account of their administration before the deputies elected by the whole of Christendom.

16. Since it is known that there are many and various disagreements among Christians, especially among various great and powerful leaders, which have not yet been settled to this hour, and therefore it could easily happen that one or the other could fall apart and become apostate when the occasion arises, it is nevertheless important to see that private disputes and domestic hostilities do not benefit the general enemy of the Christian name, that private quarrels and domestic hostilities would not be beneficial to the general enemy of the Christian name, but detrimental to such a holy and necessary campaign, while all others would freely and safely decide to undertake such an enterprise, but would by no means be prevented, stopped or even alienated by such internal discord and unrest: It will be absolutely necessary that all these domestic wars, disputes and discord, which are either now really pending or could arise, be settled among all states without any objection, or postponed until another time. Since it may be a long and arduous task to establish peace and friendship among all and sundry, let at least a six-year standstill be established among all those who have something to do with each other, the cause of their quarrels being as great as it may be; so that all Christian princes, powers and authorities may enjoy true peace and security during this time; and after the three years appointed for this war have elapsed, another three years may remain, during which Christendom may have peace, so that it may not, immediately after the end of such an arduous and dangerous campaign, be involved in a new war and be plunged into harm and unrest.

(17) But what is to be done in each of these three years appointed for war must also be carefully considered, since among the vast majority of peoples in Christendom there is such stupidity and inexperience in these matters, such irrepressible obstinacy, together with an awkwardness and coarseness in manners, that they either do not at all respect or do not even understand what belongs to the general welfare; therefore it can easily happen that when such a general contribution of the tenth year is offered, the tenth year is not paid.

If it is to be carried out from house to house, such people will be found who will resist with all their might, who will not want to be burdened with such a burden, but will prove to be disobedient and recalcitrant.

(18) Therefore, in the next year, which will be the thousand five hundred and eighteenth, (1) serious steps shall be taken to establish and establish such a general treasury throughout Christendom, and to remove from the way all that would oppose or hinder it. Thereupon all wars and disputes pending among Christian princes and potentates shall be set aside and postponed for six whole years; but those who oppose it shall be punished by the apostolic see with the strictest ecclesiastical ban, and by the imperial majesty with the imperial ban and disgrace. Should any of them resist in an audacious manner and persist in his recalcitrance, he shall be warred against with arms by all other Christian princes as a pacifist and punished according to the law. In such execution against the recalcitrant and the disturbers of the peace, the Most Serene King of France shall have the upper hand, and he shall especially enjoin those princes and peoples of Christendom who live towards morning and towards midnight or who border on his kingdom, even against their will and by means of coercion, to pay the contribution as well as to enter into the standstill for six years. Those, however, who live further towards evening and midnight, shall be held to their duty by the Most Serene King of England, as he will bring these decrees to execution in the same whole area. Whoever shall dare to break such a desired retirement shall be severely punished for it. Finally, those who live from the evening until noon, if they should be tempted to interrupt such a general settlement, will be chastised by our most holy Lord and Father, the Roman Pontiff, either directly, or by the standard-bearers of the apostolic see, as their recalcitrance deserves.

19 Therefore, it does not seem to be a bad thing if, in order to calm down all the unrest that could easily arise, as was thought before, first of all the two most illustrious kings of

1) Here, it is evident that these Rathschläge belong to the year 1517.

France and England remained present in their kingdoms during the first year of this campaign, and diligently and carefully awaited the office that had been assigned to them in the meantime. Should necessity now require that the recalcitrant be driven to observe their duties by more severe means of coercion, half of the contribution which is to be demanded from the houses and families could be applied to defray the expenses. What can be spared from such tenth or twentieth part, however, shall be used for the Asrican enterprise, of which something shall be reported hereafter. For the purpose of taming the rebels and recalcitrants, which is to be carried out by the Roman Pontiff and the aforementioned kings, skilled commanders experienced in warfare are to be chosen in all regions, who are to be present wherever necessity may require, and who are to remedy all difficulties in good time.

(20) But what should be done in the next year, before the general campaign is opened, there will be another opportunity, so that in the first year, when a general army is being formed, the Turks will not have a completely free hand to do as they please. For since the Christian princes have good hope that they will be able to persuade the Persian Sophi to take up arms against the Turks, especially since he fell very short in some battles and was abandoned by the Sultan in Egypt in the last campaign, they should also take his entire army with them, And since his whole army has been taken away in such a way that he would rather wish for peace than war, it is necessary to consider how something could be done by the Christians to his disadvantage in Africa, which this tyrant has begun to subjugate for some time. If the Turks should oppose them, they can, on such an occasion, dare to quarrel with them in the expectation of victory, and, with divine assistance, make the beginning of a happy enterprise. If, through the humble prayers and supplications of the Christians, they could reach out further, they would do well to go before Alkair, that is, before the outcast Egyptian king's residence, pursue their victory, and make that city subservient to us, which, by all accounts, would be quite easy to accomplish because it is not particularly fortified. And with the conquest of this place, the Nile River and all of Africa would be given over to the Christians.

The Persian army would fall into the hands of the Persians, but the Turks would be deprived of the opportunity to continue their attacks there. From there, a way would be open to make the Persian king all the more courageous to attack this common enemy.

21. Therefore, it would not be a bad thing if something were to be done in Africa in the coming summer, especially so that those kings who have not yet come under the control of the Turks, such as the kings of Tremez [Tripoli], Fez and Morocco, as well as the Arabs and Libyans who inhabit the mountains, might be encouraged; These could be supported, and with the help of the troops of the Christians they could be encouraged to undertake an enterprise against the Turks, also attracted by pay and rewards.

The supreme commanders of the expedition to be undertaken next year shall be the Most Serene Emperor and the King of Portugal, in conjunction with the Catholic King, as well as with the participation of other princes, except those whose peoples are destined for the undertaking in Poland. In the following two years, these leaders, among others, will remain there and will remain until the end of the war. In order to carry out this plan, to arm and maintain their army, they will need the other half of the contribution of the fiftieth part; no less will they have to use the contribution of the tenth and twentieth part, mentioned above, for their campaign; But especially from Germany, where this money can be raised most easily, just as from there the food and other necessities of war can be procured, and the soldiers necessary for the enterprise, according to the condition of each province, can be taken from it. To support this, the Most Holy King of France, along with a few others, will provide a fleet at sea, so that the Emperor and the King in Portugal will have to act jointly on water and on land.

(23) Above all, however, it will be necessary for our most holy Father, along with others who are gathered in Rome because of this matter, to send skilled persons to the above-mentioned Astrian kings (and if there are others who have not yet relinquished their lands to the Turk), to discover this plan to them through them, and to have them admonished that they, together with the Africans who are subject to them, as

The Arabs inhabiting the mountains, or if they can muster others with them, would also make an attempt against the Turks, as these peoples, after having suffered so much from the Turkish tyrants in the past years, can easily be used for their purposes.

24. The other enterprise of this coming year will be undertaken by the most illustrious King of Poland, both in his name and in so far as he is the guardian of Louis, King of Hungary, and his subordinate army will be brought together from Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and other countries subject to him; Subsidies will also be handed to him from Lower Austria, and the necessary artillery will be provided by the Emperor's Majesty; Bavaria, however, will be able to reinforce its army with men and supply it with food after the repartition has been made.

Those who do not want to or cannot attend this campaign personally will have to recruit and provide other soldiers by means of the money to be demanded from them, which they will easily find in Bohemia. For the so-called national servants are not to be used for the first expedition, but are to be saved until the other African expedition.

(26) It will be no less beneficial and profitable if the Roman Pontiff, together with his assembled council, will take care that some Scythians and Tartars, who live nearest to the Poles, Russians and Moldovans, will be brought into arms against the Turks by means of proper pay and reward. These, together with those Moldavians and Wallachians who live in the so-called Great Moldavia and Wallachia (and who could easily be divested of the service they have hitherto rendered to the Turks for a certain amount of pay), could dare to make the first raid with the King of Poland in the coming year, and at the same time draw to themselves those who live in Little Wallachia.

(27) Just as the Tartars, in addition to the ordinary pay given to them by the papal court, must be tempted by other decent rewards.

28) When these three nations, the Scythians, Moldavians and Wallachians, join the army of the most noble King of Poland, he will prepare an expedition to Smedra 1) or Chilia.

And when these places have been happily conquered and a sufficient garrison has been left there, the troops can then return to their winter quarters. And this undertaking will be all the easier for the King of Poland, because the tyrant of the Turks does not think so much of this region as of the preservation of Syria, Arabia, Africa, which he has only recently subjected to his control, or of a new conquest of other Asiatic countries.

In the other year appointed for this expedition, which will be the fifteen hundred and nineteenth, the Most Sublime Roman Emperor Maximilian, together with the King of Portugal, will continue the enterprise begun in Africa, go beyond Alcair and Alexandria, and will be able to strengthen his army with the African, Moor and Arab soldiers, especially since from those who inhabit Fetz, Morocco and the Arabian mountains alone, more than a hundred thousand men can easily be raised.

In this second year of the proposed expedition, the most illustrious King of England will be able to approach the Emperor with a fleet to support him; just as our most holy father, the Pope of Rome, together with his cardinals, will not fail to admonish him not to break the loyalty he has so sacredly pledged to the Emperor in this matter. With this King of England will be able to join the King of Denmark, together with the troops of the Grand Master of the Prussian Knights of the Order and Russian archers, of which they have a great number, and which do good service at sea.

These, together with the troops of the Roman emperor and the king of Portugal, will be able to undertake an expedition to Africa and expect a victory, to make Alcair and Alexandria their subjects, to cross the Nile, to bring the Persian Sophi into arms against the Turks, and to bring them to a common understanding with the Christians. The Christians cannot imagine anything easier than this, since the tyrant of the Turks will then not be able to use the Scythians and Tartars, who are too far away from him, against the Persians; moreover, the Christians will see that they can draw the Scythians and Tartars to themselves by promising them richer pay, as was thought above.

32. in this same fifteen hundred and nine-

1) "Smedra" will be Semendria or Smederewo, a fortress on the right bank of the Danube, below Belgrade. - "Chilia" will be Kilia or Kili, a fortified city at the mouth of the northern arm of the Danube.

In the tenth year, the King of France will send all his troops, as many as he can muster except those which he, like other Christian princes, will have to send in the 1518th year. In the tenth year, as many of his troops as he can muster, in addition to those which he, like other Christian princes, will have to send to the Arican expedition in the year 1518, and which will have to be supported by the other half of the contribution to be collected, as well as by the tenth and twentieth penny of all goods and revenues, will prepare for this holy campaign, and will be able to march through Italy and Friuli, Illyria, Croatia and Dalmatia, and from there set out straight for the trading city of the Turks, called Oberbosna 1).

33) Why such a route would be more beneficial and advantageous for the whole of Christendom as well as for the king of France himself than an African or midnight route, can easily be judged from the fact that in the last few years some occidental Christian peoples have been involved in all kinds of wars and quarrels with the king of France, the memory of which could easily cause all kinds of trouble during his passage. On the other hand, with the Christians living towards the east, who never waged war with him, such inconveniences and hostilities are not to be suspected.

34. In the same year, the above-mentioned King of Poland, with his own army as well as with the auxiliary troops consisting of Wallachians, Moldavians and Scythians, will continue the undertakings begun in the previous year and unite with the King of France to besiege the city of Upper Bosna; They will then advance on both sides and besiege the two cities in Thrace, Philippopolis and Adrianopolis, and, if possible, conquer and fortify them and try to remain in them as a rampart. From there, however, the Tartars, Scythians and Wallachians, who will be granted a dwelling in these cities, will go on raids into the neighboring countries, take booty and collect plunder for the maintenance of the army. They will also be gladly accepted if they carry out a raid on Calcidon [Chalkis?] or Negroponte, or otherwise on one of the nearest harbors, and are willing to conquer the same, into which the African fleet, if it first carries out its project in Africa, could then enter in the third year determined for this enterprise, expose the people leading it there, and the latter could then unite with the land forces of the King of France.

1) This is, Bosna Serai, the most important trading town in Bosnia.

In the third year of this campaign, which will be 1520. In the third year of this campaign, which will be 1520, the Most Serene Emperor, together with the King of Portugal, if they have previously liberated Africa (as mentioned above), conquered the cities of Alcair and Alexandria, and dispersed the Turkish fleet (according to the Turks' plan), will have their army cross into Greece, since they will not lack ships and vehicles to accomplish this, unite there with the King of France and Poland, and attack the Turkish capital, Constantinople. And when they have conquered Constantinople, they will penetrate further into Asia Minor or Natolia and other more remote Turkish cities, and try to subdue them, in which they will undoubtedly be helped by Sophi, the king of the Persians. And in this way they will conclude this holy war, when they have defeated and dispersed the general enemy of the Christians.

36) But the above-mentioned Christian princes will be able to win over the Sophi of the Persians by the following rewards, if they agree with him that after the conquest of these provinces half of Natolia, all of Caramania and Armenia will be given to him; but the rest of what has been conquered and won in Asia and Africa, especially Egypt and the holy Jerusalem, where the tomb of Christ is, must remain for the Christians alone.

(37) If by such a happy success Christianity had spread almost three times more and more, it would be necessary to see to it that the conquered peoples were also gradually converted to the Christian faith by mild means.

But those kingdoms, provinces and territories which have been conquered in this holy military campaign shall be divided without all deceit and guile by the Christian kings, princes and estates, according to the pronouncement and decision of certain judges, to whom the Most Holy Father and his entire College of Cardinals shall be elected.

Finally, in order that everything may be expedited and set in motion, it will be necessary for Christian kings, princes and authorities, who, as reported above, will be present at the Arican expedition, to dispatch their emissaries to their imperial majesty, the sooner the better, to consider, examine and set in motion everything and anything that has been proposed here with the same, above what necessity requires,

The Emperor will unite the three years with his Imperial Majesty, and help to accomplish what has been popular in Rome, as well as with all kings, princes and states, and especially what will be popular because of the African expedition, as both the matter itself and the hostile counter-measures in the future summer may require.

(40) The kings, princes and states who will follow the King of France's march will do the same, send their envoys to him in good time to arrange the necessary things, and also stay with him until the matter is finished.

Thirdly, those who go to battle with the King of Poland will send their envoys to him to have the necessary conversation.

42. Finally, the necessity seems to require that all Christian kings and princes send their emissaries to Rome to our most holy father, or confirm those already there, so that they can negotiate the necessary matters with his papal holiness during the three-year expedition and drive it forward. They can also support it with all possible diligence, so that what was once decided together, especially the collection of money, the recruitment and payment of troops, the unity in Christendom, and above all the six-year truce among them, will be unbreakably taken care of and kept.

His Imperial Majesty's response to previous proposal

After His Sacred Imperial Majesty, following the response received from the Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire assembled at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg, which was drafted concerning a general campaign to be undertaken against the Turks, saw and considered very well, that they were still far removed from the intention and desire of our most Holy Father, as well as from the almost unanimous opinion of many other Christian kings, princes and states, so they did not consider it advisable to give the princes and states an answer; where not only for this reason with the envoys of the Holy Apostolic See, as well as the spokesmen of the kings of France and Poland, who are staying with them because it concerns a general matter, diligent inter

The answer to this question has been diligently examined and investigated. But after this very answer has been examined and investigated with all diligence, also in the name of all Christendom, which the assembled princes and estates present at the said Imperial Diet, it has again been unanimously submitted to His Imperial Majesty, who, in this war against the Turks, not only present His Imperial Majesty as Emperor the head of the German Empire, but also represent their sons and brothers, the most illustrious Kings of Spain, Hungary and Denmark, 1) who have granted him their authority to do so, and who are also of the opinion that the King of Portugal, although always at war with the Indians and Moroccans, will not evade such a sacred undertaking: They have decided to give the following answer to the noble Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire on their proposal:

First of all, His Imperial Majesty considered that the princes and estates of the empire, in such an important matter, did not take into account the great misfortune and danger hanging over the heads of the Christians, especially after the return of the tyrant, the Turk, in Europe; as which, as His Imperial Majesty is informed by credible testimonies, not only after having obtained victory over the Sultan of Syria and Egypt, and conquered a part of Africa, but also after having put to flight (which was unknown to them before) the Persian Sophi with his whole army, and thereby almost the whole of Armenia brought to them and conquered, so proudly and wantonly, also by the booty made by the Persians and Egyptians so enriched themselves that they now also equipped a strong fleet, and let it sail with many people from their ports; He is also now turning all his forces against the Christians, since he no longer has an enemy in Asia around him of whom we could hope that he would be able to do something to him.

Furthermore, the emperor, envoys and spokesmen are of the opinion that the assembled princes have not sufficiently considered whether the assembly of such a powerful and world-famous people, on which the other Christian nations have cast their eyes, from whose strength and bravery they expect so much, will be brought to ruin, and thereby give the enemy as much courage as the whole of Christendom a general fright;

1) In the old edition: "Dacien".

and that part of the Lord's host which dwells on the Turkish frontiers and has been our shield and rampart to the present day, still preserves itself in its pitiful condition, will then become a prey to the teeth of these wolves, consequently this enterprise of the princes will not attain the expected outcome and will not only be very harmful to the whole of Christendom, but also to the whole of the German Empire, This will not only be very harmful to Christendom as a whole, but also to the entire German Empire, its princes and estates, and will arouse no small suspicion among other Christian potentates of carelessness, laziness, and all sorts of reproaches that, since others could be found so ready and willing for such a holy and necessary undertaking, only the Germans wanted to remain in a sluggishness and sleepiness, not unlike having lost their way and forgotten the old bravery of their ancestors. Nor can His Imperial Majesty be persuaded to believe that at another meeting, which they want to organize, anything more fruitful will be achieved than at the present one, where only one thing has been wrapped up in another and nothing has been done or decided. All the Electors, together with many other wise and powerful princes of the empire, are with each other, through whose good counsel, wisdom and experience everything can be timely and well considered and decided, if only a good heart, a good will and the proper zeal can be found in each one for the best of his master. Moreover, the Emperor is not unaware of how much work it takes and how many difficulties must be overcome before the Diet can be held; if it were to be separated again, it would be difficult to bring it together again, despite all art and persuasion. Nor can the envoys and speakers understand why the princes and estates should allow such a necessary matter to be postponed, and why they should let so many fine men, who must be brought together with so much trouble and expense, go their separate ways again, almost to the shame of the whole world. If they think they owe nothing to those who are currently in danger, then they should look favorably on their descendants, whom they will leave behind in this very danger if they do not get down to business in time. If they do not want to worry about their descendants, then they should go into themselves and realize that they owe such an undertaking to the Son of God, Christ, without any objection, as He has endowed the holy Catholic Church, in which they were born, with His blood.

They should therefore go to council more seriously, and, if they have first considered the matter carefully with the other Christian kings and princes who would like to join them, they should also attack it unanimously and with one accord, together with our most holy father, joyfully and undauntedly; But always under the condition, which has been presented at any time by the Imperial Majesty and the delegates of the Roman See, namely that all the money collected throughout Germany shall not be used at anyone's discretion, but only for the campaign against the Turks, as the Princes and Estates want and will order.

172. farewell to the imperial diet at Augsburg, which was decided by the imperial majesty and the estates of the empire after the end of the same. Anno 1518.

From Lünig's Imperial Archives, part. Znsnr. oout. I, P. 321.

We Maximilian, by the Grace of God chosen Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire 2c. 2c., publicly confess and declare that, as elected Roman Emperor, Bailiff and Patron of Christendom, we, out of a Christian frame of mind, have considered and taken to heart the outrages and afflictions that are appearing more and more everywhere in the Empire; also the grave matters of common Christianity of our holy faith and German nation, with which the enemy of Christ, the Turk, is daily using and oppressing our faith and common Christian church, and therefore decrees that our and all Christian kings and potentates' embassies come to papal holiness to advise and decide how such frightening objections and actions may be advised and resisted, and further, for the same and other moving causes, to hold a Diet in our and the Holy Roman Empire's city of Augsburg, of the opinion that, with the Holy Roman Empire's estates, in the same right, its estates and the German nation's indignation, also deficiencies and defects of right, unity and peace, according to the Estates' writings, at the next Imperial Diet held in Mainz, and what further necessity requires to be advised and acted upon, so that such outrage, deficiencies and infirmities may be put down, and brought into good, praiseworthy, lasting being, and out of this a tolerable remedy against the

Turks may follow to the rescue of our holy faith, and thereupon princes, rulers, and other estates of the empire are required to join us there.

Accordingly, our and the Holy Roman Empire's six princes, all of them in person, as well as other princes and estates, have appeared before us in public, partly in their own persons, and also by embassy, as named at the end of the farewell, and after much practiced action, as well as diligent consultation, which we have done in the matters in question, have united and come to an agreement with said estates, and they with us, in the following farewell.

1. Firstly, as Papal Holiness, we, also Princes, Princes and others of the Holy Roman Empire, by their Holiness' Legation, with name, the Reverend Thomam Tittuch, Sancti Sixti Presbyterum, and Matthäum, Sancti Angeli, Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, before deliberation and resolution of all other defects and infirmities in the Holy Roman Empire, with which the common Christian church has been challenged for many years and by the enemy of Christ, the Turk, so that there is no end to it, but the more and greater, if there is no public resistance, his power and authority will extend into the Christian blood, and to the spreading of our holy faith: asking His Holiness to open the treasury of the Churches against it, and to offer all his fortune to resist such tyrannical enemy with a public and brave expedition. And therefore, as the elected Roman Emperor, and the rightful bailiff, protector and patron of the Holy Christian Church, requested and appealed to for faithful help and assistance in such Christian work, we, together with princes, princes and other estates, let ourselves be heard against the above-mentioned papal legate with an answer, How we and they, of all parts, bear the good knowledge, also of the same answer given writings in hand, as we and others of the holy realm should and will act with our every subject and kinsman, by which they may be moved to give their help and fortune to such salutary expedition.

2) And namely, that every person in the holy realm, male and female, who goes to the holy sacrament, shall give and deposit the tenth part of a Rhenish guilder for the next three years, every year, for the expedition and the common Turkish campaign. And so that the same

The proposal is so much more pleasing to the subjects, and so much more likely to be appreciated, that all of us, and every other of their embassies, shall inform them in a comforting and credible manner that such a proposal will be used and applied nowhere else than for the Turkish campaign, and that what will fall to each authority will be kept there in good and certain custody until the campaign begins, The money, which is to be given to the people of each place and country, horse and foot, as much as they are sent for, shall then be given from the same money to no one else. But whichever sovereignty cannot or will not send men of war, that they shall give their money and direct to pay others with it by the commissary, which any prince or sovereignty shall order. In the case of the same commissioners, the subjects, where the procession does not proceed, are to demand their money again, so that they too may be answered without any refusal or delay.

3. that our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, rulers and other sovereigns, who have jurisdiction, government, or who otherwise have noticeable trade, elevation and food, after they are of higher status and nature, also more than the subjects, are due and owed to give and give to such Christian expedition, as much as their devotion in such being or it will please them.

4. to all of this, that we may be comforted by the support of papal sanctity and the Roman Church, according to our given answer. And every authority shall have diligence on behalf of its subjects, so that the poor may not be so highly burdened against the rich in this respect. All of which, as indicated and stipulated in this our agreement, we, as well as our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, rulers and other estates, shall and will faithfully apply to our and all of their subjects and relatives with all diligence and earnestness, and also help to promote our property, so that our and ours may nevertheless be felt and found obedient by papal holiness, other potentates and common Christendom, in a faithful, Christian spirit and opinion, also of the Holy Roman Empire and the common German nation.

5 And what we and the Estates thus, after diligent efforts, obtain and maintain among our subjects and theirs, that we and they want for the next Imperial Diet, so that we can be sure of it in our and the Holy Roman Empire's interest.

We, as well as the princes, prelates and counts in our own persons, and the estates through their fully authorized attorneys, are to appear without delay and without hindrance, to notify each other, to discuss it on both sides and finally to decide. Also, that which is thus received by the subjects and finally decided between us, is to be made known to Papal Holiness by his own message, in addition to and with other necessities incumbent upon the realm. The further need for such a Turkish campaign of captains, cavalry captains and the like shall be discussed and decided there in the same way.

6. Furthermore, as all kinds of indignation, also lack and infirmities of right, unity and peace of the estates of the empire, as above, have been brought before us in writing at our next Imperial Diet at Mainz, and we therefore together with the estates here to avert them, also to handle our established land peace, to more substantial and constant purification, reformation, order, occupation and abstention of our imperial chamber court, In addition, we also undertook to take due and necessary notice of the excessive delicacy with clothing and adornment, drinking, weddings, kidnapping of money and property from the German nation, the coinage, the country's small fare, the disorders of the lower, also foreign courts and other things, and also to act and argue on them publicly, but for this reason, for obvious reasons, nothing was decided this time. And because of the obvious necessity to further deliberate and act in the above-mentioned matters of our Imperial Court of Appeal, as well as in the other articles mentioned above, with the advice and will of all parties, so that all errors and deficiencies may be eliminated, We have left these matters pending until the above-mentioned future Imperial Diet, when action must be taken for the sake of the Turks.

7) However, in order to ensure that the rights do not stand still in the meantime, but are continued, we wanted to speak and act with] chamber judges, assessors and all relatives of our chamber court until the aforementioned future Imperial Diet in Worms, and to proceed in the matter of our chamber court and the parties.

8. We also want, so that it may be seen by men that we are inclined to promote justice, and that for this reason no deficiency may be attributed to us, to send out our letter of command to all 1) those who still owe their petition for entertainment in respect of our Court of Appeal, to submit the same petition from this hour to Worms, so that judges, assessors and other relatives of our Court of Appeal may be moved and have their entertainment the sooner, and in all of this may most graciously be given sight of, and other relatives of our Court of Appeal, may be moved and have their entertainment at the indicated time, and in all this graciously to provide insight, so that before judged and granted settlements, and presently of the Holy Roman Empire, no one is burdened against equity on account of such proposals.

9 And especially ours, also the Electors, Princes, Councillors and Deputies, if we send them for the next account of our Court of Appeal, according to our order at Costenz, shall consult and judge this year on demand, the entertainment, how that may be granted by the decree, also by the notice, there, as is permitted and commanded in the said order.

10. In matters concerning the Lords of the Ladders, on account of the cities of Beern and Vicenss and other matters included in their petition, also those which have been brought forward and handed over by our Regents at Insbruck and others, likewise Thomas Index's half-obtained execution against Danzig and Elwigen [Elbing], the same matters, with all their appendices and circumstances, shall remain pending until the next Imperial Diet, when they shall be subject to further action and resolution, and shall not be acted against in accordance with our recently issued mandate.

11) All and every of the above mentioned points and articles concerning the help against the Turks and other 2) things, we promise, as much as we as Roman Emperor, also us and our dear son Carolen, King of Hispania 2c. 2c., that we, as Archdukes of Austria and Dukes of Burgundy, will execute them without any danger. In witness whereof we, as elected Roman Emperor and also as Archduke of Burgundy, have hereunto affixed our Imperial Seal.

We, the princes, prelates, counts, lords, and free and imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as the princes and other ambassadors and rulers sent by the states, confess that

1) In the old edition: "anfalle" instead of: an alle.

2) In the old edition: andern.

and declare, in and by virtue of this letter, that the above-mentioned points and articles concerning help against the Turks and other matters have been established and set up with our advice, good knowledge and will by the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, and that we have united all and sundry with Her Imperial Majesty, and Her Imperial Majesty in turn with us, and do so in the name of the Holy Roman Emperor.

By virtue of this letter, we promise to comply with and perform all such things as may concern or concern each of our sovereigns and friends, on whose account he has been sent to leave here, or his own, over whom he has authority, and also to pledge to all of them, to the best of our ability, 1) faithfully, without danger. *Date ut supra.*

1) Perhaps: to live.

The second section of the third chapter.

Of the Augsburg Acts between Cajetan, the Elector of Saxony, and Luther.

A. From the Cardinal's dispatch to Germany.

173 Raynaldus reports how Cardinal Farnesius was supposed to take up this legation, but because he hesitated too long, the pope chose Thomas de Vio, or Cardinal Cajetan, in his place.

From the Raynaldus anualss ack au". Okr. 1518, tow. XX, § 52.

Translated into German.

Furthermore, since Cardinal Farnesius was appointed from the aforementioned envoy, but he remained in his place and was too slow in getting ready for the journey, or perhaps even fell ill, the pope appointed Thomas de Vio, or Cardinal Cajetan, in his place; which Paris de Grassis explains thus: "The pope has today, as on ... April, the most reverend Lord Thomas, called Cardinal St. Sixti or de Minerva, was dispatched as envoy to Germany in the place of Cardinal de Farnesio, and after a closed meeting he was accompanied by the whole Collegio to his house near St. Maria on the broad street; but I immediately gave him instructions by the Pabst's order, according to which he must act in his legation." This legation was, however, of the greatest importance, in that its purpose was to stifle and eradicate the seeds of Lutheran heresy, to unite the remaining Bohemians and Hussites with the Church, and to rally the Emperor, along with the King in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, against the Turk.

174 The instruction given to the papal legate a Latere, Cardinal Cajetan, by the papal minister Paris de Grassis for his journey to Germany. Dated May 5, 1518.

From the Ockor. Davnalckus A""alss ack an". 1518, "o. 53 reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 310 and in Kapp's Sammlung einiger zuin Päbstlichen Ablaß gehörigen Schriften, p. 413. In Kapp also German with notes.

Translated into German by M. J. E. Kapp.

To the beloved son Thomas, Titus St. Sixti Cardinal Priest, 2) of our and the Apostolic See to our dear sons in Christ,

2) The cardinals, among others, are named after /o^a. or'sor LesseUr Dissertationibus statuit liomanas Leslssias coruplscsutiibus, which he held in 1714 pro lckssritia at Erfurt, is nowadays divided into three classes, namely 6arcki "alss Lxissoxos, Drssd'isros st Diaconus. Each has its Htuolos, which are small dioceses or churches to which the cardinals are assigned. These lituli, however, do not all have certain income, but find only to the memory of old or devastated churches attached. Cardinal bishops are six, named by the cathedral churches, as 1) il Vsssovo ck'Ostia, 2) il Vsssovo cki Dorto, 3) il Vsssovo 61 Dalsstrina, 4) il Vsssovo cki Drssati, 5) il Vsssovo cki 8adi "a, 6) il Vsssovo ck'Al>auo. The titles of the priest-cardinals, of which Cajetan was, find fifty, and are enumerated byp . 229 following: 1) 8a "stas

Ma rias trans l'adsrii". 2) 8. prints "tianas. 3) 8. daursntii 1" dusiua. 4) 8a "etas Trinitatis i" naouts Diusio. 5) 8. marssllini st Dstri. 6) 8. vuZustini. 7) 8. Oassilias. 8) 8. Drissas. 9) 8. Marias cks ara sosli. 10) 8. Vlsxii. 11) 8. Draxschis, 12) 8. Marias cks Dass. 13) 8. Marias VuMloruru. 14) 88. yuatuur corouatoruru. 15) 8. loa""is st Dauli. 16) 8an-

Maximilian, elected Emperor, and Christian, illustrious King in Denmark, 1) Sweden and Norway, as well as to all their kingdoms, all and each of the provinces, lands and oerters subject to them and adjacent to them.

After we have today your prudence, for the sake of the very holy and very necessary campaign against the enemies of the Christian name, to our much beloved sons in Christ, Maximilian, elected Emperor, and Christian, noble King in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and all his kingdoms, and the countries subject to them, to our and the apostolic see's legate a Latere as an angel of peace, on the advice of our brothers, to decree in another letter, as contained in the same in more detail: In the end, with mature deliberation, we have well considered in our minds how it would greatly contribute to such a holy procession that the Kingdom of Bohemia, which was formerly catholic, should be restored to its former glory by the mere effect of

ctae Mariae super Minervam. 17) S. Anastasiae. 18) 8. Sixti. 19) S. Honuphrii. 20) S. Sylvestri. 21) S. Mariae in via. 22) S. Basilicae duodecim Apostolorum. 23) S. Salvatoris in Lauro. 24) S. Pancratii. 25) S. Martini in montibus. 26) S. Bartholomaei in Insula. 27) S. Clementis. 28) S. Ioannis ante portam latinam. 29) S. Thomae in Parione. 30) S. Agnetis in agone. 31) S. Marcelli. 32) S. Marci. 33) S. Sabinae. 34) S. Susannae. 35) S. Nerei et Achillei. 36) S. Laurentii in pane et perna. 37) S. Crucis in Hierusalem. 38) S. Martini in montibus. 39) S. Mariae de populo. 40) S. Balbinae. 41) S. Hieronymi Illyricorum. 42) S. Stephani in monte Coelio. 43) S. Mariae trans Pontinae. 44) S. Caroli ad cursum, vel Biagii in Anecio. 45) S. Eusebii. 46) S. Petri in monte aureo. 47) S. Chrysogoni. (This title was held by Archbishop Albrecht as Cardinal, as can be seen from the preface of my locale, p. 13). 48) 8. tznirini ot lu1itta6. 49) 8. 6a6sar6i. 50) 8. ?6tri in vinenla. Besides these fifty priest-cardinals, 1^korio Eineio was one more, who died in 1653, and had the title 8. Oaiixti. The Cardinaldiacones have their titles from the following churches: 1) 8. Maria6 in via lata. 2) 8th Dnstaoliii. 3) 8. [Mtüae. 4) 8. L1aria6 in portiou. 5) 8. [NMii pisinrn. 6) 8. Maria6 novao. 7) 8. Maria6 in oosnoäin. 8) 8. moolai in oarooro. 9) 8. door^ii äa voimn anronin. 10) 8. maria6 in iuario. 11) 8. ^äriani. 12) 8. oosnrao ot Dannani. 13) 8. Naria6 in Oorninioa. 14) 8. Viti 6t 1loä68ti. Otherwise the Cardinal äo Nontalto, ^l6xanä6r^6r6tti N6pos, Pabst 8ixti V., when he was Cardinaldiaconus, used the title 8.1anr6ntii in vanr38oo. From which it can be seen that especially the number and title of cardinal priests is not bound to a certain number (Kapp).

1) With Kapp: "Dacien".

The enemy of the human race has fallen into all kinds of error and heresy, and may be brought back to the obedience of the holy mother, the contending church. Because we have considered that your prudence, according to its peculiar erudition and prudence, magnanimity and suggestions, the barons of said realm, noblemen, military persons and municipalities, the most distinguished lords of the cities, bailiffs and other sworn officials of other countries and cities, as well as all kinds of citizens and inhabitants of whatever rank, honor and dignity they may be, together with their followers, to the true faith in Christ and to the right path, if the aforementioned Maximilian, elected Roman Emperor, lends a helping hand; we also draw confidence in the Lord from your prudence, wisdom and experience, which have been known to us with a special faithfulness and sincerity in important matters, that you will be knowledgeable and able to disperse and still the winds of error that sweep to and fro, and also to restore the kingdom to the form of its former majesty; We also hope in the Lord that, when the kingdom itself will have returned to the obedience of the Holy Roman Church, since it has always been considered warlike, it will rise not only for worldly honor, which it has always received in the war against the infidels, but rather for the defense of the Catholic faith against the Turks, the common enemies, and will follow the banner of the invincible cross. We give you power, authority and authority, with all and every one of the said empire and the bordering parts, of whatever rank and dignity they may be, if they wish to come back to the light of the true faith and leave and shun such heresies, to renounce them after first swearing the customary abjuration of their heresy and heresies, and to take an oath that they will not do such things for themselves in the future, nor to give counsel, help and assistance to others who undertake such things, according to the manner customary in the church, and to restore and accept them to our and the church's bosom, as well as to the grace and blessing of said see; further, to negotiate, compromise, and settle with them in our and the apostolic see's name, even under such terms, covenants, conditions, forms, additions of penalties, annulments of obligations, commissions, cauteles, clauses, and solencies, in such manner as you shall best and most conveniently compromise or settle with them.

to act with them, to make settlements, to confirm and fortify, and to command that what is fortified be kept inviolable here and there, under penalty of banishment, suspension, and interdict, and below we give you the faculty, authority, and power to do so.

Therefore, you shall take upon yourself the burden we have placed upon you for the salvation and blessedness of souls, as well as for the increase of the Christian faith, and you shall also prove to be so diligent and strong to fulfill it that, through your efforts, diligence and reputation, all error and heresy will be swept out of this realm and other neighboring countries, which are, as it were, infected with a protracted pestilence, all error and heresy will be swept out, uprooted and completely eradicated, so that the vineyard of the Lord of hosts may bear fruit, once the harmful heresies so detrimental to Catholic purity have been taken away; that from this and from such a truly holy and praiseworthy work, you may not only earn the palm of eternal glory, but also, by your applied diligence, faithfulness and sincerity, commend yourself more and more to us and to the aforementioned Holy See. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, Anno 1518, May 5, in the sixth year of our papal reign.

B. What gifts Cajetan brought to the Emperor and the Elector Albrecht of Mainz from the Pope.

175 Jakob Manlius of Freiburg, imperial historiographer and councilor, tells of two events that took place in Augsburg in 1518: 1. the investiture of Albrecht of Brandenburg, archbishop of Mainz, with the dignity of cardinal. 2) Pope Pabst's legate gives Emperor Maximilian a sword and hat.

This writing is from the Manlius Ilistoria auoruva aoturo anno 1518 oto. reprinted in Frehers scriptor. rer. Oerinanie., torn. II, p. 397.

By LI. August Tittel translated into German.

To the Most Reverend in Christ Father and Highborn Prince Fabricius of Ceretto, from the Marquises of Finale, of the Holy Order of Knights of the Most Holy John the

Anabaptist Grand Master in Rhodus 2c., sends this letter to Jakob Manlius of Freiburg, a teacher from Breisgau, of the most godly Maximilian, Mehrer of the Empire 2c., historiographer and council 2c.

Just as the Maccabees, the brave brothers and servants of the true God, used to fight most fiercely against the shameful idols and despisers of the divine service, so now the manly brothers of the Order of Knights of St. John the Baptist, forerunner of the Lord, as protectors of the true faith, use to fight against the arch-vile enemies of the Catholic Church. In this way, no greater happiness can befall them on land and sea than when they see two swords, which the Savior remembers in the Gospel, coming to their aid. Therefore, most reverend Father in Christ and most dear Prince, it has seemed good to me, for the praise and honor of Almighty God and our Sustainer, also of all the saints, and no less for the glory and everlasting memory of the things of the praiseworthy and contentious German nation, and for the joy and acceptance of you, most reverend Father, and of your most worthy brethren, to tell the story of the excellent gift, seldom heard in Germany, so that the most holy Leo X., Roman Pontiff, the most holy Emperor Maximilian, King of the Romans and sanctified Emperor of Christendom, as well as Albrecht, by divine grace of the Holy Roman Church, of the title of St. Chrysogoni Cardinal Priest. Chrysogoni Cardinal Priest, the Holy See of Mainz and the Church of Magdeburg Archbishop, as well as of the Holy Roman Empire through Germany Archchancellor, Prince and Primate, the Church of Halberstadt Administrator, Margrave of Brandenburg, Stettin, Pomerania, the Cassuben and Wenden Duke, Burgrave in Nuremberg and Prince of Rügen, to receive Christianity, to describe in a common and easy way.

History.

Let it therefore be known to your most reverend fatherhood that on the most blessed ninth Sunday after Pentecost, which was the first of August in the year 1518, the most reverend in Christ Father and Lord, Mr. Thomas, of the title of St. Sixty Cardinal Priest, of the most holy Leo X., Pabst, Legatus a Latere, a man filled with all virtue praise, at six o'clock in the morning on the very same day, according to apostolic commission, went out on foot from the palace in the city of Augsburg with his court, and with the most reverend in Christ Father and Lord Matthew,

St. Angeli of the Holy Roman Church Cardinaldiaconus, Prince in Gurk, Coadjutor of Salzburg and of the apostolic see in Germany Legatus a Latere, his colleague, went to the house of the most reverend in Christ Father and Prince Albrecht, the new Cardinal 2c, on foot. Which, when the said prince found out, he immediately went to meet them at the door, and accepted them most kindly; and then all three went at the same time to the same little church, and there the above-mentioned most reverend lords, legates of the aforementioned (new) cardinal, took the duty, which all who attain to the highest cardinal dignity must first take, in the name of the Roman pope. Whereupon the very same new Cardinal's Chancellor, a man worthy of great praise, publicly read aloud our most holy Lord's breve to the aforementioned Cardinal, the content of which reads word for word thus:

Leo the X, Pope.

Beloved son, apostolic greeting and blessing! Your fraternal dignity, which comes from the noble Brandenburg dynasty, and from the very old and highly respectable family in Germany, and which has always sought to earn its illustrious ancestors for holy succession to us and to the Holy Apostolic See, we have elevated to the highest Cardinal dignity, above which nothing greater can be bestowed by the Governor of Christ, both because it is worthy in itself, and because it has often and imploringly been highly praised and proposed to us by our most beloved son in Christ, Maximilian, chosen Emperor, both by letters and messages, and therefore thought how such a thing might happen at a good time and opportunity, that thereby our opinion might be fulfilled and your brotherly love's dignity and honor might be best satisfied. So the opportunity of this time has seemed to us very convenient and honest, yes, very praiseworthy, since one must act from the holy move against the enemies of the holy cross, that your brotherly love, adorned with such honor, could make itself the better deserving for us and spreading of the Christian religion. Therefore, your present promotion will not only be dear to you, but also most pleasant and decent, because your prudence, faith, religion, and devotion to us and to the said See require such things, and because of your great merits and virtues we alone, among very few, have made you a Cardinal. We have

We have also placed our good hope in the giver of all good things and in you, that, since you have previously sought to do us and the holy apostolic see and Christendom good service, you will be able to fulfill your office and our godly desire all the more freshly and diligently, as you have now been endowed with these most holy and high honors. Therefore, to the praise and honor of Almighty God and of the whole heavenly host, and to the adornment of your person, and to the eternal glory and reputation of the illustrious Brandenburg family, we have made you a Cardinal this 24th of March, in our secret Consistory, with the advice and consent of the Cardinals elected by our other brethren of the Holy Roman Church. Is it therefore left that you, who were before and still are great and rich in the church and in the field of the Lord because of the Mainz Elector of the Empire, but because of the Magdeburg Church Primate in Germany, and thus in the church and in the field of the Lord, now that you have still been adorned with the Cardinal burden and dignity, hear what such dignity means and what God Himself demands of you, and diligently consider what is due to you, also our beloved son Thomas, of the title St. Sixti Cardinalpriest. Sixti Cardinal Priest, our legate, who will act (with you) from the holy and necessary (move) against the perjured enemies of our faith, who only thirst for the blood and destruction of Christians, and will take care of everything on our behalf, and whose godly and well-intentioned proposals, and will take care of everything on our behalf and listen to its godly and well-meant suggestions, which are ours, and will also carry them out properly, so that the most beautiful part of the world in Europe, which now looks small, will not only be saved from the hands of the wicked in our time, but also their empire and their fierce power will either be converted to the holy faith or eradicated. But those who will follow us and our holy and godly desire and comply with us, so that they step onto the right path, will attain the promised reward of eternal bliss. Given in Rome, at St. Peter's under the Fisherman's Ring, May 8, 1518, in the sixth year of our papacy.

After the breve had been read, the most reverend Legates with the venerable Mr. Felix Turpinus, Ceremonial Mifter, a considerable learned and pious man, put on the new Cardinal the red-colored Cardinal's robe, which is commonly called a cap. Then they unanimously left the house and the church, and with the new Cardinal in the middle, the Cardinal St. Sixti on the right, and the Cardinal St. Angeli on the left, they went to the highly famous and holy Maria, the

Virgin, Cathedral Church in Augsburg. As they entered, the right side of the choir remained suitable for the emperor, but they took the left. So the new Cardinal had the first seat, the Legate of the title of St. Sixti the second, and the Legate of St. Angeli the third.

When the said Cardinal Princes heard that the Emperor was coming, the Cardinal of the title of St. Sixty got up from his place and went to the high altar of the same choir. Then he dressed himself properly (as it is customary to do) to say mass. While getting dressed, the Holy Emperor and several princes, both churl and others, went with a large entourage to the choir of the said church, which the Legate of St. Angel and the new Cardinal soon met gracefully and nimbly. The Emperor, as a hero who can never be praised enough, after having wished the Mainz prince, as the new bridegroom, happiness with the most praiseworthy appointment and testimonies, cheerfully led him to his left, went into the choir with him, and there entered the uppermost place to the right, which had been hung for him with golden ornaments. The other one after him was held by the Cardinal of Mainz; the third one by the most illustrious Prince Ludwig, Count Palatine on the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, Elector; the fourth one by the most illustrious Prince Friedrich, Duke of Saxony 2c., Prince; the fifth, the most illustrious Prince Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg; the sixth, the most illustrious Prince Frederick, Casimir's brother; the seventh, Prince Johann Albrecht, another brother; the eighth, the most illustrious Prince Johannes, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg; the ninth, the most illustrious Duke Anton of Lorraine.

4 On the other, left side, opposite, first stood the most reverend Cardinal St. Angeli, Legatus a Latere. Angeli, Legatus a Latere; secondly, Marinas Carraceiolus, our most holy Lord Pabst's Protonotarius and Nuncio to the most Serene Emperor; thirdly, the most reverend Father in Christ and most Serene Prince Christoph, Archbishop in Bremen and confirmed Administrator of the Abbey of Verden, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg; Fourth, the Most Reverend Father in Christ and Prince George, Bishop of Bamberg; Fifth, the Most Reverend Father in Christ and Prince Gabriel, Bishop of Eichstädt; Sixth, the Most Reverend Father in Christ, Prince Christoph, Bishop of Augsburg; Seventh, the Most Reverend Father in Christ and Prince John, Administrator of Regensburg, Count Palatine of the Palatinate, and Bishop of the Holy See.

Rhine, Duke of Bavaria; eighth, the Most Reverend in Christ Father and Serene Prince Arnest, Administrator of the Church of Padua, Count Palatine on the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria; ninth, the Most Reverend in Christ Father and Prince Henrich, Bishop of Ratzenburg; tenth and last, the Most Reverend in Christ Father and Prince Peter Bonomus, Bishop of Trieft, of the Imperial Majesty's Council.

After these princes had settled down in the manner and order described, the people had become silent and silence had been commanded, the most reverend of the title of St. Sixty began to say mass. His house priest stood at the side of the altar, where the Gospel was read, holding the cross, and from behind a court servant from the famous Ursine family, holding a sword and hat or helmet. At the side where the epistle is read, however, stood the courtier, the son of the legate's brother, who held the red hat with his hand on for the new cardinal. After the mass was over, and it was certain that the new Cardinal had just been received by the Apostolic See, March 24, in Rome among the Cardinals, the Legate of the title of St. Sixty, after having first addressed the sacred and invincible Emperor, the churl and other princes, summoned him to the altar, the content of which had recently been this speech:

Most Sublime Emperor! Pope Leo X, through the intercession of Your Imperial Majesty, is now doing an excellent and therefore rarely done work on earth. There are often cardinals in the world who give some excellent splendor of themselves; but to find a man who is praiseworthy in all respects is something difficult. He has appointed Albrecht, the archbishop of the church in Mainz and primate of the German nation, who is adorned with excellent gifts of fortune, body and mind, as cardinal priest of the Holy Roman Church. He is of high birth, fresh and beautiful body, blooming youth, splendid intellect, sagacity, divinity, wealth, dignity, power, majesty and prestige; he also shines in chastity, godly nature and spiritual austerity in such a way that his light shines before all men. In addition, since he shines at the same time as the emperor's and the pope's elector or prince, we are also illuminated by the papal fame, but you are also illuminated by the imperial elector's fame. Such a common adornment, honor and benefit should be celebrated with common joy. Therefore come forward, most noble prince and most venerable lord, and

come to receive the jewel of cardinal dignity due to your virtue.

When he came here and humbly fell on his knees before the altar, the envoy explained to him what such dignity entailed, what God demanded of him, and what he had to do, if possible, against the cruelest enemies of our faith, who thirst for the blood and destruction of Christians, both himself and in the name of the Pope. And since he presented himself as an obedient and willing son on all the points presented, the legate decorated his head with the red hat. Thereupon the new Cardinal with his hat remained kneeling in front of the altar in the Faldisterio 1) until the hymn of praise to St. Augustine and Ambrose was gloriously intoned with organs by the singers of imperial majesty (who also solemnly sang the entire mass). After that, when the legate of the apostolic see read some collections and prayers, the new cardinal stood up, and with beautiful figure and excellent courage went from the altar, stepped before the most august emperor and other princes, and through the learned man Laurentius Zoch, doctor of both rights, gave thanks to said new cardinal's chancellor in a loud and sublime voice as follows:

It would be right, most noble emperor, most reverend in Christ fathers and lords, of the holy Roman church Legati de Latere, and most noble princes, a quite learned and eloquent man, should hold a speech in this most respectable and almost divine presence or assembly of yours, and should have such a gift to speak, which would be perfectly suited to your majesty, to the greatness of the cause and to the reputation of this place. But I, since I do not find such a thing in myself at all, would have to fear that it would either be misinterpreted or reckoned to me as presumption if I had undertaken this office of my own accord and on my own impulse. But since the most reverend in Christ the Father, the most noble Prince and Lord, Lord Albrecht, Archbishop of the Holy See of Mainz and of the Church of Magdeburg, Prince, Primate, and now Cardinal Priest proclaimed (or appointed) to the Holy Roman Church, command and will compel me to give thanks now, even if it is far beyond my ability, and even the most learned Demosthenes and most eloquent Cicero would not be enough: so I will,

trusting in the grace of your most sacred Majesty and your most reverend Majesties, not out of impudent presumption, but merely out of humble obedience, I will recently state what the most reverend Lord, my Prince, can show towards Imperial Majesty and your most reverend Majesties, gratitude and a discerning mind. But before I say what I have been commanded to say, there is only one thing that comes to mind, namely, that the most reverend lord, my prince, has not in the least sought this high cardinal's dignity, because his most reverend glory has not at all concealed it, that such an attained dignity requires a great deal of effort and care, and for such a rich pound also exact account must be given, as it is well known that the cardinals themselves represent the holy apostles, and just such a thing would be required of them, which they have accomplished with great courage and strength. However, since their most reverend (devotion) saw our most holy Lord's mildest and most loving disposition towards them, in order to propose to them such a dignity, for which the Imperial Majesty, according to the special grace bestowed upon them, took more trouble than they themselves felt like, their most reverend fatherhood modestly recognized and accepted this honor offered to them and the care and trouble connected with it, and thus obediently surrendered to their loving and kind request: Therefore, for this infinite good deed, she first of all gives thanks to the Triune God on her knees, not the due, but all possible and human thanks, as well as to His (Christ's) never enough praised Mother, the Virgin, and the whole heavenly host; at the same time, she heartily invokes God's most gracious Majesty to graciously assist her in fulfilling these divine offices and the accepted dignity for the growth of the holy Catholic faith and to do all that is necessary to satisfy them. Hereafter, it also offers its infinite gratitude to Your Holiness and Your Imperial Majesty, and also confesses its obligation to them that they have deigned to regard their most reverend glory with such high veneration or dignity in grace. For whatever honor or dignity her most reverend lordship enjoys from this, she has entirely to thank your holiness and majesty, likewise you, the most reverend lords Legates a Latere, and the holy (ecclesiastical) council, that they namely include his most reverend lordship in their most eminent order and dignify her with her excellent voice and testimony.

1) "Faldisterium" will probably be the same as in English talclikäör⁶ or kalästool, the seat of a bishop in the choir of the church.

want. Whereby, at the same time, she bequeaths that she herself, and all that she is able or can serve, may at all times willingly present both to the Pope's Holiness, as well as to Your Imperial Majesty and Your Most Reverend Majesties, with devout wish that the all-good and all-governing God may bestow upon both the Pope's Holiness, as well as your Imperial Sacred Majesty, as well as you, most handsome and most reverend Legates, for the benefit and extension of the Holy Church, with long life and all good, and finally, after laying down this tabernacle, crown you with the imperishable crown of honor for your great merits and praiseworthy deeds!

(7) After which the Imperial Majesty, through the most reverend Prince Peter Bonomus, answered in her name: It should not have been said, most reverend in Christ Father and most illustrious Prince, to your most reverend father's imperial saintly majesty that she did her part in the holy apostolic see for this now accepted dignity, and that she, however unwillingly and against her will, made it her business to promote it to this highness by her diligence, effort and reputation. For although your most reverend fatherhood, out of peculiar modesty, had decided to refuse the honor and to avoid such cardinal dignity, the Emperor nevertheless considered that it did not behoove him to look at what was proper for your most reverend fatherhood's modest manner, as well as what the imperial highness and prestige were entitled to do in this, whether or not they were able to do it. What has therefore been granted to your most reverend father by the most holy Lord Pope Leo the Tenth and by the holy Cardinal College, is all to be attributed not to the efforts of imperial majesty and the highest reputation, but to their own virtues and merits. Since this dignity has now been granted to her, God grant that she may enjoy it at all times, happy and healthy, with all happiness, both for her honor and for the benefit and salvation of all Christendom, and also for the eternal fame and glory of the entire German nation! They can be assured by the Emperor that even if he did not benefit from the merits of their noble ancestors and lineage, which have nevertheless been of great use and honor to him, as he hereby confesses, he could still have been brought to far more and higher things for them by the mere prestige of your most reverend fatherhood. To which he hereby also still further, for the preservation and increase of their dignity

and honor, all his help, diligence and reputation willingly offered and promised.

8) Thereupon the Lord Legate drew out an apostolic letter with his hand and presented it most respectfully to the Most Serene Emperor, which was then read by the excellent jurist Jakob Spiegel, Imperial Majesty's secretary and counselor, to the following effect:

To Our Son Beloved in Christ, Maximilian, Emperor Elect, Ever More 2c., Leo, Pope X.

In Christ most beloved son, salvation and apostolic blessing! Since our beloved son Thomas, of the title St. Sixti, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman Church, our and the Apostolic See's *Legatus a Letere*, comes to Your Majesty for causes concerning the general good of Christendom, which we have had presented orally by another letter as well as by the Cardinal, we have deemed it good to have a sword and hat, which were consecrated with our hands on the glorious and solemn feast of Christmas, or on the day of the birth of our most blessed Lord JESU Christ, to be given to the same legate, in order to present them to your Majesty, knowing full well that they have often been honored with this magnificent gift by the Roman Popes. But because under this gift there is still a secret of the spiritual power, the protection and handling of which is primarily incumbent upon you, as you are the Advocate of the Holy Church: By this gift we have also wished to renew and make known our esteem for your virtue, and the testimony of your excellent affection for the faith of Christ, especially since such gifts and consecrated arms to Your Majesty can at no time be presented more cheaply and more opportunely than now, since Christendom is challenged and endangered by the undertakings of the cruelest enemies, and is therefore in great need of their godliness, bravery, prudence, prestige and magnanimity. And it is true that Your Majesty, according to their high rank, must always be girded with the sword at their side, so that they would be ready and willing to subdue the wicked and protect the pious, so that their highest dignity would serve both to protect justice and to punish injustice and wickedness. Now, however, they do not have to be girded with it, but rather already twich it and let it flash with the right hand of their power. For what greater cause or occasion can there be than this, by which we are not put in little fear or of aught else?

We are not only in danger of losing our honor, but also our lives and welfare, if Christianity is not supported by the unanimous counsel of the princes and especially by their protection and umbrella? This, however, we have desired of Your Majesty all the more eagerly and eagerly, either to do the glorious work and to let the common salvation be entrusted to her, or have desired it as a high glory and prize, because she has often assured not only us, but also the whole Christian world, of her effort, loyalty and help, both in writing and through envoys. By what promise, how everyone has become so joyful and confident, and how it has so uplifted the hearts of all believers, I would gladly write, if I were not assured that Her Majesty already knew.

Since it is thus, take, you brave prince, and take up arms, and send yourself, of the holy sword that we send you, to use sharpness against God and your enemies, as a duke of the holy war, as a protector of the peoples who honor the true God, as an avenger of the barbarians. For what greater praise and name can you carry off, and what more glorious care and effort can you exert, than when you use the very highest dignity, to which you are exalted, and your peculiar bravery, to what the greatest and Catholic emperor's godliness and the bravest duke's joy requires? As for us, we will, as our duty and love for your Majesty implies, at no time and on no occasion refrain both from exalting and praising your godliness and magnanimity, and from displaying our highest and constant benevolence towards you. But it is up to your well-known and universally praised wisdom to see and see to it, when the time and the occasion arise, and when danger arises (which, if you are not controlled, will finally affect everyone), that your excellent bravery and majesty may bring you glory and salvation and benefit to the world! Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, the 15th of May in the year 1518, of our sixth papacy.

After reading such a letter, the Emperor, on the admonition of the legate, went to the altar of the Lord and there received the consecrated weapons, namely the sword and hat or helmet, which signify the service of the spiritual power, as a faithful duke, protector and protector of the Catholic faith, but the legate then made this speech to the said Emperor:

Most Sublime Emperor! We know that the Apostle Peter had two swords, one to be whole, the other to be so that you must draw it or shrug it. The same now hands to your Majesty in his successor Pope Leo X., his greatest governor on earth, to whom all authority in heaven and on earth has been given, this sword, which is called the protection of the evangelical truth, which also secretly signifies the apostolic authority over kingdoms and peoples, and besides the divine in the born, It is also a sacrament to the divine omnipotence dwelling in the born, although in the flesh small, Jesus Christ, because it has well deserved the Roman and apostolic chair and the one who sits on it, and also has a glorious praise of bravery, magnanimity, godliness, devotion, justice and wisdom. And this sword belongs to your majesty, because it is hers. That it is theirs is sufficiently proven by the use, since they, during the episcopal office or service, annually at Christmas, when they are present, let this drawn or bare sword, with the helmet on the head, swing or flash it, as a protector of the evangelical truth, when the Gospel of John is read. For they alone have the name of a protector and bailiff of the church. That it be and may be theirs requires the present course of our times, when all eyes, Lord, are waiting for you to open your hand to grasp this sword, to twitch it and to bare it against Christ's enemies. Take, invincible emperor, the helmet of the Holy Spirit in the dove of precious stone, so that the inner seat of the mind and the spirit may be kept still and fruitful without cunning and deceit by the Holy Spirit, who distributes and protects gifts in the form of the dove. For a Christian emperor must not follow the wild customs of pagan tyrants, but must show himself to be so just, brave and a magnanimous prince of victory that he always remains kind, friendly and quite majestic, even when he is gentle with the dove. Take this your sword, too, so that not only justice and judgment, the fortress of your chair, are secretly communicated to you, but also all confessors of the evangelical truth are placed under your protection. Let then thy hand be firm, and thy right high against the fury and wrath of the Turks; let it also be for good fortune and salvation that this day, which is common to the first Roman pope 1) as well as to the first emperor, should come to this

1) On the margin: It happened on August 1, when St. Peter's chain celebration also falls (Kapp).

sacred ceremony has to serve. For this day is suitable for Petro, the prince of the apostles. But also Octavius, after he overcame Cleopatra and Antonius today, brought the world domination to himself and received the name Augustus from increase of the empire, and gave such to the month *Sextilis*. May our Lord Jesus Christ grant to your ever-increasing Majesty that with this quite happy sword of today, after the conquest of Constantinople and Jerusalem, she may spread and increase the Roman Empire and the apostolic church to the ends of the earth!

10 After the speech and the reception of the sacred weapons, the bishop of Trieft, at the Emperor's command, gave thanks:

The Most Sublime Emperor, Most Reverend Father in Christ, has most graciously and kindly accepted this gift, presented in the name of our Most Holy Lord Leo X., Pabst, from your most reverend fatherhood, has most willingly and kindly accepted this gift, and bids her, for the honor of the Holy Apostolic See and for the needs and concerns of Christianity in general, to offer not only her property and fortune, but also her life and blood, as she has always desired from her earliest youth, as often as the opportunity presents itself. Which highly important cause, although it seems to require a fresher youth and stronger physical strength than it now has, is nevertheless not to be abandoned or abandoned because, covered under the helmet of the Holy Spirit and the shield and defense of the faith, it would, even where the forces are lacking, nevertheless by good counsel and undaunted courage, under Christ's guidance and help, always promote such a holy undertaking and necessary campaign against the enemies of the faith more than it would hinder it.

After everything had taken place and been accomplished as desired, the legate, standing at the altar, gave the blessing to the people and then took off the priestly robes and put on the Cardinal's robes and ornaments, and then went out to the church with the emperor and other princes and cardinals present. The emperor, however, with both legates and the apostolic nuncio, as well as the princes, princes and other estates of the empire, led the new cardinal back to his palace; afterwards, however, he also accompanied both legates to their inn. Finally, the emperor and the princes each returned to their homes. Thus this noble and glorious act was accomplished, and the gracious, mighty

God has given His grace to this. To whom be honor and glory forever and ever! Amen. Done in the city of Augsburg. In the year of Christ 1518, August 1.

C. From the Pabst's order to the Cardinal in Augsburg.

176 Pope Leo X's breve to Cardinal Thomas Cajetan, Legate a Latere, on how he should behave against Luther and his followers. Dated 23 Aug. 1518.

This document together with the following is found in the so-called XuZustnna, which Luther still let go out in 1518 at the beginning of December under the title: Martini lmtber XvAvst: apnä. D. b,e-.

Zatnrm ^ostolicnrm ^uAnstae. 12 leaves in quarto. Printed by Johann Grünenberg in Wittenberg. Reprints were published by Melchior Lotther and Valentin Schumann in Leipzig. Another edition by Johann Frobenius in Basel lacks everything that the original print contains after Luther's letter to Cajetan of October 14 (Weim. Ausg.). These ^cta are printed in full in the Baseler Sammlung Lutherscher Schriften of March 1520, Bl. kr 4d and from it in D. M. lmtberii lnenbrationnin par8 nna. Lasileae apnä Xäain?etri M. D. XX, Mense 3nbo, p. 264. In the "Gesammtausgabe" they are found in fragments. Our writing is in the Latin Wittenberg (1550), torn. I, col. 204b; in the Jena one (1579), torn. I, col. 181; in the Erlanger, opp. var. arA., tönn II, n. 354; in the Weimarschen, vol. II, p. 23 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 437, in Adam Petri 1. e. p. 277. German is found in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 31b; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 302; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 115; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 174 and in Walch. Walch's edition is the only German one that brings the Xeta complete, namely in this volume (after the old edition) Col. 739-746; (687-689 duplicate); 691-712; 746-756 and 656-664.

To our beloved son Thomas, our Cardinal Priest of the title Sancti Sixti and of the Apostolic See Legate de Latere, Pope Leo X.

1. our beloved son! Hail and apostolic blessing. After it has come to our ears that one, called Martinus Luther, hermit of the Order of St. Augustine, got into the wrong mind. Augustini, got into a wrong mind, defended some heretical articles, contrary to the teachings of the holy Roman church, as right, and about this, out of his own thirst and iniquity, defiantly and stiff-neckedly despising the compulsion of obedience, allowed some sayings, even books of shame, to go out through the printing press in various places in Germany, without questioning the Roman church, which is the master of the faith.

Since we now wanted to punish his outrage (and foolishness) paternally, we ordered the worthy, our dear. Brother Jerome, Bishop of Ascoli, of the proceedings of the Apostolic Court of Appeal, that he should admonish the said Martin Luther to appear before him personally, and to examine him on the above-mentioned articles, and what he thought of the faith, to give an answer, with avoidance of certain punishment; as then the above-mentioned Jerome, Bishop of Ascoli, has let such an admonition go out against the said Martin Luther, as we have heard.

Now, however, it has recently come to our attention that the said Martinus is abusing our kindness and friendliness, and thereby becoming more foolhardy, so that he is making things worse, and continuing stubbornly in his error and heresy, and has also let some other conclusions and books of shame go out, in which some other heretical errors are included, which has not a little frightened and distressed our minds.

4. Therefore, according to our episcopal office, in order to counteract the above errors and to prevent this poison from becoming so rampant, nor from polluting and poisoning the hearts of the simple, we hereby command, by this present writing, your prudence (for which we take all good care in the Lord, because of your special skill, manifold knowledge and experience in all kinds of things, also righteous devotion towards us and this holy see, which you are an honest, respectable member), you will, as soon as you have received this writing of ours, without any delay, because this matter is obvious to us from common rumor, also from sight, and therefore cannot be excused in any way, summon and force the said Luther, who has already been declared a heretic by the above-mentioned Jerome, bishop of Ascoli, to appear before you personally.

(5) You will also call upon and take to your aid the arm or power, both of our most beloved Son in Christ, Maximilian, elected Roman Emperor, and other princes of Germany, of all communities, universities and potentates, both spiritual and secular. And if you become powerful, you will keep him safe and secure until you receive further orders from us that he be brought before us and the apostolic see.

(6) And if he should come before thee, smite within himself, show true signs of repentance, and, without need of himself, beg mercy and pardon for such iniquity and thirst, then

we give you power and authority to graciously accept him for the unity of the Holy Mother of the Church, who never shuts out her bosom to the one who returns.

(7) But if he persists in his stubbornness, despises worldly power or authority, and you are not able to gain power over him, we give you equal authority and power in all places of Germany to proclaim him and all who follow him, even by public commandment and proclamation, after the manner of those who 1) were publicly posted in the town halls in former times, to be heretics, banished, accursed and cursed, and to command that all believers in Christ shall avoid them as such.

8. And so that this epidemic may be eradicated the more quickly and easily, you shall admonish all prelates in general, and each one in particular, as well as other ecclesiastical persons, both secular and regular, who belong to any order, including the mendicant orders, then also dukes, margraves, counts, barons and all commonwealths, universities, and potentates (with the exception of the highly esteemed Maximilian, elected emperor) by our power and authority, even under the sentence of banishment and other subsequent punishments, admonish and require, if they want to be held and regarded otherwise as faithful, that they accept the said Martin Luther, together with his followers and followers, in prison and send him to you in good custody.

9. But where, since God is for, which we cannot be persuaded nor believe, said princes, commonwealths, universities and potentates, or one belonging to them, would in any way house or harbor the said Martinus, or his followers and followers, or would show the same Luther counsel, help, assistance, encouragement or favor, publicly or secretly, by themselves or others, for whatever cause and in whatever way: of the same princes, commonwealths, universities and potentates, and of each of them cities, towns, country and villages, as well as the cities, towns, villages, country and villages, where the above-mentioned Martinus would go or escape, as long as the said Martinus would remain there, and three days after that, we want to subject to the church's interdict.

10. areas, nevertheless, all and especially all the above-mentioned princes, commonwealths, universities and potentates, about said penalties,

1) Here we have followed the reading of the Weimar edition: quae (referring to edicta), while all other editions offer Hui.

As far as the ecclesiastics and the above-mentioned regulators are concerned, they are to be deprived of their churches, monasteries and other ecclesiastical property or income, and as incompetents to possess them henceforth, they are also to be deprived of their fiefdoms.

11. But as far as the laity are concerned, except for the Emperor, they shall be dishonorable and incapable of all proper actions, deprived of Christian burial and fiefs, which they have received and obtained from us and the apostolic see, or also from whatever secular lords, and thus fall into the above-mentioned penalty, if they do not comply with your command, request and admonition, without any withdrawal, objection and plea, and completely abstain from all advice, help, favor and stay of the aforementioned Luther and his followers.

(12) But to those who are obedient in this, we give you power to grant plenary indulgence, or any recompense and special grace of your liking, according to the present Scripture. Against this shall not be valid all kinds of exemptions, privileges and liberties, whether they be confirmed with an oath, apostolic assurance, or any other kind of fortification, and granted to all kinds of ecclesiastics and religious, whether they be religious, also to mendicant persons, likewise to churches, monasteries, 2c., item, orders, or also to secular persons, in any way whatsoever. And although in the same it is expressly provided and prevented that they may not be banished, suspended, or have an interdict imposed upon them, yet this decree of ours appended and delivered shall annul and render void the preceding one. Which letters or privileges content and opinion, as if they had been written and written from word to word in the present letters, we consider to be expressed, and by virtue of the present ones we want to specially and expressly abolish and abrogate, and have abolished, together with all that is contrary to and against them.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's under the Fisherman's Ring, the 23rd day of August, Anno 1518, of our Papacy in the sixth year.

Jacobus Sadoletus.

177 D. Matt. Luther's gloss on the above papal breve to Cardinal Cajetanus.

This epilogue by Luther to the preceding papal breve is found immediately after the breve in all editions given in the preceding number, separated from it only in the Latin Wittenberg edition, tow. I, col. 2145. - There are several times two

The authenticity of the Breve has been questioned by Leopold Ranke, "Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation", 4th ed, mainly on the basis that Luther received the citation to Rome on August 7, 1518, in which he was granted a period of sixty days to travel, but now the pope is supposed to have written already on August 23 that Jerome of Ascoli had already declared him a heretic who should be forced to appear personally before Cajetan, who, if he becomes powerful, should hold him in safe custody. But the weightiest recent authorities hold to the authenticity of the bull; so Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 599, note 6; Köstlin, Martin Luther (3), vol. I, p. 790 sd p. 233; Knaake in the Weimar edition, vol. II, p. 22, note, and Kolde, Luthers Stellung zu Concil und Kirche, p. 115 f. The latter says that with the nature of the judges, especially Sylvester Prierias, such an acceleration of the process was not so inconceivable; that Leo X, in a contemporaneous letter to the Churfürst sdem 179. Finally: "If Luther at first considers the breve to be spurious, this cannot be taken into consideration at all, since he has often made such statements in pretense, in order to be able to attack his opponents more sharply under this pretense. (Cf. quite the same process with the bull of excommunication.) Accordingly, the breve is to be considered genuine."

In the original print, in all copies that have become known up to recent times, our writing has a blackened passage at the beginning, which makes eight lines, the first paragraph, illegible. Also all reprints and the editions begin only with the second paragraph, with omission of the first word: vsinds. The reason for this is as follows (as we can see from the Weimar edition): "Prince Frederick saw the publication of the Vota Vugu- stunu with great reluctance; in the middle of the printing he put a stop to it. It was too late: the sheets had already been sold individually; only the third had not yet run out; Luther now believed that he could not hold back this last piece either; however, a passage that was particularly displeasing to the Elector was covered with printer's ink." Only Niederer, in whose copy the passage was "not so hard blackened," succeeded in penetrating something behind this dark veil. He was able to "bring out or guess" quite a number of words. The Weimar edition also made an attempt to eliminate the secret in the 2nd volume, p. 3. But later, D. Buchwald found a copy in the Zwickau Rathsschulbibliothek in which the passage is not blackened, and reported it in the 9th volume of the Weimar edition, p. 205, which we make use of here. - It was not until the end of October 1518 that the Breve came into Luther's hands. See Appendix, No. 14, § 3. - We have changed only little in the good old translation.

Afterword by Brother Martin Luther to the preceding breve.

First of all. The pope writes to all cardinals and bishops as to his venerable brothers. To this one cardinal priest St. Sixti he writes as to his "beloved".

Son" and "beloved son". This has been so much noted that the memorable author in this breve has forgotten even his tricks, and writes, 1) that the bishop Jerome of Ascoli is called a venerable brother by the pope. For also from this deceiver the proverb had to be confirmed, in which it says: A liar must have a good memory. 2)

Secondly. Who told the pope that I had abused his kindness, since he had me cited by Jerome, bishop of Ascoli? Because at the same time that the breve is given, or yes, that I should have abused this kindness, I had not yet heard anything about the citation, as you will hear afterwards in the date. But the nasty white raven one in Germany, since he saw my constant courage, has croaked out such raven song.

Item 2: That I stubbornly persisted in error and heresy after Jerome's citation and admonition, and let other booklets go out, is a public lie. For not only before the breve was given, but also before the admonition was issued, they had stopped printing and selling my little books, except for the explanation of the sayings on indulgences, which I had not yet completely finished when I was cited. 3) But one can well smell that my apology, which I let go out, displeased some plate and cap servants. Which, since I did not want to give way to them, they invented a pope for me, who dreamed or saw of persistence in the deed, and of shouting, so worldly and not excusable. 4) For Leo X, whom they invent, is perhaps born inter rationem rei rationabilis, et rei rationantis.

3. znm last, which is the very finest,

1) 8 2 in the breve.

2) What caused the Elector to have this paragraph erased by printer's ink is Luther's not unclear reproach against Cajetan, which he made to him again not long after in his letter to the shorter interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians (St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1359), that he had invented this breve.

3) Luther received the citation, as follows, on August 7, the rrsolutiones went out on August 21. Cf. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 14.

4) This refers to H 3 and 4 of the breve.

this breve is given August 23; but I have been cited and admonished August 7, 5) so that between the date of the breve and the citation sixteen days have passed. Now, dear reader, you will find that Jerome, Bishop of Ascoli, either before he served me with the citation or on the sixteenth day after the citation was served to me, proceeded against me, passed sentence, condemned me and declared me a heretic.

4 So I asked: Where are the sixty days given to me in my citation, which began on the 7th day of August and ended around the 7th day of October? Is this the style and manner of the Roman court, that they cite, admonish, accuse, pronounce judgment, condemn, declare a heretic on one day, especially one who is so far from Rome, and knows nothing of all this? What will they answer to this? Perhaps they have forgotten that they would have purgatoried the brain with hellebore before they were at work with this lie to inflict it.

In the end, dear reader, let my faithful admonition be dear to you, let it be with my theses as it may: as much as they may yield to indulgences, I admonish you that you do not fall into my foolishness one day. For I believed before that time that the merit of Christ was truly given to me through the indulgence, continued in this foolish delusion, taught and persuaded the people that because the indulgence was such a noble treasure, one should not refrain from redeeming it, much less hold it in low esteem or despise it. But I, a fool with no understanding, did not realize that by this speech I had almost made a salutary commandment or a necessary advice to those who were free to redeem or not to redeem indulgences, to permit sin and to abate good works.

6) To this, my mind and good sense brought me, by delusion and dark words of the extravagant be-

5) Not August 21, as stated in Kolde, *Luthers Stellung zu Concil und Kirche*, p. 115.

6) The preceding, according to the Latin, reads thus: that by this speech I made almost a salutary commandment or at least a necessary counsel out of what was permitted, what was at will, what was indulged.

I have been mistaken. I have erred, dear reader, therefore recant my error, of which you will be a witness.

(6) But when I saw, after opening my eyes, that all doctors were unanimous in teaching that it is better to let indulgences go than to redeem them, and that those are more blessed who do enough by themselves than those who redeem indulgences, and that indulgences are nothing else than the forbearance of good works, by which satisfaction is fulfilled, I soon realized that it followed from this that one could despise indulgences, indeed that it would be the best advice to disregard them, even to let them go.

(7) But that one should despise, forsake, and hold in low esteem the holy, sacred, and unsearchable merit of Christ (that is, as it was then interpreted and understood, indulgences), was terrible and blasphemous, and was considered that such was not useful advice, but the words of a raging, godless man.

But this moved me very much, and penetrated that the indulgence itself, without the name of Christ's merit, was despised, and only by the title of Christ's merit was considered the noblest treasure, and therefore (unfortunately!) the holy merit of Christ, which can be compared to no treasure, had to serve and be a cover for the dishonest, shameful profit of the indulgence merchants. For what Christian, if he only heard to call, would keep silent, if the most precious treasure, namely the wounds, the blood, the agony and the sweat of anguish of his most sweet Beatificator, were offered to him, who did not also want to offer his life, let alone money, with joy in a mild manner? But again, how heartily it would grieve thee, if thou shouldst see that the wounds, the blood, the agony and the sweat of the blood of thy all-loving Lord Christ should serve only for shameful, accursed gain, and shouldst see Christ sold and sold again, not by one Judas, but by innumerable Judas, in addition every moment!

(9) Wherefore let not the name of Christ deceive thee, neither deceive thee: remember that it is declared of Christ, that many false Christs (and false prophets) shall come in his name, and shall shew great signs and wonders.

The first step is to make sure that the chosen ones are also led astray (where possible).

Now, I assume that my 58th thesis 1) is false, and that the merit of Christ is the treasure of indulgences. But consider what will follow from this on account of necessity, if you must say and confess that Christ's merit is to be abandoned and held in low esteem. Item, that those are more blessed who do not redeem the merit of Christ, than those who seek it with all devotion through the indulgence. And because the merit of Christ (according to its nature and character) primarily stimulates and drives to good works (because it should be the treasure of indulgences), but in the indulgence, since it is contrary to itself, good works are left behind, and what it does according to its nature and God's will, it dissolves again according to the will of the pope.

I have done, dear reader, what I should; if you persist in this error, you are mistaken through no fault of mine. Farewell. _____

Luther's verdict on this breve in a letter to Spalatin. Oct. 31, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 14, § 3.

v. How the Elector of Saxony acted on Luther's behalf at Augsburg.

179 Pope Leo X's request to the Elector Frederick of Saxony to hand Luther over to Cardinal Cajetan, to follow in the footsteps of his ancestors, and this "child of malice not to protect. Dat. 23 Aug. 1518.

This writing is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), tona. I, toi. 203k; in the Jena (1579), tom. I, toi. 180k; in the Erlangen, opp. var. ar^h., toru. II, p. 352 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 443. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 31; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 101; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 114 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 173.

To our beloved son, the noble Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Hail.

Beloved Son, salvation and apostolic blessing! When we think of your exceedingly noble lineage, and

1) Cajetan at Augsburg had turned against this in particular. Compare Kolde, Martin Luther, Vol. I, p. 173.

Remembering you, its head and ornament, as you and your ancestors, above all the praise with which your lineage is adorned, have especially desired this as the first and noblest, that through you the Christian faith and religion, and the honor and dignity of this Holy See (as is right and just), should remain unchanged in the old and noble state, and the honor and dignity of this Holy See (as is just and right) have remained unchanged in the old, laudable state, we cannot support the idea that anyone who abandons the faith, or rather rebels against it, should, trusting in your highness' favor and grace, so brazenly let his pride and malice take over.

2. But because we have heard, and it has reached us everywhere, that a child of wickedness, Brother Martin Luther, a hermit of the Congregation of St. Augustine in Germany, has forgotten his habit and his vows, which consist in humility and obedience, and boasts in the Church of God that, being assured of your protection and protection, he fears no man's authority or punishment: although we know that this is not so, we have nevertheless deemed it good to write to your Highness, and to admonish her in the Lord that, for the preservation of her name and honor, as a pious Catholic prince such as you are, she may keep the adornment of the glorious fame and good report of your praiseworthy lineage unsullied by such calumny, nor alone avoid the guilt of what you do; for in our opinion there is still no guilt in you; but also prevent the suspicion of such guilt, which this brother's iniquity intends to inflict on you.

3) And because it is known to us by announcement of the most learned and ecclesiastical people, especially of the beloved son, our holy palace Magister, that the said brother Martin Luther dares to assert many ungodly, heretical things, and to publicly defend them as right, we have ordered that he be demanded to answer, and have ordered our beloved son Thomas, of the title St. Sixti, our presbyter-Cardinal and of this holy see de Latere Legate, who is well experienced in all theology and philosophy, 1) what he shall do in this matter. Sixti, our Presbyter-Cardinal, and this Holy See de Latere Legate, who is well experienced and skilled in all theology and philosophy, 1) what he should do in this.

(4) However, since this action affects the glory of God and the purity and truth of the Christian faith, and since it is the proper office of the apostolic chair, which is the master of the faith, to judge who teaches rightly or wrongly, we again admonish your Highness and command that

in virtue of the holy obedience, that she will take care of God, ours, and her honor, and that she will see to it that this Martinus Luther is handed over to the power and judgment of this holy see, as the above-mentioned legate will demand of you. This will be a pleasant and beneficial work for the Christian faith, and especially honorable for your Highness, because of the promotion of godliness and religion. For it is to the honor of thy name, and especially to the blessedness of thy soul, that people living in our time, or who will live in the future, may not one day complain and say: The harmful heresy in the church of God would have arisen through the help and favor of your most noble people, to which danger your wisdom is guilty.

(5) If, however, your Highness may have something good in mind for Martin Luther, when the matter has been discussed before the apostolic see and the truth has been investigated, he shall either, if he is innocent, be sent back by our gracious will to where he came from; or, if he is found to be of a wrong mind, your mind shall be freed from all error. In accordance with our fatherly attitude and our pastoral office, we do not want to impose punishment on innocence, and we want to leniently offer the bosom of our kindness to repentance.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, August 23, 1518, in the sixth year of our Papacy.
Jacobus Sadoletus.

Luther's message to Joh. Lang about what the Elector of Saxony had arranged with the Cardinal on his behalf. 16. 1518.

See Appendix, No. 15n, § 3.

181 Myconius' report on how Elector Frederick had obtained from Cajetan, at great expense, that Luther should not come to Rome, but that his cause should be settled in Germany.

From the Myconius list. reform. p. 30.

Around the same time, a Legatus from Rome, a Cardinal, called Thomas Cajetan, tituli 8. Sixti, arrived. Then Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, obtained with great discomfort that the Pope did not want to force Luther to Rome, but to commit, examine and judge the matters in German lands. For this purpose, he offered to bear the expenses and to present Luther.

1) namely in the preceding decree, No. 176.

182: Handwritten letter from Elector Frederick to Spalatin, from which one can see how favorably he felt toward Luther.

From Seckendorf's nist. butb.,¹Ub. I, x>. 53, § 41, sdd. (b).

Although Prince Frederick hid his favorable attitude toward Luther from most people, he did not hide it from his confidants. There is a handwritten letter from him to Spalatin in which he sends him the news he had received from Augsburg, where Luther was at that time, and adds: "It concerns our Martinum, his things still stand well, and the Pfeffinger also comforts well.)

183 Spalatin's letter of intercession for Luther's cause, addressed to the imperial minister Hans Renner on the prince's orders after the departure of Prince Frederick from Augsburg.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 58b; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 107 b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 120; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 172 and in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 445.

Favorable Hans Renner, my diligent request is that you, as I have spoken to you today regarding the most noble Elector of Saxony, Duke Frederick, my most gracious lord, faithfully remember D. Martin Luther, Augustinian Order, against Roman Imperial Majesty, my most gracious lord, faithfully remember, and bribe you that Imperial Majesty prescribe him against Papal Holiness, to let the made complaint and citation rest, and to order the matter out, to the bishops of Würzburg and Freifingen, and to an unsuspicious university to interrogate. For D. Martinus can suffer all universities in German lands to be commissioners and judges, except Erfurt, Leipzig, and Frankfurt on the Oder, which have made themselves suspicious. For Doctor Martino, for many reasons, does not want to be done in any way, and it is also impossible for him to appear in person in Rome. My most gracious lord will undoubtedly recognize this in all graces toward you, so I am kindly willing to deserve it. 1518.

¹) Seckendorf translates the last words: et bonam kavit.?k6k8nMru8 - and Pfeffinger gives good hope. - Seckendorf also gives the location where this letter is in the Weimar archives.

184 Luther's letter to Spalatin, in which he regrets the inconveniences that have befallen the Elector because of him and does not want anyone to take care of him.

Sept. 2, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 9, U 1.2.

185 Staupitzen's letter to Spalatin, in which he asks the latter to cheer up the Elector: he should not look to him, nor to Luther, nor to the Augustinian Order, but above all to the preservation of truth, so that it may come to light, and see to it that there is a safe place where one may speak freely without fear. Dated Sept. 7, 1518.

From the Latin Jena edition (1579), toru. I, col. 363 b.
Translated into German.

1. salvation and grace from our Lord Jesus Christ! What you write about our Martin Luther, dearest friend, and although it sounds harsh in itself, it is nevertheless sweet through your pen, since you let us feel your love and thus comfort us through fear. He does not deceive who has promised that he will be the third where two are united in his name.

Since your worthiness is so fervent in love, and at the same time I see how much you make an effort to impress this on others as well, one and no small cause for despondency has already been removed. For such unanimous godly wishes must necessarily be heard. At the same time, the voice of the Holy Spirit from heaven enlightens and strengthens: "When you see that injustice is done to the poor, and that authority prevails over justice, and that righteousness is taken away in a country, do not be surprised, for there is a higher one above a high one, and there are others above these higher ones, and the king of the whole earth that serves him rules over them. One must take legal remedies, seek the intercession (or assistance) of the saints and the pious, not so much to obtain life as the truth; and if none is to be found, one must serve the king who rules over the whole earth, suffer, die for the truth, as we must live for the truth more than ourselves.

3 Therefore, fellow disciples of Christ and followers of the gospel truth, pray with me that our Lord Jesus Christ may shine through Himself to us, who is the light of the world, the truth, the way and the life of believers, and that He may give us to seek Him, the humble, humbly, to think moderately of ourselves, but when we have found Him, to proclaim Him steadfastly and confidently.

4 Then admonish the most noble prince, your lord and mine, that he be not weary because of the deceitfulness of them that seek to overthrow the truth with the tongue of a serpent, neither be dismayed at the roaring of the lion. 1) For it is written of him to whom the truth of God is a shield: "He has commanded his angels over you, that you do not strike your foot against a stone; on vipers and basilisks you will walk, and tread on lions and dragons" sSs. 91, 4. 11. ff]. Only her Serene Highness should refrain from her own, Luther, Staupitz, or even the Order; only strive that she may handle the truth, that the truth may come to light and, after the darkness has been dispelled, see to it that there is only a safe place where one can speak freely without fear, of which even a stout-hearted man would be capable.

I know how the Babylonian, not to say Roman, pestilence rages against those who contradict the abuses of those who sell Christ. For I have seen a preacher, who taught the truth, torn from the pulpit by force, and though at a great feast, dragged away by ropes before all the people and thrown into the dungeon. Others have seen even more cruel things.

So far I have not seen that the slightest thing has been lacking in your active participation or the most noble prince's protection. Dear, help further that her Serene Highness, in view of the highest and eternal truth, remains in such a sense, for which more is due to you than we two, Martin and I, who are indeed two, but with you one in Christ, the eternally highly praised Lord, either are or are able to be. Be well. From our monastery, Sept. 7, 1518.

Your worthiness
most devoted brother
Johannes von Staupitz.

1) Here is a play on words with the name of Pabst Leo: 4 "orn8.

E. Luther matured after Augsburgs, although some good strangers wanted to keep him away from it.

186 Staupitzen's letter to Luther, asking him to leave Wittenberg and come to him secretly in Salzburg. Sept. 14, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 15d.

187 Luther's report to Wenceslaus Link, how Johann Lang had told him that Count Albrecht of Mansfeld had warned him in writing not to let Luther leave Wittenberg, because everything was in place to kill him, along with Luther's thoughts about it. July 10, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 2, §§ 2-4.

The report of Myconius on Luther's conversation with the Franciscan Provisor, Johann Kestner in Weimar, on the journey to Augsburg. End of Sept. 1518.

From the Myconius liist. reform. p. 30 reprinted in des Scultetus unvul. evunZ. unn. 1518, p. 26 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 446.

Doctor Martinus moved to Augsburg in September 1518, lay one night in Weimar in the Barfüßerkloster, where he still held a mass, and was still one with the monks. And when the monks' provisor, Johann Kestner, said out of compassion: "O dear Doctor, the whales are, by God, learned people. I am worried that you will not be able to preserve your things from them. They will burn you. Luther answered: "With nettles it would work, but with fire it would be too hot. Dear friend, ask our dear Lord God in heaven with an Our Father for me and his dear child Christ, whose cause is mine, that he may be merciful to him. If he only preserves it for him, then it is already preserved for me; but if he does not want to preserve it for him, then I will not be able to preserve it for him either, so he must bear the shame.

F. Luther's arrival at Augsburg on October 7 and report to his good friends that he had encountered the matter and had found great protection and love among the Augsburg patricians.

**189 Luther's letter to Melanchthon from Augsburg, in which he says a heart-moving farewell in view of the probability of suffering death for the truth.
Oct. 11, 1518.**

This letter is complete only in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 85; in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 630; StrobelRanner, p. 13; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 145 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 244; but incomplete in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1550), tom. I, col. 207; in the Latin Jena (1579), tom. I, fol. 184 d and in the Erlanger, opp. var. ar^h, tom. II, p. 364. similarly incomplete in all German editions, namely, the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 35; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 107; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 119; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 186 and in Walch. We translate according to the Erlanger Briefwechsel, which has corrected De Wette's text according to the 60ä. vrs^{gä}.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To Philipp Melanchthon, professor of the Greek language in Wittenberg, who is highly esteemed in Christ, highly learned and most beloved friend.

JEsus.

Hail! I accept our Johann Böschenstein, 1) my dear Philipp, rather as recommended by you than that I let him be recommended to you. I see that he is a timid man and of little reliability, which, I fear, will keep you from closer association with him; but you, as well as the others, show him heartfelt mercy, not harshness. Carlstadt will give you news about my affair. There is nothing new or strange going on here, except that my name is on everyone's lips in the city, and everyone is eager to see the man who is like him.

1) Johann Böschenstein from Esslingen, born 1472, died 1532, came from Ingolstadt to Wittenberg as the first professor of Hebrew. He left Wittenberg as early as April 1519, then spent a short time in Heidelberg and later in Zurich, where he was Zwingli's teacher in Hebrew (Erl. Briefw.).

a Herostratus caused such a large conflagration.

You prove yourself a man, as you do, and teach the young people the right doctrine. I go to be sacrificed for you and for them, if it pleases the Lord. I would rather die and, which is the most difficult thing for me, also be forever deprived of your exceedingly sweet company, than that I should revoke what is rightly said and become a cause for the best studies to be destroyed among these, as quite incomprehensible, so also exceedingly fierce enemies of science and studies 2).

Italy has been cast into palpable Egyptian darkness. Thus, all of them do not know Christ and what Christ is. Nevertheless, we have them as lords and masters of faith and life. Thus, through the wrath of God upon us, what the prophet says [Isa. 3:4] is fulfilled: "I will give them young men to be princes, and children shall rule over them." Fare well, my dear Philip, and turn away God's wrath through devout prayer. Augsburg, Monday after Dionysius [Oct. 11], 1518.

Brother Martin Luther.

190 Luther's report to Spalatin of his arrival in Augsburg and his indisposition on the way; likewise, how he had himself reported to the Cardinal after his arrival; how many distinguished town councillors and friends took care of him, showed him all love and good, wanted to effect an imperial escort letter, and warned him against the Cardinal; whereby he especially praises D. Peutingen as a very good friend. 10 Oct. 1518.

See Appendix, No. 16, §§1-3.

191 Luther's further report to Spalatin that he had informed Staupitz of his arrival at Augsburg and that he had promised to come there; as well as that the Franconian deputy of the

2) The words: kos - Uostos form in the Latei nishes the beginning of the new paragraph. But already the old translator has drawn them, as it seems to us, suitably to the preceding.

who had left Augsburg shortly before his arrival, even spoke honestly of him; at the same time, he lets the Wittenbergers take leave of him in case he comes back to Wittenberg or not.

See Appendix, No. 16, U 9.10.

G. Of the cunning plot of Urban de Serralonga, one of Cajetan's ibgeschickten, with Luther M Augsburg.

Luther's report in a letter to Spalatin, how this sent Urbanus visited him and what kind of conversation he had with him. Oct. 10, 1518.

See Annex No. 16, U 4-7.

193 Another report by Luther of this Urban de Serralonga's repeated visit and other conversation.

From the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 150. A very similar report also in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 455.

On the third day the orator came, expostulating with me, and said: why do I not come to the Cardinal, who is waiting for me graciously? I answered: I must follow the gentlemen's advice, to whom the Elector recommends me; such, however, is that I do not go to the Cardinal until I have received the Emperor's escort, as soon as I obtain that, I want to come. He was upset by this and said: "How does he think that the Elector will take up arms for his own sake? I replied, "I certainly did not want that. Where does he want to stay, he continued? Under heaven, I said. He, on the other hand: If he had the pope and the cardinals in his power, what would he do with them? I was ready with the answer: I would show them all honor. But he bit his finger in the manner of a Welshman and said: Ha, ha! So he went away and did not come back.

194 Georg Spalatin's report on this.

This report is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 36; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 108 b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 121; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 178.

As soon as D. Martinus came to Augsburg on the Friday after Sanct Francisci 1) next past in this year 1518, he let himself be reported to the legate, with humble offer to present himself as the obedient one, according to his opportunity.

2 On the following Saturday, Doctor Martinus was required by the legate to appear before him.

3 Now the Lord Urbanus, Orator, has ordered Doctori Martino not to appear before the legate in any way, unless he has been with him before.

So Urbanus came to Doctor Martina, talked to him in many ways, and wanted to persuade Doctor Martinum to humble himself in every way, and not to refuse the legate's request in any way, but to contradict his teaching, sermons, and disputation.

Now Doctor Martinus was worried that Urbanus was more on the legate's side than his. For this reason, he had no other choice but to show himself obedient and humble, and to let himself be shown that he was wrong in everything. Urbanus was glad of this, and said that he wanted to go to the legate beforehand, and that he should follow him; for all things would be bad, and would easily be laid to rest.

6 But Doctor Martino was advised by sensible, loyal friends not to enter into any dealings with the legate, because he had first obtained his escort from the Roman imperial majesty and from the council of Augsburg. Doctor Martinus followed the same advice.

So the said Urbanus came to Doctor Martino, had a long talk with him, and told him what he was doing, the matter would have no need at all. He was not allowed any escort, the legate would be willing and inclined to reject the matter in a friendly manner; if he were to take escort, he would make his cause all the worse, and the like.

1) There is an error in this date. Friday after Francisci is in the year 1518 the 8th of October. In contrast, Luther himself writes in his letter to Spalatin that he arrived in Augsburg on Marci, 68t post Franciscum, which is October 7. This however was in the year 1518 a Thursday. Probably we have to do it also here with a wrong dissolution of tkrin Quinta.

But Doctor Martinus stuck to his opinion and said to Urbano: his most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., had given him away to many honest people. Now, however, he had been advised by good friends and many others not to undertake anything without escort; he had to follow them. For he would have to worry, if he did not follow them, and the other suggestion was not good enough, they would write to the Elector of Saxony, his most gracious lord, that he, Doctor Martinus, did not want to follow them, and this or that misfortune would have befallen him.

9 So Doctor Martinus awaited the imperial escort, which was given to him on the Monday after Gereonis [Oct. 11].

A very harsh letter from this Urban de Serralonga against Luther to the Elector of Saxony, in which he demands that the Elector keep the promise he made at Augsburg, and that Luther be chased out of the country or stoned because he would not recant. Casal July 3, 1520.

From Tentzel's Hist. report, vol. II, p. 168. Translated into German.

Most Serene Prince, Most Reverend Lord, Most Worshipful Lord!

1. my humble greeting beforehand ! In the last few days I have written to your Serene Highness in detail that there was a public rumor in the city of Rome that the Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, on the orders of the Pope, had made some very unfriendly statements against you, as if you were a real enemy of the Christian religion, about which I am quite astonished.

I am very sorry and not a little surprised that such evil things have been reported to the most holy (father) and the aforementioned auditor. The most illustrious House of Saxony has never had such accusations upon it. I fear very much that all the aforementioned and even worse things come only from the venerable father, Doctor Martin Luther. Not only has he not wanted to repent of anything because of the past, but he also continues and becomes more and more angry against the Most Holy Apostolic See. I know well that he will be aware enough that it is difficult to lick the sting; but the worst thing is that the rumor is going around as if

he does everything because he relies on your Serene Highness' grace and protection; which will remind you that I have often been assured that if the said Luther persisted in such his evil opinion, they would not only not 1) protect him, but even expel him from their high princely grace and the entire dominion of their Serene Highness; and have already announced such holy and catholic resolution in many places. And as I have news from the city, a bull has been issued against said Luther in the full Consistorio (or Cardinals' Assembly), which still uses all grace and leniency against him, as I hear. For it is stated in said bull that if he wants to recognize his error within a certain time, he should not be excluded from the grace of the apostolic see. Therefore, after careful consideration of all this, and especially because of the offer of mercy made both against the most reverend Cardinal St. Sixti, then in Augsburg with the Emperor's papal legate, and against me, I humbly ask for the special grace that it may not obscure their most Christian name, which is known throughout the world, and so godly other praiseworthy deeds done by your Serene Highness 2). And it is in truth something shameful that slanderers and lying blasphemers, against due and right, should boast of their evil works. They must be blotted out of the book of the living and not be written with the righteous. And that little brother must not give cause for such great shame. Many things, undoubtedly false, have already been written and printed against the honor and glory of your Serene Highness. Therefore arise, Lord, for it is a time to speak and a time to be silent. And those who have written such an ugly report must be condemned to eternal curse and be revealed! But Martinus himself must not remain in his evil opinion. So everything will be forgotten and done.

For this reason, and in order to prevent all consequences, I humbly ask Your Serene Highness to deign to make it so that D. Martin himself repents of having committed so many and such great errors and wants to be a pious and faithful son of the Holy Apostolic See. And if

1) In Latin, a von seems to be missing here, which the old translator already added.

2) Here, too, a "not" is missing in the Latin, which the old translator also added. It seems as if something was omitted in the text, for example, that the evil speakers must be silenced, to which äslrsaut sutkoeari would refer.

If he does not want to do this, let it be done in such a way that he is no longer tolerated in the entire dominion of your Serene Highness, but that he is not only publicly hounded out, but also stoned, so that it may be established everywhere that your Serene Highness... will not protect nor suffer, but will keep and fulfill what she promised in Augsburg. And I would rather have that than to be given 10,000 Rhenish florins.

My most gracious wife with the most illustrious prince and princesses is quite well, and always commands the grace of your Serene Highness, asking that on occasion she take them and their children and state (or country) into special and kind protection and recommend them in the best possible way to Imperial Majesty.

In these regions there is nothing new, except that the most Christian king should unite with the king in England, and great efforts are being made on both sides.

As for the Turkish fleet, it is very large and is due to leave, but it is not yet known where it is likely to go. The Christians are in fear everywhere. However, there are reports that in the Orient, in the Sultan's Oertern (or lands), there has been much rebellion and outrage against the Turks, and it is said that a new Sultan has been elected. If only all the wars of Christendom went to those regions!

There is talk that the Duke of Savoy should take a daughter of the King in Portugal as his wife. In these areas everything is quiet, and I will not write anything else for this time, except that I ask your Serene Highness that she deigns, if I can do something to please her, to command me as her most faithful servant in this. If she does so, she will find my person with my little fortune always completely ready for all favors, and then I will believe that her Serene Highness will still have me in gracious remembrance if she does so, as I then most humbly command myself to her grace. Casal, July 3, 1520.

Your Serene Highness' most
humble and obedient servant Urbanus of
Serralonga.

Inscription.

To the most illustrious and highborn Lord, Lord Frederick, by the Grace of God Duke of Saxony 2c., the most famous Elector of the Holy Roman Empire 2c., my most esteemed Lord.

H. Of Luther's three interrogations by Cajetan.

1. from the first interrogation.

Spalatin's report of Luther's first audience with Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg.

This number is a continuation of Report No. 194, and is found in the works of Luther given there immediately after.

On the next Tuesday after that, Doctor Martinus went to the legate and took with him his host, the prior of St. Anne's in Augsburg, and two of his brothers, also Doctor Wenceslaum Link, and another brother of his order.

When Doctor Martinus came to the legate's inn, the legate sent for the *Nuncio Apostolico*; and when Doctor Martinus came to the legate's chamber, he found the legate, and with him *Apostolicum Nuncium* and Urbanum. Doctor Martinus fell down before the legate, as Urbanus had instructed him. Then the legate called him to stand up again.

So the whales almost crowded around Doctor Martinus and wanted to see him, and came into her chamber much below.

4 The legate has again called Doctor Martinum to stand up, and certainly together with the *Nuncio Apostolico* and Urbano hoped nothing else, because Doctor Martinus would sing how and what they wanted, and do a contradiction without any refusal.

5th Now that Doctor Martinus had risen again, and neither the Cardinal nor anyone else had spoken, Doctor Martinus took it for granted that such silence meant that it was his due to speak. And therefore almost said this opinion:

Most venerable father, at the citation of papal holiness and the request of my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, I have appeared as an obedient subservient son of the holy Christian Church, and confess that I have let these and these *positiones* or disputation sentences go out; and in obedience I am obliged and willing to hear what I am accused of, even if I had been mistaken, to let myself be instructed better.

The legate then said: "Dear son, Papal Holiness has ordered me to act with you on three articles in her breve. The first one,

That thou shalt make a contradiction of thy doctrine, propositions, and preaching. Secondly, that you no longer subject yourself to this. And thirdly, that you renounce it completely.

007 And first thou shalt make a contradiction in the following two articles: First, that thou sayest or settlest that the treasure of indulgences shall not be the merit or suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ. Secondly, that you say that a man who wants to receive the reverend sacrament must actually have faith.

8 The legate also let himself be heard as if he wanted to let go of St. Thomas and other Opiniones, from the Holy Scriptures and act friendly with him; but as soon as the legate opened his mouth, his whole speech was nothing else but pure Thomas, Opiniones and scholasticism.

9 The first article the legate has wanted to move with some extravagans in Clementini's, which starts: Unigenitus, and pretended that the suffering of our dear Lord Jesus Christ and indulgences should be one thing. The other article, about the holy faith, the legate has moved with pure opinions.

In his answer, Doctor Martinus indicated that there were two extravagants: one of Pope Clement VI, the other of Pope Sixti IV, of the same sound; he knew them well and had read them both. For the legate had said how he would be so bold that he could write such extravagans, unread, differently than he held them; had considered it as if Doctor Martinus had never read them. But Doctor Martinus thought that the legate himself had never read them, because he had read them from several entries.

The disputation has grown to such an extent that Doctor Martinus has said that he does not consider the extravagants to be sufficient proof of such great things. For they perverted the Scriptures and did not introduce them properly.

Then the legate spoke: The pope has power and authority over all things. To this Doctor Martinus answered: *Salva Scriptura*, that is: Yes, it is true, but so far that the holy scripture would not be torn apart by the pope.

13 Then the legate made a mockery of it, saying: *Salva Scriptura!* The pope, don't you know, is also over the Concilium, because he recently punished and damned the Concilium in Basel.

14 Then said D. Martinus: But the University of Paris has appealed against it. Says the legate further: "The people of Paris will take their punishment for it. I do not know how

it happened that D. Martinus alleges Gersonem; then the legate said: I know nothing of the Gersonists. Then D. Martinus said: Who are the Gersonists? The legate said: Let us leave it, and fell on another opinion. For D. Martinus at that time always answered him to one article after the other.

15 On the other article, concerning the holy faith in the reception of the holy sacrament, D. Martinus quoted several sayings from the Holy Scripture. The legate laughed and said: *Loquitur de fide generali*. Martinus said: No.

16 The legate's Magister Ceremoniarum also wanted to talk a lot about it, as a No^tsr Qostsr; but the legate resisted him so much that he left Doctorem Martinum satisfied in the legate's chamber.

After this action, the Magister Ceremoniarum followed D. Martin into the courtyard and reproached him with a sophistical argument, which D. Martinus answered with a rather scathing reply, and thus also rejected him.

So Doctor Martinus clearly noted from this first action that the legate wanted nothing but a contradiction.

(19) Martinus said that he did not know how to revoke a single word in the article concerning the faith in the sacrament, but if he could be shown to be wrong in the other article, he would let himself be shown wrong. But he would know that the article concerning faith was right, consistent, and well-founded.

20 The Cardinal has also never challenged any other article, although he once said that perhaps there should be more articles.

When D. Martinus returned to the inn from this first action, he found Doctor Staupitzen, the vicar, who had come to Augsburg. To him, D. Martinus denounced the dwindling trade, and that he might not come to a proper answer, but that one alone, although unheard and unconquered, wanted to have a contradiction from him.

22 Doctor Staupitz thought it would be good to obtain from the legate that D. Martinus send his answer in writing to the legate. Martinus send his answer to the legate in writing. Thereupon also D. Martinus acted accordingly.

2. from the second interrogation.

197 Spalatin's report of Luther's second audience with Cajetan, Oct. 13.

Continuation of the previous report, which can be found in the works of Luther listed in No. 194.

On the following Wednesday, D. Martinus has brought about that three Imperial Majesty's Councillors, as the Dean of Trent, Doctor Peutingger, and another, whom D. Martinus does not know to name, and Mr. Philipp von Feilitzsch, Knight, have gone with him to the Legate on account of my most gracious Lord. He also had his notaries and witnesses with him, protested, and made it clear that he was first of all subjectively willing and willing to be examined by public or secret disputation, and to submit to the judgment of the holy Christian church and all those of high standing.

2. secondly, he has offered, in his own person at Augsburg, or at other ends, to indicate the cause of his doctrine and writing, and to answer his positiones or propositions either in public or secret disputation.

Thirdly, he has offered to answer the Lord Legate in writing to his objections and reproaches.

4th To the fourth, of the four universities, Basel, Freiburg im Breisgau, Leuven and Paris, to suffer judgment and recognition of his positionum, so he erred with ichten 1). He has also not yet received any transfer of his answer, given to the Lord Legate, and therefore caused to appeal.

Fifth, he is once again submissively obligated to suffer all the above-mentioned interrogations and findings, and otherwise to appear before equal judges and unsuspicious safe ends as befits a Christian man.

The legate said that the protest was not allowed, because he wanted to settle the matter in a fatherly and amicable way.

7> But nevertheless again based on the two articles, and wanting nothing else but a contradiction, and with D. Martinus constantly whistled and purred, and let him come to no answer at all.

8 Then D. Staupitz asked the legate to give D. Martins space to tell his answer and not to fall into it. Martins space to tell his answer and not to fall into it.

9th Then the legate came again with his extravagans, has had such a life with it that some named imperial majesty councillors have worried, Doctor Martinus would be killed by it, until they have been informed so much by D. Martinus that they have believed him.

Among them, a quick allegory from the legate of St. Thomas' Opinion has arisen, so that Doctor Martinus could not obtain more than at last, upon much request, that he should put his answer in writing.

Luther's written report to Spalatin in a letter of October 14, how the Cardinal dealt with him in the third interrogation. 2)

See Appendix, No. 17, §§ 2-4.

199 Luther's letter to D. Andr. Carlstadt, especially about the third interrogation. Dated Augsburg, Oct. 14, 1518.

The Latin original no longer exists, but only the translation in the collections: Wittenberger (1569), vol. I, p. 59b; Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 119b; Altenburger, vol. I, p. 132; Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 185; Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 3 and De Wette, vol. I, p. 159.

1. happiness and bliss! Respectable Doctor. Take little for much, for the time and the matter presses me to do so; at another time I will write to you, and also to other more people. For these three days my cause has been in a very hard state, so that I had no hope at all of coming to you again, and that I would miss nothing more certain than the ban. For the legate wanted in all ways that I should not dispute publicly; so he also did not want to dispute with me alone, and always boasted that he did not want to be my judge, but would deal with me fatherly in all matters. But nevertheless he did not want to hear anything else from me except this word: I contradict, I recant, and confess that I have erred. Which I did not want to do.

But most of all, these two articles have been fought over. First, that I

2) This and the following number actually belong to the third audience.

1) ichten == something.

that indulgences are not the treasure of the merit of our dear Lord and Savior Christ. Secondly, that a man who wants to go to the most reverend sacrament must believe 2c.

The legate, on the other hand, has set the Extravagans in Sexto Decretalium, 1) which starts, Unigenitus. He firmly relied on it and completely presumed that I was overcome by it; therefore, he wanted to force me into a contradiction. He drew for himself the common opinion and delusion of the scholasticorum or school teachers, of the power and effect of the sacraments, and of the uncertainty of the one who receives the reverend sacrament.

4 After the legate had done and acted all things with power and force alone, I have only today, through the intercession of many people, obtained permission to put my answer in writing. The above-mentioned honest *extravaganza*, *Unigenitus*, has been moved and proven against the legate and his authority, as I hope, by divine counsel, so that the legate, ashamed of everything else, has abandoned it, and desires my absence to talk to the venerable father vicar, Doctor Johann Staupitz, alone. When the vicar came to him, he kindly offered himself. But we do not believe the whales any further than we see; for the legate perhaps pretends it all fraudulently.

But an appeal is made to me, as much as it is possible, well judged, founded and convenient and in accordance with the matter. It is also my opinion that if the legate refuses to deal with me by force, he should let my answer about the two articles mentioned go out, so that the whole world may note his unwisdom and ineptitude. For truly, from his opinion flow many inconsistent and heretical sentences and opinions. He may be a renowned Thomist, but he is an obscure, hidden, incomprehensible theologian or Christian, and for this reason he is as adept at judging, recognizing and judging this matter as a donkey is at playing the harp.

For this reason my cause is in so much more danger that it has such judges, who are not only enemies and angry, but also unable to recognize and understand the cause. But like all this, God the Lord rules and lives, to whom I entrust myself and all that is mine, and I have no doubt that help will come to me through the prayers of some godly people, as I almost let myself think that prayer is being done for me.

(7) But either I come to you again unharmed and unspotted, (2) or else I turn away banished to another place: so be at ease, hold fast, and exalt Christ confidently and undaunted.

8) Mr. Christoffel Langenmantel 3) does so very faithfully to me that I am disturbed by his so great care.

(9) I have the favor and fortune of all men, with the exception perhaps of the bunch who are in league with the Cardinal; although the Cardinal also constantly calls me his dear son, and has told my vicario that I have no better friend than him. But I keep it, as above, for honor's sake. I know that I would be the most beloved if I spoke this few words: rovooo, that is, I recant. But I do not want to become a heretic by contradicting the opinion by which I became a Christian; before I will die, be burned, expelled and maledicted 2c.

(10) Fare well, my dearest Lord, and show this my writing to our theologians, to Amsdorf, Philippo, Otten 4) and others, so that you may pray for me and also for yourselves. For here your cause is dealt with, that is, faith in the Lord Christ and the grace of God. Given at Augsburg, on St. Calixt's Day [14 Oct.] 1518.

2) That is, not banished.

3) 8pal. annal68 ap. Uenek. II, 596: D. 6dri8topüom8 I^anZenmantel, Oanonio. IHi Sinkens. "te., ^n8U8l6N8i8, a OonsiliarÜL Oaes. olim Maximiliani (Erl. Briefw. I, 249).

4) Otten, that is, Otto Beckmann, born in Marburg in Paderborn, inscribed in Wittenberg under the rectorate of Scheurl in the summer semester of 1507, canon and professor of eloquence in Wittenberg, held in high esteem by Luther and Melancthon, but left Wittenberg as a result of the Reformation and became provost at the Aegrdienstift in Münster; in 1530 he was sent to the Imperial Diet in Augsburg as defender of the papacy.

1) 8sxto Veoretalium is wrong; about 8extn8 Deeret. is from Bonifacius VIII, who had already died before Clemens VI, from whom the UniMnitus originates (Grl. Briefw. I, 249). - In No. 202 the extravagant is correctly named, also in No. 203.

200 Luther's protestation handed over at this other audience in the presence of notaries and witnesses.

This writing is found in Latin in Löscher's Ref.Acta, vol. II, p. 463; in the Wittenberg edition (1550), tonr. I, tot. 209; in the Jena edition (1579), tom. I, toi. 186d; in the Erlanger, opp. var. ar[^]., tom. II, p. 371; in the Weimar, vol. II, p. 8, and in Adam Petri, D. Äl. l'uttisrlu luoudrationurn pars una. Lasileae 1520. menss 4u1io, p. 266. German (incomplete): in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 39d; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 113 d; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 125; and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 187. Completed in Walch.

Translated from Latin.

I, Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian, protest in particular and testify publicly that I hold the Holy Roman Church in special honor and follow her in all my present, past and future words and works. If anything of mine has been spoken or should be spoken contrary to it, I will have it considered as if I had not spoken it. However, since the most reverend lord 2c. at the given command of Sr. papal holiness has given the lecture and wanted to compel me, for the sake of the disputation I held on indulgences, to make myself comfortable with these three pieces, and, first, to come to my knowledge and recant my error; second, to guarantee that I would not rehear the matter in the future; and third, to assure myself to abstain from everything that could cause unrest in the church of God: I, who have disputed and sought the truth, could not have acted unjustly by such inquiries, much less have been persuaded to recant unheard and unconquered.

2 Therefore I protest today that I do not remember that I should have said anything contrary to the Holy Scriptures, contrary to the teaching of the Church, contrary to the decrees or laws of the popes, or contrary to right reason, but everything that I have said I still consider to be right, true and Christian today.

3 Nevertheless, because I am a man and can err, I have barked, and hereby submit to the

Recognition and proper pronouncement of the Holy Church, and of all who know better.

4. however, I offer myself to the abundance, here or elsewhere publicly, in my own person, to give cause and answer to all that I have spoken.

If this does not please the most reverend Legate 2c. I am willing and inclined to put my answer in writing to his objections, if he would raise them against me, and then to suffer a decision and recognition of the doctors of the renowned universities in the empire, Basel, Freiburg im Breisgau, and Leuven, or, if even this would not be sufficient, the university of Paris, which has always been the most Christian and the most excellent in the Holy Scriptures.

3. the third and last interrogation.

201. Luther's report of this his third audience with Cajetan.

See Appendix No. 17, §§ 4-7.

202 D. Joh. Rühel's account of what happened at this third audience with Luther before Cardinal Cajetan. [Oct. 15, 1518.] 1)

This writing is found in Latin in the Wittenberg (1550), tom. I, toi. 207 p; in the Jena (1579), tona. I, toi. 184d. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 35 d; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 108; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 120 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 177.

1) I have considered it good that I also inform E. F. Gn. of this, among other things, for the new newspaper. The day before I wrote this to E. F. Gn., namely on Thursday, we, Mr. Philipp von Feilitzsch, Knight, and I, 2) by order of our most illustrious Lord, Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector 2c. were in the plot, so the Roman Car

1) This date results from the words at the beginning of this letter: "The day before.... before I wrote this to E. F. G., namely on Thursday." Thursday was Calixtus, October 14.

2) Marginal gloss in the old editions: D. ^okannes Lust, sureeonsultus.

The first time, the Cardinal of the Order of Preachers (who, as far as we know, is otherwise an honorable man) met with D. Martin. There D. Martinus presented his answer and explanation about the sayings on indulgences, which the Cardinal had previously rejected because he thought that he had acted against the Pope and the Roman Church in them.

2 Among other things, the Cardinal alleges an extravaganza of Pabst Clement VI, on which he stood stiffly and vehemently, as on a certain ground, to maintain his opinion through it against D. Martinum, namely: that the merit of Christ would be distributed through the indulgence. But D. Martinus, as a sincere Christian man, confessed that the same Extravaganza in Clementis was well written, but would not allow it to be added to the Cardinal's opinion 1) and confirmed, which grieved the Cardinal, so that he soon took recourse to the books and searched for this Extravaganza; and looking at it diligently, he found that D. Martin's opinion was right. Martin's opinion was right. However, he did not let himself notice it, but managed as best he could to excuse and embellish this error of his with apparent words. And because he was only concerned about the indulgence, we did not let him challenge it, because he did not speak or intend to act against our religion in any other way. In contrast, D. Mart. Luther proved quite a masterpiece by defending his opinion against the legate much more skillfully than the whales who were around the legate would have liked; which pleased Mr. Philipp von Feilitzsch and me beyond measure.

3 Afterwards the Cardinal demanded and requested, since he refused the disputation to Doctor Martin, who would have liked to see that it was done in favor of the truth, that M. Luther should recant the article concerning faith in the reception of the sacrament in his sermon. But Martin refused, freely admitting that his doctrine of this article was right, and founded and confirmed with testimonies of the Holy Scriptures; if he recanted it, he would not only be acting against his conscience, but also against the pope himself; as the extravagans, on which the cardinal stood, clearly and publicly show.

Finally, when the Cardinal insisted that he should make a retraction, V. Martinus asked him in full humility that he, the Cardinal, would send his answer in writing, together with his most submissive request and always ready will, to Pope Leo X. He also requested that His Holiness not be so strict and

1) In the German editions: "beilegte", but in Latin it is patroinari.

hard judgment. For he would see and wish nothing better than that truth would retain victory and the upper hand. And if he were overcome by certain true causes and proofs that he had been mistaken, he would not be ashamed or afraid to recant his error in honor of the truth. But the Cardinal nevertheless persisted in his opinion.

There is no one else here who would dare to publicly dispute with D. Martino. The monks and other opponents of his, all of whom had written much against him during the Imperial Diet shortly before, are nowhere to be seen. So we took our leave of the Cardinal, and spent the same day in the evening with D. Staupitz and D. Martino. Mart. Luther held communion.

6 Subsequently, the same day, the Cardinal summoned D. Staupitz, to whom he said, among other things, that he was now well satisfied with D. Martin, and that he would also be heartily favorable to him. I cannot know what will follow. The Cardinal is trying hard to urge D. Martinum to recant. But so far he has not been able to persuade him to do so; he will never persuade him to do so; D. Martinus, as I have heard, will let everything that has been done with the Cardinal go out publicly in print. May God help the truth, amen.

Luther's written answer to the Cardinal, handed over during the third interrogation, in which he declares the extravagant teachings of Pope Clement VI to be the doctrine of man. Oct. 14, 1518.

This document is found in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1550), toru. I, toi. 209 d; in the Jena (1579), tom. I, toi. 1865; in the Erlanger, opp. vur. ars., tom. II, p. 372; in the Weimar one, vol. II, p. 9; in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 464; in Aurifaber, tom. I, toi. 87; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 149; in Adam Petri's D. Umtderrü lueu5rationuin pars unu. Lusi16U6 1520. IN6N86 äulio, p. 267 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 249. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 40; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 114; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 126 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 188.

To the Most Reverend Father in Christ and Lord,
Mr. Thomas, Cardinal of the title of St. Sixti,
Legate of the Holy Apostolic See 2c., Brother
Martin Luther, Augustinian, wishes Heil.

Most Reverend in God Father and Lord! How even I do not refuse, but quite willingly

I have humbly wanted to protest in this epistle of mine, so that I may answer for what was held against me yesterday and indeed completely naked [unproven]. For two articles have been held against me by your Reverence.

2. first, the extravaganza of Pope Clement VI, which begins: *Unigenitus* etc., in which it is supposed that the treasure of indulgences should be the merit of our dear Lord Christ and the saints, which I deny in my theses, as it can be seen. I therefore answer this first article thus:

3. This extravagance was not unknown to me when I wrote my theses on indulgences, but after I was quite sure of it, and knew that this would be the opinion of the whole holy Christian church, that our dear Lord Christ's merit in the spirit may not be commanded to men, nor given through men and by men, nor be given through men and by men, as this extravaganza seemed to read, I wanted to leave it untouched and command other pious people to signify what annoyance, fear and repugnance I would have suffered to protect the Pope's dignity and authority.

For it occurred to me, and I was also moved, first of all, that the Pope's words in the same Extravagans were quite bare, and a weak remedy against a quarrelsome or heretical man. - Item, that one might say, it does not rhyme that a prince would speak without law; rather as Mal. 1) 2, 7. is written, one should not seek the words of men from the mouth of the priest, but God's law.

(5) I was also moved by the fact that the same extravagant forces the words of the Holy Scripture and misuses them for an alien purpose. For what is said of grace, by which man becomes righteous before God, it draws to indulgence. For this reason, I thought that the same extravagant would do more to show and remind people out of a good opinion to uphold indulgences, than to prove something with a consistent, solid proof.

This also challenged me, that it often happens, as is the case today, that the Decretals err and are contrary to Holy Scripture and Christian love. For although one must hear the Roman pope's Decretals as the voice of St. Peter, as is written *Distinet. 19. in Decretis*, but the same is understood, as said in the aforementioned place, only from the Decretals or Papal laws, which are not contrary to the Holy Scripture and the previous Popes' statutes.

I was also moved by the fact that St. Peter was punished by St. Paul because he did not walk according to the truth of the Gospel, Gal. 2:14. Therefore, it is no wonder that St. Peter's successor also erred from time to time. Nor is St. Peter's teaching accepted until it has been approved by St. James the Less, bishop of Jerusalem, and the whole church, Apost. 15,13. ff. Therefore, this rule also has its origin in the law, that a law is valid when it is confirmed by those who follow it and keep it.

8 Moreover, how many of the first decrees or papal statutes have been improved by subsequent ones! Accordingly, it could well come that these extravagans would also like to be improved with the time. Also, in the first book of the Decretals, in the title *de Electione*, in the chapter *Significasti*, Panormitaus shows that in a matter concerning the holy faith, not only a general council, but also every Christian believer is above the pope, if he has better sayings, counsel and cause' for himself than the pope, as Pauli's example with Petro, Gal. 2, 14, shows.

9 This is also confirmed by this word of St. Paul 1 Cor. 14, 30, where he says: "If a revelation happens to another who is sitting there, then the first one is silent. Therefore St. Peter's voice is to be heard in this way, so that St. Paul's voice is freer, who punishes St. Peter. But the voice of our dear Lord Christ is far above the voice of all other men (let them be called what they will and who they will).

10 But this troubled me, and gave me the most trouble, that much-thought-of extravagans, as it looks at me, have some quite obviously false and unfounded pieces.

1) In Latin: *Laekariaiu*.

has in it: First, that it says that the saints' merit is a treasure, when the whole of Scripture testifies that God rewards more richly than we deserve, as St. Paul says in Romans 8:18: "I hold that the suffering of this present time is not worthy of the glory that is to be revealed in us."

Also, St. Augustine says in the first book *Retractationum*, chapter 19: "The whole Christian Church prays to the end of the world: Forgive us our trespasses. Therefore, its merits cannot overflow onto others, since they are not even sufficient for itself. For this reason, even the wise virgins would not give their oil to the foolish. Matth. 25,9."

12 Further, St. Augustine says in the 9th Book of *Confession*: "Woe to the life of man, however honorable and praiseworthy it may be, if a judgment should pass over it without mercy. Also the prophet Ps. 143,2. says: "Lord, do not enter into judgment with your servant, for before you no living person is righteous."

Accordingly, the saints are not blessed by their merits, but only by God's mercy, as I have more extensively indicated in the explanations or explanations of my sayings on indulgences.

14. Nor was I so sacrilegiously foolish that I should step aside from so many and so great quite clear public testimonies of the holy Scriptures because of a few decrees of a pope and man, which are also so ambiguous, dark and gloomy; but rather held quite properly that the words of holy Scripture, which indicate that the saints' merits are too few and too little, should be far preferred to human words, which say that the saints should have too much and spare merits; because the pope is not above but below God's word, according to the saying of St. Paul. Paul Gal. 1,8. f.: "If an angel from heaven would preach to you gospel other than you have received, let him be accursed." This also moved me in part, that said Extravagans says that such treasure is commanded to St. Peter, yet no indication of it is found either in the Gospel or in some Scripture.

15) Since I was almost displeased and saddened by this vexatious matter, as I have said, I resolved to keep myself calm.

I was forced to behave and listen to what others thought of it, because I saw that my theses are and remain true to this day. But now that I am forced to refrain from what I should have expected from others, but most of all from the pope, to whom alone it belongs to interpret and explain what he has decreed, I will nevertheless, by means of divine grace and my small intellect, for the protection of the pure and honest truth, submit to harmonize my theses or propositions on indulgences with the Extravagans, and to maintain them both in truth.

(16) First of all, I will (to speak according to what is apparent to reason) as if indulgences were nothing at all. For surely indulgences are nothing else than the remission of penance, that is, good works, such as almsgiving, fasting, praying 2c. Therefore, it is certain that indulgences are a good that frees (*donum privativam*), since they allow that the deserved punishment is not suffered, or that men do not make an effort to do good works. Therefore, in the Extravagans, indulgences are necessarily taken quite improperly as a treasure, because in reality nothing is given, but it is permitted that nothing be done.

17 Secondly, there is no doubt that the pope has this treasure not as in a bag or box, but in the word, or the keys, or in his power. For in distributing this treasure, the pope does not open a box, but the will and the word, and so he gives it.

Thirdly, therefore it follows that the treasure of indulgences is the merit of our Lord Christ, not in Himself nor actually, but according to the effect and inauthentically. For the pope does not distribute the merit of our Lord Christ in himself, but from the merit of Christ, that is, through the keys which the Lord Christ has earned for his church to be given to her. For it is in the power of the keys that satisfaction is abated. So it is clear and evident that I have rightly said in the 60th thesis that the keys of the church, given by the merit of the Lord Christ, are this treasure. And according to this opinion, it is true that the Lord's

Christ's merit is the treasure of indulgence; but that Christ's treasure and merit are not actually understood in Himself. And according to this opinion, the much-mentioned Extravagans agrees with my thesis.

19 Fourthly, that this is the opinion of Pabst in this extravagance, is proved by Pabst's own words, when he says: This treasure is commanded by the Lord Christ to St. Peter and his descendants. Now it is clear and certain that nothing is commanded to St. Peter, but these keys of the kingdom of heaven, which are the merit of Christ (that is, given by the merit of Christ), but in effect, not actually, as I have said; and the other treasure of the divine word, of which the Lord says to St. Peter, "Feed, feed, feed my sheep," John 21:17.

Fifth, it is certain that this understanding of the treasure of indulgences is unknown and unfamiliar to the common people who believe in Christ, as my 56th thesis states. For these words: treasure, merit of Christ 2c., are generally only spoken in an inauthentic and obscure way, so that the simple people do not know nor understand what they mean. Therefore it believes and knows no other way, because it receives a certain, present good, as it were a gift or grace, while it receives nothing else than the office of the keys, by which it is released, that it is not sufficient for sin, and thus receives a good, which is of no use to it, nor is it improved by it, and for this reason is unreasonably called a treasure. And this treasure is inexhaustible and abundantly great and infinite. For the power of the keys is inexhaustible, which stands without means in the merit of our Lord Christ. But the indulgence follows indirectly from the merit of Christ. Therefore also the merit of Christ of the indulgence can be called treasure, but indirectly.

(21) Sixthly, likewise, I would also leave it to be said that the merit of the saints is this treasure, that is, that the merit of the saints, having been incorporated by the faith of Christ and having become one kitchen with him, are now the same, and do and work the very things that the merit of Christ does, according to the saying: The life of the righteous is not his, but the life of the Lord Christ, who is in him.

As St. Paul testifies in Gal. 2:20: "I live, yet now not I, but Christ liveth in me." For the merit of the saints, as of the saints, would be nothing, even damnable, as I said above, and as St. Augustine says: Where I am not, there I am most blessed. For Christ and the Church are two in one flesh.

22. seventhly, nevertheless it is certainly true that the merit of our Lord Christ is not really and without means the treasure of indulgences, so that it profits or gives something, as the simple common man understands it. For when it presents a present gift, it does so not as a treasure of indulgences, but as a treasure of the grace that makes alive. For thus the merit of Christ in himself is actually given, without means, without indulgences, even without the keys, by the Holy Spirit alone, never by the pope. For man becomes one spirit with Christ through love, and therefore partakers of all his goods. This is exactly what my 58th thesis says: It is also not the merits of Christ, for these work grace of the inner man, without the pope.

In short, it is evident that if this extravaganza is to retain its dignity, the merit of Christ must be understood in two ways. First, it is actually in Himself; therefore, it is a treasure of the spirit that gives life, and is actually distributed and given by the Holy Spirit alone, to whom He wills.

(24) Secondly, not actually, but according to the letter and according to the effect, so that the treasure is and is called just this, which the merit of Christ has wrought. And just as the Extravagans introduces the sacred Scripture inauthentically, so it also speaks of the treasure inauthentically, of the merit of Christ inauthentically, and takes everything inauthentically. Hence it is that it is so obscure, difficult, ambiguous, and gives great cause for cheap dispute. But I have actually spoken of the matter in my theses.

25 Whoever then has a better opinion, let him show it to me, and I will revoke this opinion of mine. For it is not my place to interpret or interpret the canons or laws of the popes, but to answer for my theses in such a way that they are not regarded as such.

as if they were contrary to the papal laws. I therefore humbly await whether the pope has a different opinion, so that I may be informed of it, in which case I am willing to accept it and to obey it.

But I want to have said all this in honor of the apostolic chair and the most reverend Lord Cardinal 2c. For if I were allowed to speak my opinion freely and unhindered, then I wanted to prove, prove and maintain that this very Extravagans is actually, straightforwardly and publicly for me and my thesis, and against the most reverend Lord Cardinal's opinion. For the text speaks with clear, expressed words, that the Lord Christ has acquired this treasure of the church 2c.

27 This word, "has acquired," clearly proves, and conclusively establishes, that the merit which the Lord Christ has acquired is something different from the treasure which the Lord has acquired. For the cause is something different from the effect, as the philosophers also say. Therefore my thesis stands unconquered, namely: That the merits of Christ are not the treasure of indulgences, but that the merits of Christ have acquired indulgences. Nevertheless, I submit this also to the knowledge of the Church, as above.

[Answer of D. Martin Luther to the other article, of faith.] 1)

(28) The other article, which the Cardinal held against me, Doctor Martin, is this: that in the explanation of my seventh thesis I said that no man can be justified before God except by faith alone; that is, that it is necessary for a man to believe with certainty that he will be justified, and not to doubt at all that he will obtain grace. For if he doubts, and is uncertain, he is not justified, but rejects grace and casts it away. This theology, they hold and say, is new and outrageous, and also erroneous.

To which I respond like this:

29) First of all, this is the truth, which is true, unconfirmed, and unchangeable, that no

Man is righteous, because he believes in God, as St. Paul Rom. 1, 17. proves from the prophet Habakkuk, Cap. 2, 4, where he says: "The righteous will live by faith. Therefore, he who does not believe is already judged and dead, John 3:18. Accordingly, the righteousness and life of the righteous is his faith. Therefore all the works of the believer are alive, and all the works of the unbeliever are dead, evil and damnable, according to this saying Matth. 7, 18. 19: "An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit, but every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.

(30) Secondly, faith is nothing else than believing what God promises or says, as Paul says in Romans 4:3: "Abraham believed God, and this was counted to him for righteousness" [Genesis 15:6]. Therefore, both word and faith belong together by necessity, so that it is impossible for faith to be without the word, as Isa. 55:11. is written: "The word that goes out of my mouth shall not return to me empty."

Thirdly, I must now prove that a man who wants to go to the reverend Sacrament must believe and not doubt that he will obtain God's grace, but must have a certain trust; otherwise he will receive the reverend Sacrament for judgment.

First of all, I prove it by this saying of the apostle, Hebr. 11, 6: "Whoever wants to come to God must believe that He is and will be a retributor to those who seek Him. From this it is evident that one should not doubt, but firmly believe that God is a retributor to those who seek Him. If one must believe that God is a retributor, then one must also believe above all that He makes us pious and righteous, and gives His grace as often as we desire it in temptation, without which retribution is not given.

Secondly, at the risk of eternal damnation and the sin of unbelief, one must believe these words of Christ: "All that thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" [Matth. 16, 19. 18, 18.]. Therefore, if you go to the Sacrament of Penance and do not firmly believe that you have been delivered from

1) This superscription is in the German Wittenberg and Jena editions.

If you are absolved of your sins in heaven, you will go to judgment and condemnation. For thou believest not that Christ the Lord speaketh the truth, saying, "All things thou shalt loose on earth," 2c., and thus by thine unbelief and doubting makest Christ a liar, which is a grievous sin.

34. But sayest thou, How shall I keep myself, if I feel unworthy and unskillful for the Sacrament? To this I answer as above: By no preparation or work dost thou become skillful or worthy of the reverend Sacrament, but by faith alone. For faith alone, adhering to the word of our Lord Christ, makes one righteous, living, worthy, and skillful; without this faith, everything else that you undertake leads either to presumption or to despair. For the righteous will not live by his willingness, but by his faith.

35 Therefore, do not be concerned about your unworthiness. For this very reason you are going to the holy sacrament, that you, being unworthy, may be made worthy and righteous by the Lord, who seeks to make sinners, not the righteous, blessed. But if you give faith to the word of our Lord Christ, you honor the word of the Lord Christ; and by this work you are justified, alive, worthy 2c.

Thirdly, the Lord Christ has praised this faith to us many times in the Holy Gospel.

37) First, when he speaks to the Canaanite woman, Matth. 15, 28: "O woman, your faith is great; be it done to you as you wish. Here it is clear and evident that this is not about the common faith, but about the special faith, which was directed to help the daughter, who was afflicted by the devil, as the mother asked, and believed with all confidence that Christ, the Lord, would and could do this; therefore she obtained what she asked for. But she would not have obtained such things if she had not believed so. That is why Christ showed her such grace and benefit; not because of her preparation, but only because of her faith she became worthy.

38. secondly, the Lord praises Christ.

this faith when he said to the two blind men [Matth. 9, 28. 29.]: "Do you believe that I can do these things to you? Then said they unto him, Lord, yea. Then touched he their eyes, and said, Be it done unto you according to your faith." Behold, they were sure that what they had asked would come to them, and it came to pass without any previous preparation. But if they had doubted, they would not have asked rightly, nor would they have obtained such benefits.

39 Thirdly. The centurion says to the Lord Christ [Matth. 8,8]: "Speak only one word, and my servant will be healed. He does not believe in general, but he believes that if the Lord speaks only one word, his servant will be healed. And as he believes, so it happens to him.

40 Fourth. John says, Cap. 4, 50: "The king believed the word that Jesus said to him," namely, "Go, your son lives." And by this faith he purchased life for his son. Thus, every person who wants to come to God and ask for something must believe that he will obtain what he desires and seeks, or he will obtain nothing.

41. fifth, saith the Lord Marc. 11:24: "Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall ask in your prayers, believe that ye shall receive it, and it shall be done unto you."

42) Behold, he says: "everything", nothing excluded, "what you ask". Now it is obvious that in every sacrament we ask for something (for no one goes to the sacrament who does not ask for grace and forgiveness of sins). That is why one should hear Christ here, when he says: "Only believe that you will receive it, and it will be yours." Otherwise everything in the holy Christian church would be dilapidated, and nothing certain nor permanent; that is very bad.

43. sixth, saith the Lord, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, and say unto this mountain, Remove thyself thither; and if ye doubt in your hearts, verily I say unto you, It shall be done [Matt. 17:20].

44 And if you go through the whole Gospel, you will find many more examples, in all of which, especially not the common one.

but special faith, which seeks counsel and help from Christ the Lord in the present distress. Therefore, a certain faith is necessary for him who is to be absolved from his sins, because the sacraments of the New Testament were instituted for the practice and constant use of our faith, as Magister Sententiarum testifies.

45. seventh. Therefore the Lord often punished the disciples, Peter and others [Matth. 8, 26], because they had a small, weak faith. He does not speak of the common faith, as they say, but of the special faith, which each one should show in present danger and need, as is evident.

46. eighth, Jac. 1:5 ff. it is written: "If any of you lacks wisdom, let him ask of God, who gives to everyone simply, and if no one asks for it, it will be given to him. But let him ask in faith, and doubt not. For he that doubts is like a wave of the sea driven and wafted by the wind. Such a man only thinketh not that he shall receive anything of the Lord." This is a clear saying, which also urges me to this opinion, namely, that no one can receive grace or wisdom who doubts whether he will receive it. I also do not see what one can answer against this.

47. ninth, the most holy Virgin, God's mother, Mary, would never have conceived God's Son if she had not believed the angel's message that it would thus come to pass. Therefore she said, "Be it done to me as you have said." [Luc. 1, 38.] Therefore Elizabeth also praised her faith and said: "Blessed are you who have believed, for what the Lord has said to you will be fulfilled" [Luc. 1, 45].

48: About this faith of the blessed virgin, St. Bernard and the whole Christian church is astonished, as she herself sang and proclaimed in her hymn: "From now on, all children will call me blessed", Luc. 1, 48]. 1)

49 So Anna, Samuel's mother, believing the word of Eli the priest, went her way, and saw no sorrow as before [1 Sam. 1:18]. But because the children of Israel did not believe the word by which God promised them the land of Canaan, they were killed in the wilderness by the destroyer.

50 In short, what we read of glorious, great deeds in the Old and New Testaments, we read that they were done by faith, not by works, nor by common faith, but by special faith, which was directed to the present miraculous work, or what they practiced, obtained or suffered by faith. Therefore, nothing is so highly praised in the Scriptures as faith, especially Abraham's faith, Rom. 4:3, which was directed toward the birth of Isaac, his son; nevertheless, such faith was counted as righteousness to him.

(51) This is what happens to us in the holy sacraments: if we believe, we obtain; if we do not believe, we go to the sacrament and to judgment.

52 The tenth. St. Augustine, in his interpretation of the Gospel of John, says: "When the word comes to the element, it becomes a sacrament; not because it happens, but because it is believed. Behold, baptism cleanses from sins; not because one is baptized, but because he believes that baptism washes and cleanses him from sins. Hence also the Lord said to Mary [Luc. 7:50.], when he absolved her, "Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace." Hence flows the common saying: The sacrament of faith does not make a man righteous, but the faith of the sacrament, without which it is impossible for the conscience to have peace, as Rom. 5:1. is written: "Now that we have been justified by faith, we have peace with God."

In the eleventh place, St. Bernard says in the first sermon on the Gospel of Annunciation: "First of all, you must believe that you cannot have forgiveness of sin except through the mercy of God. But above all this, do thou also believe that thy sins are forgiven thee by God.

1) What we have enclosed here in brackets is an explanatory addition by the old translator.

will be given. This is the testimony that the Holy Spirit bears in your heart, saying, "Your sins are forgiven. This is what St. Paul means when he says [Rom. 3:28], "We hold that a man is justified without the work of the law, through faith alone." All this is said by St. Bernard.

(54) These and many other such clear and loud sayings of the holy Scriptures force, urge, saw and lead me to this opinion, of which I have said.

55. Therefore, most reverend in God the Father, because Your Reverence is gifted by divine pardon with glorious, beautiful, great gifts, especially with a high intellect, I humbly ask that Your Reverence's fatherly love graciously deal with me, have compassion on my conscience, and show me the true light by which I can understand this differently than before; and not force me to revoke that which, even according to the testimony of my conscience, I cannot hold otherwise than that it is such that I must necessarily hold to it. And since these scriptural passages are certain, I cannot do otherwise, and know [Apost. 5, 29.] that one must obey God more than men.

Therefore, may Your Reverend Fatherly Love ask our most holy Lord, Pope Leo X, for me, that he not be moved with such severe disfavor and unkindness toward me, that he cast my soul into darkness, which seeks nothing but the light of truth, and is quite willing and ready to yield, to change, and to revoke everything, if it is instructed that the sayings are to be understood differently.

Nor am I so presumptuous or so eager for vain honors that I would be ashamed to recant what I have taught unjustly; indeed, it should be my greatest joy that truth prevails and prevails. But that I am not urged to do anything against the conviction of my conscience. For I believe, and hold it beyond all doubt, that this is the opinion of the holy Scriptures. May the Lord Jesus reign and uphold your reverend fatherly love forever, amen.

Luther's report on how the Cardinal behaved during and after the delivery of this written declaration.

This writing follows in the immediately preceding number, but it is found (with the exception of Walch) only in the Latin editions, namely in the Wittenberg (1550), tom. I, fol. 212; in the Jena one (1579), tom. I, fol. 189 d; in the Erlanger, opx. var. ur^Λ, tom. II, p. 383; in the Weimar one, vol. II, p. 16, in Adam Petri's D. N. ^Λuttierli Meudrutionum xurs unu. Lusiloue 1520. ra6U86 3ulio, p. 272 and in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 95.

Translated into German.

When I handed this over the next day, he first scorned it and said that it was empty words, but that he wanted to send it to Nom. Then, in Judea, he insisted on the recantation and threatened with the ban he had been ordered to impose, and if I did not recant, I should go and not come before him again.

(2) When I had heard this, and had seen that he persisted in his mind, and would not hear the scripture, and I had also strengthened my resolution not to recant, I departed without hope of coming again. For although he said, and still boasts, that he would deal with me fatherly and not as a judge, I could not feel such fatherliness other than that it was stricter than all judgment, in that it only demanded that I recant against conscience, and would not, or rather could not, even show me error and convict me of it. For when he had seen that I rejected the little fiefs of the scholastic conceited masters, he promised that he would act against me with the Holy Scripture and the Canons, but how he understood this, I again do not know. For he has never brought up a syllable from the Holy Scriptures against me, and could not do so to this day, even if he wanted to, since it is unanimously admitted by all that there is nothing about indulgences in the Holy Scriptures, which rather only praise faith, and think as little of indulgences as they are full of the doctrine of faith, so that it is impossible that he could refute one or the other of those two articles from them.

But when I drew scriptural passages for myself, the man, acting in a fatherly manner, began to invent glosses for me from his own head. And he who was so attentive to the extravagant against me, nevertheless acted as if he knew nothing of the Canon, by which the church forbids: no one should explain the Scriptures from his own head, and one should, as Hilarius says, not bring the mind into the Scriptures, but out of them. Nevertheless, I did not resent his violence to Scripture, because I know that he appropriated this way of interpreting from the long habit of the Roman court and the use of the scholastic differentiators. For it has long been believed that whatever the Roman Church says, condemns, and wants, all others must soon say, condemn, and want, and no other reason need be given for it than that the apostolic see and the Roman Church hold so. Therefore, because the holy Scriptures have been abandoned and the words and statutes of men have been accepted, it has happened that the church of Christ is not fed with her charge [Luc. 12, 42.] nor with the word of Christ, but is not infrequently governed according to your will and the iniquity of a wholly unlearned flatterer, and it has come so far with our unhappy condition that we are beginning to be forced to recant and deny the Christian faith and the most holy Scriptures.

4 Furthermore, if this is how it is to be with the retraction, then I do not see what else can come of it than that I retract the first retraction with another following one without end. For if I were to turn his own word against himself, perhaps intentionally, he would soon invent another idol of his heart for me (for Thomistic theology is immensely fertile in distinctions and a real proteus), which I would have to obey with a new retraction. For since he does not wander on the solid rock but on the sand of his thoughts, I would have nothing to do all the time but to always recant.

5 When I had received the order not to come before him again, I nevertheless

remained on the spot for the rest of the day. Then he had my venerable and dear father, the vicar Johann Staupitz, come to him and, as it is said, with many words dealt with him that he should try to bring me to a voluntary recantation. I remained there the following day and was told nothing. The third day, namely Sunday [October 17], I also stayed and wrote, but nothing was answered. The fourth day I also stayed, and nothing happened. After I had endured the same silence also the fifth day, I finally, on the advice of good friends, especially since he had previously boasted that he had orders to have me and the vicarius thrown into the dungeon, after I had finished the appeal, which I wanted to have filed, left there, claiming that I had already shown my obedience with sufficient danger.

Luther's report to Spalatin on how poorly the Cardinal Cajetan was versed in the Scriptures and otherwise, and on the poor scholarship of the papists in general.

See Appendix, No. 18, § 2.

The first part of the book is a short description of the first part of the book.

From Myconius tust, rek., p. 31.

When Martinus came to Augsburg to the Cardinal, he sat down in his majesty; and because he was a very trustworthy man, he boasted as if he himself were the pope. And before he performed the action with Luther, he said: Orator, huick äoeuisti? Lutherus answered: IntorroM 608, Hiii M6 auckiorunt, 1ü 8oiuut, yuiä äoeuorim 6Zo. It was equally ridiculous that JEsus and Pilate came together again; and Annas came forth again with his question: What do you teach? After that, the Cardinal presented Luther with three pieces that he should do in short:

1. He should come to his senses again, convert and recant his errors.
2. should agree to beware of the same errors.

3. refrain from doing anything that might disturb the holy church.

Luther replied that he knew himself to be neither guilty of error nor of disturbing the church; but if he were to be referred to it, he would gladly recant. The Cardinal brought forth two pieces from Luther's propositions, namely, that he had written that the passion of Christ was not the treasure from which the preachers of indulgences had to sell the forgiveness of sins; item, that faith should be necessary for the reception of the reverend sacrament. But since Luther proved these two articles orally and in writing from divine holy scripture, the arrogant legate would not be satisfied, but Luther should recant. But when Luther did not want to recant the public truth and deny Christ, he [Luther] finally went so far that he kept silent and did not want to write further, when the pope and the legate also kept silent to those who wrote and shouted against him. 1) But the legate would not; Luther and Christ were to be silent, those were to have power to blaspheme to their liking. I have often heard from Luther that our Lord God did not let him sink any lower, because he had gone through so much. Afterwards, Cardinal Campegius at Augsburg miserably complained to Philip Melancthon that Cajetan had acted very unwise and evil, that he had at one time denied Luther this condition.

Luther finally offered to send the Cardinal all his reasons in writing, and to suffer the verdict of the three high schools: Basel, Fribourg and Louvain. However, he was unable to obtain anything; instead, he was told badly: rovoea, rovoou.

I. How the Cardinal had Staupitz deal with Luther.

Luther's report of this to Spalatin.

See Appendix, No. 17, U 8. 9.

Myconius reported what strange words had escaped the Cardinal when Staupitz demanded an audience for Luther.

From Myconius trist, rob, p. 33. Cf. Löscher, Ref.Acta, vol. II, p. 477.

The Cardinal Doctor Staupitz also admonished him that he should, as a supreme general

1) "laid in" - imposed.

Luther force him to recant. But since Staupitz did not know how to do it, since he would have been overcome with writing, but the Cardinal should still try himself on him, the Cardinal answered: *Ego nolo amplius cum hac bestia loqui. Habet enim profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo* [I do not want to talk further with this beast, because he has deep eyes and strange thoughts in his head].

K. How Luther asked the Cardinal for clearance, but was unable to obtain it, was not allowed to proceed, and took leave of him in writing.

D. Martin Luther's first letter to the Cardinal before his departure, in which he offers to remain silent if only his "opponents" would also remain silent; however, he could not recant without the recognition of the Church. The 17th of October 1518.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), toni. I, col. 2156; in the Jena (1579), tom. I, toi. 192; in the Erlanger, opp. var. urK., toill. II, p. 393; in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 96b; in Adam Petri's M. Imtborii iueubrationuin pars una. Basiloae 1520, inonseluiio, p.280; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta,vol.II, p.479; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 161 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 263. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p.44.b; in the Jenaer (1564), vol.I, p. 121; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 136 and in the Leipziger, vol.XVII, p. 198. - Löscherbericht 1.e.: "Luthersandteam 17.October,which was the 20th Sunday after Trinitatis, the prior of Pomezau or Pomesan to the Cardinal, and let ask for gracious dispatch, also at the same time hand in the following letter." This will be based on Spalatin's report, Wittenb. Ausg., Bd. IX, Bl.38b and Jenaer, Bd. I, Bl. 112. Both write: "Pomesaw".

To the most reverend in GOD Father and Lord, Thomas, Cardinal Priest of the title St. Sixti, of the Holy Apostolic See Legate de Latere throughout Germany 2c., his Lord to be feared and highly revered in Christ, salvation and all subservience.

Most Reverend in God the Father. I come again, not in person, but by writing; may your reverend fatherly kindness graciously hear me.

2. the venerable, my most beloved

Father in Christ, our Vicarius, D. Johannes Staupitz, acted with me to humble myself, to drop my own delusion, and to submit my opinion to the knowledge and judgment of pious and unsuspicious people, has also praised and commended your reverend fatherly love so much, and has completely persuaded me to this end, that I am now of the strong confidence that your fatherly love means me with all faithfulness. This new tale and the announcer have pleased me very much and highly; for this man has the reputation and faith with me that I know of no one in the world whom I could obey and follow better and more surely than him.

3 Similarly, my dearest brother, Magister Wenceslaus Link, who was educated in the same doctrine and studies with me from his youth and has grown up with me, has done the same to me from your fatherly love.

In short, your venerable, fatherly love could not have moved me more strongly or more kindly than through these two mediators, each of whom has me completely in his hand and power; I want to keep silent about your reverence's great kindness and high understanding, through which, as I see, your fatherly love does not seek what is mine, but myself, which could have shown itself differently toward me, where it wanted to, namely, with pure violence. For this reason, my fear is gradually diminishing and has already been transformed into a special love and true filial reverence for your reverend fatherly kindness.

Now, most reverend Father in Christ, I confess, as I also confessed before, that I have certainly shown myself too immodest (*indiscretum*, as they say), violent and too little reverence towards the name of the supreme bishop. And although I have been very violently provoked to this lack of reverence, I now realize that it would have suited me well if I had done my thing more humbly, more gently, and with greater reverence than has happened, and not thus

If I had answered the fool according to his foolishness, I would have been like him. Prov. 26:4.

I am now quite sorry for this and ask for mercy; I will also denounce this to the people from time to time in all the pulpits, as I have already done many times. I will also henceforth, with God's help, endeavor to improve myself and speak differently. Yes, I am ready in all things, without needing to say, that I will not remember this trade of indulgences with a word from now on, and when this matter is settled, I will go to rest, only that those who have moved me to start this game, and have given great cause for it, will also be set a hurried measure in speaking, or silence will be imposed.

7 Furthermore, most reverend in God, and now also most beloved father, as far as the truth of my teaching is concerned, I would gladly recant everything at your reverence's and my vicarius' command and advice, if my conscience would allow it in any way. For I know that I should not so much concede to any man's command, counsel or favor that I should speak or do anything against my conscience.

(8) Also, what St. Thomas and other teachers say does not have so much standing that it would be enough for me in this question, because I have thoughtfully disputed their opinion, having read them diligently and thought them through. For methinks they do not stand on sufficiently firm ground. But this counsel alone remains, that I may be overcome by a better cause, which is. (If I were otherwise worthy), that I might hear the voice of the bride (the Christian church) concerning it. For it is certain that she hears the voice of the bridegroom (Christ).

9 I therefore ask in all humility and submission that your reverend, fatherly love may let this uncertain deal reach our most holy Lord Leo X, so that it may be recognized by the Church and decided, either to be revoked with a clear conscience, or to be believed with earnestness. For I desire nothing else than that I may hear the judgment of the Church, obey it and follow it. Nor do I know what use my recantation would be in an uncertain and unknowable matter, for I am concerned that it might seem fair to me-

1) From this passage it has been concluded that Link was Luther's classmate at Magdeburg, but this conclusion lacks any justification. See Köstlin, Wart. Luther (3), Vol. I, p. 777 a6 p. 35, note 3.

I would not know myself what I would consider certain and right, or what I would recant.

May your reverend fatherly love accept and understand this petition of mine, written out of true humility and submission, and let me be graciously commanded as a son. [Given on the evening of St. Lucia (Oct. 17), Anno 1518. 1)

Your most reverend fatherly love subservient son,
Br. Martin Luther,
Augustinian.

21V. D. Mart. Luther's other letter, in which he takes leave and remembers his appeal.

The 18th of October 1518.

This letter follows immediately in all the issues listed in the previous number.

To the most reverend in GOD Father and Lord, Thomas, Cardinal Priest of the title St. Sixti, of the Holy Apostolic See Legate de Latere throughout Germany 2c., his Lord to be feared and highly revered in Christ, Brother Martin Luther wishes salvation and surrenders himself to him.

Most reverend in God, Father! Your fatherly kindness has seen, yes, I say, and sufficiently recognized my obedience, that I have come here on such a distant journey, in such great danger, in addition so weak in body, and indeed poor in food, and have appeared before your reverend personally by order of our most holy Lord Leo X. I am very grateful to him for this. Moreover, as I have thrown myself, together with the printed booklet of the explanation of my sayings on indulgences, and all that I have, at the feet of His Holiness, and now expect and will accept what His Holiness deems good, she will condemn my cause, or will pronounce it right. And I am fully aware that I have omitted nothing that is due to a submissive and obedient son of the Church.

2 I therefore do not intend to spend any more time here in vain, just as I do not intend to spend any more time here in vain.

1) This date was added by Aurifaber. There is no doubt that it is correct.

can. For I lack sustenance; also I have been more than too much of a burden to the dear fathers, the Carmelites, 2) and still am, especially because your fatherly love commanded me with a living voice: where I did not want to recant, I should no longer come under the eyes of your reverence; but what and how much I could recant, I have indicated in the previous writing.

For this reason, I am leaving in God's name, and I will see that I get to another place where I can stay. And although I have been advised, even by those who could move greater people than I am, that I should appeal from your most reverend paternal goodness, yes, from our most holy Lord, Leo X, who is badly reported, until he is better reported (for I know that by appealing I would be doing our most Serene Elector a greater favor than by recanting), I would not have appealed, as much as I could have. First of all, because I do not consider it necessary to appeal and to bring this matter before a judge, because I have (as I said) placed everything in the judgment of the church and expect nothing but its pronouncement. For what more do I have to do, or what more can I do? Nor is it necessary that I be accused or allowed to answer, because I do not cling to my words, but to what the church will recognize, nor do I want to argue as an opponent, but rather as a disciple.

4. secondly, that I am almost convinced that this trade is annoying to your reverend paternal kindness, and that my appeal is very pleasant.

Therefore, as I am not guilty of anything, I do not have to fear the punishment. However, praise God, I am so sensible that I fear the punishment much less than error and false delusion in faith, because I know that the punishment does not harm me, even benefits me, if right faith and understanding of the truth are with me.

(6) Therefore, by the cordial mercy of Christ, and by the great kindness shown to me by Your Reverence, I ask Your Reverence for the blessing of the Holy Spirit.

2) Luther lived in the Carmelite monastery because there was no Augustinian monastery in Augsburg.

May this obedience of mine, which I have hitherto rendered and fulfilled, be graciously recognized and graciously reported to our most holy Lord, Pope Leo X, for my benefit, and may my departure and appeal, which I have made on account of my need and good friends' advice and great reputation, be interpreted for the best. For this your word and cause I have not been able to overcome: What do you want to revoke? Wilt thou, by thy recantation, make us a law of faith? Let the church first condemn, if anything is to be condemned, and follow thou their judgment, and let them not follow thy judgment; and so I must give way overcome, and justify them. Your fatherly kindness, which I esteem highly and worthily, is well in Christ. From the Carmelite monastery at Augsburg, on the day of St. Luke the Evangelist [Oct. 18], 1518.

Your most reverend paternal son, Brother Mart. Luther,
Augustinian.

L. Of Luther's Departure from Augsburg and Appeal Left Behind.

211 Myconius' report of how Luther, having heard that Cajetan had let himself be told of his imprisonment Augsburg away.

From Myconius bist, ret., p. 33.

When the Cardinal no longer wanted to let Luther before him, he badly proposed the revocation, and let himself be heard that he had orders that he should take both Staupitzen and Luther in prison and send them to Rome: when Martinus noticed that they wanted to go with him in the usual Cardinal manner, by force and not by right, he made a public appeal, and they both parted from each other.

Luther's appeal left behind on his departure from Augsburg, commonly called the first, from the proceedings of Cardinal Cajetan, to Pope Leo X. Dated October 16, 1518.

This act of appeal was notarized on October 16 and received on October 22 by posting the document executed about it to the cathedral.

to Augsburg full legal force. A single print of the appeal does not exist, perhaps it never went out. The printer Frobenius in Basel received a copy of this appeal from Augsburg, which he incorporated into his edition . It is found there

Bl. cf d. From this it is printed in the Basel collection of March 1520, Bl. Xx 45 and after it in D. M. Imiierii lueuprutionum purs unu. Lusileno uxuā ketri M. D. XX. Äense Julio, x. 282. The latter edition is followed by the Latin Wittenberg edition (1550), toin. I, col. 217; Jenaer (1579), tom. I, fol. 193p; Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p.484. According to the Frobenius edition, it is found in the Erlanger, oxx. vnr. ur^Λ, torn. II, p. 397 and in the Weimar edition, vol. II, p. 27. - According to the Eisleben part I, sheet A 26, "Doctor Aurbach in Leipzig" helped to form the appeal; but according to Köstlin, Martin Luther (3), vol. I, p. 229, Luther had worked it out with the help of D. Auer in Augsburg; the notary gave it the solenne form and provided it with his seal. - We have made a new translation according to the Weimar edition.

Newly translated from the Latin. .

1. in the name of the Lord, amen. In the year following the same birth, 1518, of the Roman numeral 6, on a Saturday, which was the 16th of the month of October, of the Pabbacy of our most holy in Christ Father and Lord, Lord Leo, by the divine providence of the tenth Pabbacy of that name, in the 6th year, in the presence of myself, a public notary, and of other witnesses who were specially called and requested for this purpose. In the presence of myself, a public notary, and other signed witnesses, who were especially called and requested to do so, the venerable father and lord, Martinus Luther, of the Augustinian order, professor of the Holy Scriptures, and in the school at Wittenberg, which belongs to the diocese of Brandenburg, the most distinguished lecturer, has appeared in his own person, who has and holds in his hands, especially for himself, a slip of paper of an appeal and appointment, according to the sound and content of which, as he himself said, he wants to appeal from a commission which, as he affirmed, had not been well instructed by the aforementioned our most holy father, the pope, and was appointed at the request of the fiscal procurator of the same pope, and from the alleged judges and citations, and everything and anything that has resulted or may result therefrom, also from any complaint; as he then publicly presented such a note, and immediately, as its contents state, invoked and appealed to the above-mentioned most holy our Lord Pope and to the same apostolic see, and asked Apostles' Letters 1) to submit and protest, all and everything, to the apostolic see.

1) The term apostolos is a legal one and means in the Pandects: Report; here it is as much as a letter in which permission is given to bring the matter before a higher authority.

each done as is written in this note, which note, Appeal and Appellate Content follows from word to word and reads thus:

2. Since the legal remedy of appeal, for the comfort and protection of the oppressed, has been rightly decreed, all rights also yield and allow that one may appeal not only from the grievances and violence that have already occurred, but also from those that are yet to occur and will be tolerated: Therefore I, Brother Martinus Luther, Augustinian, professor of the Holy Scriptures, and in the University of Wittenberg, which belongs to the diocese of Brandenburg, ordinary and most distinguished Lector, say especially before you, a public notary, as before a public and credible person, and these here present witnesses, of the will and nobility to appeal and apostle to ask and take, and bring forward:

(3) Because in the matter of indulgences there are various and uncertain opinions among teachers, both among canonists and theologians, even in these matters the holy church has nothing certain and definite to this day, except what can be seen from C. quod autem unb C. cum ex eo, and from several others, that indulgences are the remission of a penitential pardon imposed on someone by his judge. 1) But pardon can be nothing else than these very best works, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, as this is the unanimous opinion of all theologians and the whole church. And from the C. Abusionibus, in the gloss on the word mendaciter, it is clear and public that through indulgences souls are not pulled out of purgatory, because the same are reserved for God's judgments. In addition, it is uncertain, and not yet decided by the Church, what the manner of salvation is, and how far it applies, by which indulgences are given to the deceased; especially since not only punishment but also guilt is forgiven in purgatory, as is said in Distinct. XXV Qualis. It is certain, however, that all guilt is forgiven by God alone, by means of a

The first step is to forgive the pouring out of grace, which cannot be poured out through indulgences.

(4) According to this, in things that are doubtful and subject to conjecture, it is not only free to dispute, and it is permissible for one wise man to contradict another (but especially in things that are not commanded, nor advised, nor necessary for salvation), but it is also dangerous to persistently assert one fully contradictory part, and forbidden by the Holy Spirit, in the words of 1 John 4:1: "Test the spirits whether they are of God," and of Paul [1 Thessalonians 21:21]: "Test everything and keep what is good. 4, 1. it is said: "Test the spirits, whether they are of God", and in Paul [1 Thess. 5, 21.]: "Test everything, and keep what is good", so that also the church, by government of the same Spirit, in the Cle. C. Abusionibus, that the preachers of indulgences should not be allowed to present to the people anything other than what is contained in their letters.

5. I have relied on these rights, yes, on these commandments, and have begun to dispute on this subject, moved by the intemperate shouting and too immodest proclamation, so that some spread the indulgences in our countries, as apostolic (as they said) commissaries and indulgence merchants, so that even under the pretext of indulgences they took outrageous and annoying measures of avarice, to the great scorn and derision of the Roman Church, to the contempt of the keys of the Church, and to no small harm and detriment of the reverence due to the apostolic see. Then, for the seduction of the people, they have brought up new doctrines, so that they have taken the liberty of teaching with quite incomprehensible words and of scattering booklets among the people that indulgences are always indulgences, that man obtains God's grace, which makes him righteous, by selling the inestimable gift as grace, and other things, which their booklet now and then indicates, which is called *Instructio summaria* 2), and is full of quite inconsistent and false sentences, to their own and those who are the authors of them, shame and disgrace.

6. 7. And although I do not know about faith, not about good morals, not about God's or

1) Here, Luther has lost the construction he started; the missing epilogue follows in the sense of § 5 (Weim. Ausg.).

2) In this volume No. 72.

I did not dispute about the commandments of the church, but about indulgences (as I said before), which are neither commanded, nor advised, nor meritorious, so that without them the church of Christ would nevertheless be well off, and perhaps it would be better for her, and through more merits, which are abated by indulgences, the faithful would be saved; Indeed, even the scholastic doctors expressly say that it is better that one should suffice by himself than that he should redeem indulgences, I have thereupon so disputed that I have subjected this whole disputation not only to the church, but also to the judgment of every one who has a better opinion, who has a better opinion, but above all to the Most Holy in Christ, our Father and Lord, Mr. Leo the Tenth, the present pope, as can be clearly seen from my letter which precedes my explanations [of the theses on indulgences]. And I have acted on doubtful, free, uncertain, not yet decided, and for the sake of blessedness not necessary matters of dispute, so that there can be no just cause and occasion to cite me or to drag me before the court, and rightly I should also be free and safe from all complaints of spiteful and evil people, since all those who dispute about important, necessary and divine matters are also safe.

8.9 Nevertheless, there are some mammon servants and restless miserly men who do not give pasture to Christ's sheep, but seek only milk and wool from them, and fear that on the occasion of this disputation the faithful of Christ will become aware of their deceitfulness, which seeks only profit and avarice, and thus their profit, as is right, will be completely destroyed, like a fire burned with thorns. And since they preached about indulgences not only immodestly, but also fraudulently, even to the deception and harm of souls, completely deviating from the opinion of the pope and from the holy decrees of the fathers, they have also added this evil, that with unworthy and lying boasts, in order to adorn their avarice and godless tyranny with it, they have asked me from the most holy pope, our lord, Mr. Leo the Tenth 2c, and by the excellent Lord Marins of Perusco, 1) sei-

1) In Luther, probably due to a reading error, there is always de Perusiis instead of: de kkruscns (Weim. Ausg.).

The aforementioned Lord Marius, on their impetuous persistence against me, as one suspected of heresy, and who would have acted to the dishonor, contempt, diminishment, and dishonor of the keys of the Church, ordered the most venerable fathers in Christ, Jerome of Ghinucci, bishop of Ascoli, auditor of the Chamber 2c., and Silvester Prierias, Order of Preachers, Magister of the Apostolic Palace, ordered the thing, yes, rather they extorted it through him.

10) These judges and auditors, 2) although they are suspicious of me (yet always without prejudice to their honor), because the venerable father Silvester has elsewhere sufficiently shown his bitter attitude against me, in the dialogue, 3) which he has published against my theses, in which he has followed his opinion more than justly, and has judged and condemned me as a heretic, a nonsensical man, and with many other opprobrious names. Then it is presumed with probability that he shows more favor to his brothers, 4) whom this matter primarily concerns, than to the cause, so that through him the adversaries themselves would become judges in their own cause. Also, the Thomists, although they do not agree among themselves against me, have often been found to be such people who, for the sake of their opinions, have subjected themselves to greater and different things than anyone's merit would have required and the equity of the law would have permitted. Finally, since this venerable father alone is instructed and instructed in scholastic theology, and is very little practiced in the holy Scriptures, as can be seen from his various writings, and this matter requires judges who are very well versed in the holy Scriptures and the church fathers, it cannot be assumed that he can even judge rightly in this matter. But the venerable father in Christ, Mr. Jerome, bishop 2c., is rightly feared: he would like to give his other colleague

2) Only where we let § 11 begin, this subject is resumed.

3) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 310.

4) the Dominicans, who were engaged in the trade of indulgences.

(I want to have said this in peace and reverence and without any insult), and easily leave the judgment to the father Silvester for the sake of his theological profession, although he would be skilled enough in other civil matters and the like. But since it is sufficiently clear that this, as far as faith and heresy are concerned (as the adversaries say), lies outside the scope of his profession, both are therefore extremely suspicious to me.

11 [These judges, I say,] have had me cited and summoned to appear personally in Rome, in a place that is only the most suspicious and not safe, since it is known to all how much and against how many have been raged who entrusted themselves to Rome, even against those who had safe conduct, and it is clearer than the bright noon that even the best pope, our most holy Lord Leo X., and many other reverend lords Cardinals have often been in danger of death 1) and they do not live there safely, so that one could almost say of Rome according to Isaiah [Cap. 1, 21.]: "Justice dwelt within, but now murderers."

12 And even if everything would be safe and without danger in Nom, such a long journey is quite impossible for my weak body, also so many dangers on the way and especially the persecution of all adversaries, which are so great and so many that the great and princes, both spiritual and secular, have advised me and announced for certain that I should by no means go outside the walls of Wittenberg, because they would know for certain that I would be pursued either with sword or with poison. And since I belong to a mendicant order, have nothing of my own, and live under the obedience of another, I would certainly be sufficiently prevented from appearing by this poverty alone.

(13) Since I cannot go to Rome because of such a legitimate fear, which can befall even a steadfast man, and prevented by these entirely legitimate causes.

I have requested through the most illustrious Prince Frederick, the very powerful Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, that the matter be entrusted by the Apostolic See to some learned, righteous and honorable men to judge it in a safe place, before whom I would also be willing to appear there and to do everything that is in accordance with justice.

14 Since the most holy Father and Lord in Christ, our Lord Leo X., as his goodness and love of truth and justice are rightly praised throughout the world, had [graciously conceded this, it was] brought about by the adversaries, who feared for their cause, 2) that it was transferred to the person of the most reverend Father and Lord, Mr. Thomas, of the title of St. Sixti Priest and Cardinal, of the Holy Apostolic See Legate de Latere throughout Germany. Sixti Priest and Cardinal, of the Holy Apostolic See Legate de Latere throughout Germany, hoping that since this most reverend gentleman 2c. belonged to their Order, their frail and bad cause would be the more easily helped by this good head.

15) Although this most reverend gentleman 2c. might justly seem suspicious, because he might be of the party and opinion of the opponents, and for several other probable causes, nevertheless, as he is in every respect a very learned and affable man, he first of all showed himself fatherly and kindly toward me and received me, but afterwards, wanting (as he says) to advise me, he simply insisted and urged that I should recant my sayings before they were discussed, he simply insisted and urged that I should recant my sayings before they were discussed and decided upon, with rejection and setting aside of the most respectable protestation, namely, that I would be prepared either to answer again publicly or to give an account privately in writings, and that all that was mine should be submitted primarily to the judgment of the saints.

2) Here, the Weimar edition has the note: "In this sentence, something must have fallen out in print", but has made no attempt to add what is missing. We have, based on the Basel edition of Adam Petri, which brings this marginal note: ^äversurli eurarunt (tomino Oarä. eorurruttenckarQ eausam, inserted before per utlversurloZ: bernMiter ouu6688i886t, ktkeetuui 68t.

1) In January of the previous year, an assassination attempt had been discovered, which had been made against Leo by a Cardinal with the knowledge of other Cardinals (Köstlin, M. Luther (3), Vol. I, p. 229).

The first is to submit to the Roman Church, then to the famous high schools of Basle, Fribourg, Louvain, and, if necessary, also to the old mother of high schools, the University of Paris, which, as it is the most flourishing in theological matters before others, is also the most zealous.

16 He set all this aside and despised it, and did not even want to instruct me or indicate in what matters and in what way I had erred, so that I could revoke the recognized error, except that he held up two articles against me, to which, as I hope, I answered quite superfluously, as can be seen in the writings that I have sent to the most reverend Lord. But he wanted to drive me badly and merely to recant, by threatening me that if I either did not do so, or appeared in Rome within a certain given period of time, which was fixed in the citation by the above-mentioned presumed judges, he would have me and all those who adhered to me, and all those who adhered to me and were favorable, under the sentence of excommunication, and to subject all others, whoever they might be, to whom I should turn, to the ecclesiastical interdict, and said that he had sufficient orders from the above-mentioned See for all these things.

(17) By this I find myself afflicted, injured and oppressed, since even today I confess that I have only disputed and submitted everything to the feet of our most holy Lord, Leo X. that he may kill, bring to life, reject, approve, as he pleases, and acknowledge his voice as the voice of Christ that dwells in him, and I protest lawfully that I do not want to say or hold anything that cannot be proven in and from the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church and the Holy Canons, as can be seen in the book of my "Explanations" 1).

(18) With regard to this, I protest again, as I have often protested elsewhere. Therefore, I appeal from the aforementioned most holy Lord, our pope, who is not well informed, and his supposed commission, which is based on the above-mentioned

I have the right to appeal to our most holy Father in Christ and Lord Leo, by divine providence the tenth pope of that name, from the alleged judges and the aforementioned citation and the alleged proceedings which may be instituted against me and are to be instituted against me, and from everything that has taken place and will take place therefrom, and from any of the same, also from any future burden which may arise therefrom, to our most holy Father in Christ and Lord Leo, by divine providence the tenth pope of that name, who needs to be better instructed, 2) and appeal in this writing, and ask for apostolic letters the first, the second and the third time, urgently, even more urgently and most urgently, that they be given to me, if there is anyone who will and can give them to me, and especially from you, Mr. Notary, written testimony, submitting myself, and those who adhere and wish to adhere to me, herein to the protection and defense of our aforementioned Most Holy Lord, the Pope, after he has been better informed. And I protest that I will pursue this appeal of mine in due time and place by way of annulment (*per viam nullitatis*) and otherwise, to the best of my ability, reserving to myself the liberty 3) to add, subtract, amend, correct, and better shape it, always without prejudice to any other legal advantage.

Concerning all of the above and every detail in particular, the venerable father D. Martin Luther, professor of sacred theology and appellant, has requested that, instead of the testimonies of the apostles, one or more instruments, public or public, be made and prepared for him by me, the undersigned public notary. This was done in Augsburg, and there in the monastery of the Order of the Carmelite Brothers, in the same year, Roman interest number, days, months and pontificate as above, in that there were present the venerable men, the gentlemen Wenceslaus Steinbeiß and Bartholomäus Utzmair,

2) In the old translation: "that I may be better instructed".

3) The Weimar edition has here, after the *latio ad Oonolium* 1518, corrected the wrong reading of all other editions: *optirus* (with addition of *taeltats*), and set oxtions.

Priests of the Augsburg Diocese, who were called and requested as witnesses to the above.

And I, Gallus Kunigender of Herbrachtingen, layman, of the Augsburg diocese, public notary both by sacred apostolic and imperial authority, because I was present at the handing over of the aforementioned appeal, the appeal, the submission, the request for apostolic letters, the protestation, and all the other and each of the foregoing things, while they were happening and being acted upon, as is foretold, have been present and personally present at the same time with the aforesaid witnesses, and have seen and heard all and every particular thing so done: Wherefore I have written this present public instrument with my own hand, and have hereunto executed, signed, published and set forth in this public form, and with my common seal and common name, requested and required for the authentication and witness of all and every of the foregoing things.

An old written message from Augsburg about Luther's departure from that city.

From Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 491.

In Augsburg, a man is painted on a house, along with the words: Down there, with the date 1540; this is supposed to give a reminder of the man who showed Luther a way to escape from Augsburg from the hands of his persecutors. Many want to take it for an angel who appeared to him in such a form; the papists, on the other hand, take it for Satan, and also had this painting and the scripture erased a few years ago, but later it had to be restituted for eternal remembrance. The year probably refers to the time when this painting was made.

Luther's own message to Spalatin about his departure.

See the 204th Document, z 5: "I stayed there even the following day" 2c.

215 Conrad Adelman's, canon of Augsburg, letter to Spalatin, written shortly after Luther's departure, in which he praises Luther's wise procedure against the Cardinal immensely and at the same time asks Spalatin very imploringly to let Luther's

The prince should recommend the matter to the Elector so that he may try to reconcile him with the pope. Date Augsburg 18 Oct. 1518.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol.IX, p.603; Jenaer (1564), vol.I, p.123; in the Altenbürger, vol. I, p. 138 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 202.

My dear Mr. Spalatin! Your letter has been more pleasant to my brother and me than that which has come to us from you, our good friend; but it has been much more pleasant to us that we have presently seen and addressed the dear Lord Doctor Martin Luther, both adorned with virtues and manifold teachings. We have often requested him as one whom we love dearly, 1) and have shown him our good opinion.

But you will give me credit: He was not well kept away from you, and especially not provided with that which he would have needed most. But as for all that, the imperial councilors took him into their escort, which you should have thought of first. When he was escorted, he appeared before the legate with more courage and confidence. But what happened before the legate, you will hear for yourself from D. Martinus, when he now, God willing, comes home again, so that I may not be annoying to you. For there would be a long song to sing about it here.

But there is one thing I do not want to keep from you, that Doctor Martinus offered himself against the legate in such a way that it almost looks good to a Christian man. The first offer was that he would hand over everything he had ever let go out to our most holy father, the pope, in order to justify everything that his holiness loved and, if it pleased her, to eradicate all such things.

4 Secondly, he had discussed Opiniones, and thus had not decided anything final, as is commonly done far and wide in the universities of the German nation. And if they wanted to, he wanted to discuss it even further and more. And if someone came with a better reason and certain sayings of the holy scripture, he would be willing to leave his opinion and follow the better one.

(5) Further, if the Holy Christian Church wished to establish and issue a ruling on the matter, he wished to submit it to the decision and judgment of the Holy Christian Church at this time.

1) "requested" - visited.

be. Nor has it ever been his opinion to write, speak, or preach anything that would be against the papal chair, or the pope, or his honor, and that would diminish his dignity.

If you now, my Spalatine, note that this is the opinion of D. Martin, then it will behoove you to have diligence with our most gracious Lord, Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector 2c., that his C. F. Gn. will act with papal holiness by writing or faithful message, that his holiness will accept this lamb, commanded by his holiness, amicably and graciously, according to the image of our most gracious Blessed Maker, and let himself be graciously satisfied with the offerings touched. For Pope Leo is, as I have understood from many people, kind and gentle; and, if he would not be drawn into a different opinion by his court servants, I believe that my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, could easily obtain that the Pope would again accept Doctor Martinus graciously.

My brother has refused to give you his greeting. I command myself to you, and I am inclined to serve you, and to do what I may for your salvation and honor. Given at Augsburg, 18 October, Anno 1518.

Luther's report to Spalatin on how the notary had at first been too fearful to knock the appeal on the door of the cathedral in Augsburg after his departure, but finally dared to do so after the coaxing of D. Frofch.

See Appendix, No. 19, § 3.

Luther's report to Spalatin that the Carmelite prior, Licentiate Joh. Frosch, who had hospitably received Luther at Augsburg, would come to Saxony because the Elector had promised him a banquet [for his doctorate].

See Appendix, No. 14, § 5.

218 Luther's report to Spalatin on the arrival of this Prior Frosch, who managed to have his appeal heard at Augsburg, along with an enclosed request that he be given the promised banquet at the Elector's house.

See Appendix, No. 19, §§1-3.

M. How the timid Staupitz escaped from some of Cajetan's threatening places from Augsburg quickly without leaving, along with other samples of his timidity and fickleness.

219 Myconius' and Luther's reports on how Cardinal Cajetan had let it be known that he was also quite unwilling to have Staupitz and Link imprisoned and sent to Rome, and on their removal, which happened soon thereafter.

See the 208th and 211th documents, as well as the 204th at the end.

Luther's letter to Staupitz, before the latter had turned away from Saxony, in which he reminds him of the words of encouragement that Staupitz had spoken to him at Augsburg, and by means of which he now seeks to cheer Staupitz up in his pusillanimity, but otherwise still deals with him quite familiarly and confidentially, as souse, and reports all sorts of things to him.

See Appendix, No. 20, §§ 1-3.

221. Luther's somewhat more serious and sharper letter to Staupitz, after he had left Saxony and turned to the Archbishop of Salzburg, in which he already half and half sadly takes leave of him, accuses him not indistinctly of fickleness and of the denial of Christ to be worried about, But at the same time he once again faithfully and earnestly admonishes him not to be ashamed of Christ's sufferings, but to steadfastly confess his Savior before men, if he does not otherwise want Christ to be ashamed of him one day.

See Appendix, No. 21, § 3 to the end.

Luther's letter to Staupitz, in which he tells him how he, Luther, cannot well believe that he can accept the abbey without harming the truth, and at the same time refutes and tries to disprove many evil opinions that have been brought to him by his enemies. Dated June 27, 1522.

This letter is found in Latin in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 75; in Seckendorf, nist. lmtb., lib. I, x>. 48, 8 37, ack. II; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 214 and nn Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 405. German only in Walch.

Translated into German.

To D. Johann Staupitz, Ecclesiastics at Salzburg.

1. grace and peace in Christ, amen! Venerable and most worthy Father! I have not heard about your abbey both from the prior's letter in Nuremberg 1) and from the common rumor, which claims this so constantly that, if I had not seen your letter, I would have had to believe it. In the same way, I believe, lies are brought to you about us. And although I do not want to withdraw you 2) from God's will, I cannot yet fully grasp, according to my simplicity, whether it could be God's will that you become an abbot, nor does it seem advisable to me; 3) however, I do not want to be contrary to your spirit, nor do I want to judge it. But one thing I ask for the sake of Christ's mercy, that you do not easily shine upon our slanderers, neither against Wenceslaus nor against me. For that you write that mine is highly exalted by those who lie in whorehouses, and that many annoyances have arisen from my newer writings, I am not surprised and do not fear. We have certainly acted and still act here in such a way that we teach the pure word without noise to the people, which both the pious and the wicked use. Both the pious and the wicked can use it. You know that this is not in our power. For we have undertaken to persecute by word the impure celibate state, the impiety of the masses, the tyranny of the ecclesiastical orders, and everything that has been introduced by men and erected against the wholesome doctrine, and to do what Christ preached beforehand.

1) Wolfgang Volpracht (not Link, as Seckendorf states), who together with the provosts Georg Peßler at St. Sobald and Hector Pomer at St. Lorenz abolished the mass in 1524 (Erl. Briefw.).

2) te is found in the 606th (lotban. and at Seckendorf.

3) Luther's warning came too late. Already on April 26, Staupitz had received a dispensation from the Penitentiary in Rome to change his order; on August 1, he entered the Benedictine Order and on August 2, the convent unanimously elected him as its abbot (of St. Peter in Salzburg); on August 6, he was invested as John VI (Erl. Briefw.).

that his angels will gather out of his kingdom all abominations [Matth. 13, 41.]. It must be destroyed, dearest Father, the kingdom of abomination and destruction, the Pabst, with his whole body. 4) And this he does now without us, without hand, by the mere word. His end before the Lord has come. The matter is beyond our comprehension and understanding. Therefore it does not take place that I care about it, since someone [namely Christ] is able to do this, 5) and 6) it is quite reasonable that after the greatness of God also great movements of the minds, great aversions and great abominations arise. Do not be mistaken, my father, about all this. I have good hope. You see the counsel of God in these things and His great hand. Remember how my cause has always, from the beginning, appeared to the world so fearful and unpleasant, and yet it has increased day by day. It will also increase what you fear so much now. Just have a wavy patience. Satan feels his wound, that is why he rages so and throws everything through each other. But Christ, who has begun, will tread him down, although all the gates of hell rage against him in vain.

2) Jacob, 7) the prior in Antwerp, has been imprisoned again, and it is thought that he has already been burned, and other two with him. For it was certain that he would have to be killed because of the withdrawal of the recantation. The Sophists hasten to their doom

4) In this sentence we have omitted nibi after Seckendorf.

5) The translation proposed by Köstlin against Walch and De Wette (M. Luther (3), Vol. I, p. 813 ack p. 685 j, which also the Erl. The translation suggested by Köstlin against Walch (M. Luther, I. I. p. 1313 ack p. 85 j), which is also applauded by the Erl. correspondence, is: "that I should wait until someone is able to grasp it.

6) With the Eoä. Ootbau. we have instead iM^us adopted.

7) Jakob Probst (Ilacobus kraspositus), also called Jakob von Apen (laeobus lpsrsnsis) (^urüäbsr, tom. II, fol. 205). In another place (Vurikubsr, toin. I, col. 70 b) is found by reading out the word lpsrsnsis, which may have been abbreviated: ilaeobus KprsnA. And this Spreng has remained to this day in all collections of letters (from Aurifaber), namely in De Wette, vol. II, p. 207 and in the note vol. II, p. 179. vol. VI, p. 697. in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 397 and in Walch vol. XXI, 791. He got the name lpsrsnsis from the Augustiuerkloster in Mern, where he was brought after he had made his recantation. - Only in Köstlin we find (M. Luther (3), Vol. I, p. 640): "Jakob Probst from Upern (later erroneously called Spreng)."

which will come upon them because of the innocent blood they shed. Amen!

(3) They also counsel how to burn me, but I provoke Satan and his scales daily more, that the day of Christ may be hastened, which shall destroy the Antichrist. Farewell, my dear father, and pray for me. Greetings to you D. Hieronymus [Schurf], the Rector Amsdorf and Philippus. I want to apologize to you for Wenceslaus. He is a righteous man and teaches the gospel rightly, that is, the fear of the saints and wise men, as it is due. Wittenberg, Friday after the Octave of Corpus Christi [June 27] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

223 Another letter from Luther to Staupitz, in which he complains about the suspended correspondence, and presents him with the danger of denying Christ at his abbey, and considers it necessary to abandon it, if he were otherwise still the old Staupitz. Wittenberg, Sept. 17, 1523.

This letter is found in Seckendorf, List. I^{uttl.}, lid. I, p. 48, 8 37, ackst. II (b); in Strobel-Ranner, p. 92; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 408 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I V, p. 230. German in Frick-Seckendorf, p. 138 and in Walch.

Translated from Latin.

To the venerable Father in Christ, Mr. Johann, Abbot of St. Peter Benedictine Order of Salzburg, his Superior in the Lord, Father and Preceptor.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord! Venerable Father in Christ! Your Honor's silence is all too unreasonable; what we must think of it, Your Honor can judge for himself. But even though we are no longer dear and pleasant to Your Honor, we must certainly not forget or be ungrateful to Your Honor, through whom the light of the Gospel has begun to shine out of the darkness in our hearts. However, I must also confess that we would have preferred that you had not become an abbot; but now that it has happened, we must interpret it for the best on both counts.

and let everyone have his opinion. I, with your best friends, am not so sorry that you have turned away from us as that you have become the property of the notorious beast, your Cardinal, 1) who is free to do whatever he feels like doing. The world can no longer bear it, but you must suffer it and remain silent about it. It would be a miracle if you were not in danger of denying Christ. We pray and "wish" that you will be freed from such a tyrannical dungeon and returned to us, and we also hope that you will think of it yourself. For as much as I know Your Honor, I cannot rhyme these two contradictory things with each other, namely that you should be the same as you have been if you intend to remain in that state; or if you are still the old one, that you should not intend to resign from that state. But because we think and wish the best of you, we still have good hope for the latter, although your long silence weakens such hope very much.

I have therefore taken the liberty of sending this letter to you for Brother Achatius, 2) a former prisoner of your monastery, but now free in Christ, as I hope. Yes, if you are still who you were towards us, then I dare not only to ask for forgiveness for him that he left without permission (this, I hope, you will give him abundantly), but I also wanted to earnestly ask for him that you give him something from your rich monastery, so that the poor and needy man can begin a better way of life. For he has also asked me to do this. And since I was in doubt, I took the best hope and leaned on this side, so that I could still be sure of everything good for you. But since you have changed, which God forbid, I do not want to lose more words (that I speak freely), but ask that God be merciful to you and to all of us. You see now, venerable father, how doubtful I write.

1) Matthias Lang.

2) This Achatius cannot be, as Seckendorf assumes, Arsacius Seehofer, because he was in Ingolstadt at that time. An Achatius was among the electors of Staupitzen to the abbot (Erl. Briefw.).

because by your silence you leave us so lukewarmly in uncertainty as to how you feel, since you are quite sure of us what we think and believe, and I am also assured that you do not despise us from the bottom of your heart, even if we were quite displeasing to you. I will certainly not cease to wish and pray that you may be turned away from your Cardinal and the Papacy, as I am, indeed, as you yourselves have been. May God hear me and take you and us to Himself, Amen. Wittenberg, Lambert's Day [17 Sept.] 1523.

Your son

Martin Luther.

N. Luther puts the story of his trade with Cajetan into print under the title: *Acta Augustana*.

Luther's preface to the *Acta Augustana*.

Beginning of Decembers 1518.

The exact title and location of the *Acta Augustana* has already been given in Documents No. 176, No. 177 and No. 200, so we do not consider it necessary to repeat it here. The two following numbers also belong to these, therefore also to the same time.

To the devout reader, Brother M. Luther wishes salvation!

Forgive me, dear reader, for so often spoiling your time with my chatter. I do it very reluctantly, but this time, too, you should attribute it to necessity. It has pleased heaven that I should have become a tale of the people, which I confess I must so ascribe to the Lord that I also lay it entirely on the people who have such godly ears that the most lovely and godly truth annoys them to the point of the most idolatrous ungodliness of heart, mouth and work.

They have long since plagued Johann Reuchlin as a secret counselor (*secretarium consultorem*), now they also plague me as a question-asking disputator (*quaestionarium disputatorem*), and want to suffer neither counsel nor disputations. We ver

We see ourselves in the future that they will even challenge people's dreams and thoughts before unholty idleness. For who is safe from these monstrous wild beasts' teeth, since they also devour those who secretly advise or even publicly demand to be instructed? Dear God, what a new and wonderful crime it is that one desires to be taught and seeks the truth, and that too in the church and in the realm of truth, since one must give account to all who demand reason. But of that another time.

225 Luther's relation under the title: Actions of the Venerable Father D. Martin Luther, Augustinian, with the Apostolic Lord Legate at Augsburg.

This immediately follows the previous document.

Now, my dear reader, my matter is this. I see that books are going out and false rumors are spreading about my stories in Augsburg, whether I have done nothing there but wasted time and money, if not that may be called enough, that I have heard a new Latin language there, namely that teaching the truth is just as much as disrupting the church, but hypocrisy and denying Christ is just as much as nursing and bringing up the church of Christ. For I do not see how else you could be other than un-German (*barbarus*) against the Romans, and they in turn against you, where you do not understand this eloquence, if you otherwise surpass Cicero in eloquence.

In order that neither the friends may exalt the matter too much, nor the enemies too much disparage it, I myself will herewith state what was held against me there and answered by me, and at the same time also reveal by this testimony that I have rendered more than diligent and faithful obedience to the Roman Pontiff:

3. Firstly, that I, as a poor weak man, nevertheless set out on foot on such a long journey and in so many dangers, and that I did not, in anyone's judgment, assert any exceedingly just and reasonable reasons for staying outside; secondly, that I was shot in front of those who were to blame.

nen, which could be discarded by the party of the adversary cheaply by me.

4 These difficult or unfair circumstances, however, (as much as I can smell) seem to me to have been so prepared by these friends for their own sake, and to have prepared everything in such a way that they did not set in motion an investigation of the truth, but my ruin all the more easily, and seem not to have expected that I would come, but to have wished that I should remain disobedient on the outside, so that they would then immediately let the ban go, and triumph in an unheard and unrecognized matter. I could conclude this with a fair degree of certainty from the fact that they did not look for what they wanted to accuse me of until after my arrival. And to this day my writings are still in the house of Caiphas, since they are looking for false testimony against me and have not yet found it. I also see that this new custom and the new law of the Roman court has begun, that they first catch Christ and then search for what they want to accuse him of. However, I have been accused of two things, or rather only one thing, which would like to have a semblance, namely, the little fist of the extravagant; as you will soon hear.

5 Therefore, that the most noble prince, Elector Frederick, Duke of Saxony 2c., would not have made an effort for me in vain (for he had graciously provided me with food and letters of recommendation, and had already graciously endeavored beforehand that the matter would come to a commission outside of Rome), I came to Augsburg and was accepted by the most reverend Lord Cardinal-Legate quite graciously, and almost too graciously, for he is in every respect a different man in all things than the mighty brother hunters.

6th Then, having said that he would not dispute with me, but would settle the matter peacefully and paternally, he presented three things to me by order of the most holy pope, as he claimed:

- 1) I should think better of it and revoke my errors,
- 2) Promise to refrain from doing so in the future,

3) As well as anything that might disrupt or disturb the church.

I, who saw that I could have done this in Wittenberg without danger, without so much trouble, and that I should not have sought such things in Augsburg, immediately asked him to instruct me in what I had erred, for I could not think of any error. Then he brought before me the Extravagante of Clement the Sixth, which begins: *Unigenitus* 2c., because I had claimed against it in the 58th thesis: Christ's merit would not be an indulgence treasure. So he insisted that I should recant, and insisted confidently, as if he already had the victory in his hands. For he thought and trusted quite certainly that I had not seen the extravagant, perhaps trusting that it was not in all editions.

(8) Secondly, he reproached me for having taught in the seventh thesis in the explanation that faith was necessary for one who wanted to go to the sacrament, or he would come to judgment. For he wanted this to be considered a new and erroneous doctrine; rather, anyone who went would be uncertain whether he would obtain grace or not. And by this impertinence of his, especially since the Italians and the others of his entourage smiled at it, even raised a loud laugh after their manner, he caused me to seem to be overcome.

9. To this I replied: that I had not only carefully looked at this one of Clemens, but also at the other extravagant one of Sixtus the Fourth, which is almost the same or similar to it (for I had really read both of them with the extensive verbiage, behind which there is nothing at all, and thus it completely loses credibility; so full is it of ignorance), but it would not have had sufficient standing with me, both from many other causes and especially from this, that it misuses the sacred Scriptures, and twists the words (if the ordinary mind is to exist otherwise) quite brazenly to a quite different sense, which they do not have in their place, but rather the opposite one. Therefore, the scripture, which I follow in my thesis, is absolutely preferable to it, and in it nothing is proven, but only the

Opinion of St. Thomas told and quoted.

(10) Then he began to praise against me the authority of the pope, that he was above a council, above the Scriptures, yes, above everything in the church. And to prove this, he referred to the rejection and abolition of the Council of Basel, and thought that the Gersonists were also to be condemned with Gerson.

Because this was something new in my ears, I denied that the pope was above the Concilium, above the Scriptures. After that I also praised the appeal of the University of Paris, and we mixed in a confused speech many things about repentance, about the grace of God. For I listened to the other objection above with great sadness, for I would never have thought that this should ever be put in doubt. Thus we were in agreement on almost nothing, but (as it is wont to happen) as one thing gave rise to another, so one contradiction soon gave rise to another.

But since I saw that nothing would be accomplished by such a quarrel, and that much would be started, but nothing would be finished, and that we indeed raised nothing but many extravagants, especially since he (who was in the place of the pope) did not like to have the appearance that he had left, I asked for time to think it over.

The next day, when four of the Imperial Majesty's councilors were present, I brought a notary and witnesses with me, and protested actually and in person before the most reverend Lord Legate, reading it as follows:

See above the 200th document.

Hereupon he came back to yesterday's disputation of the first objection, because this seemed to be very favorable for his opinion. But since I kept silent and promised to answer in writing after my protestation, he was again quite confident. But he finally allowed the written answer and we parted.

The answer itself is like this:

See the 203rd and 204th documents.

226 Luther's emphatic resolution, in which he deals almost throughout with the prestige and power of the pope.

This document follows in the ^etis immediately after the 204th Document.

1 Now I must address you, my reader. I have indeed given this last answer of mine with great reverence and, as it were, placed it in the will and good pleasure of the pope, but I do not believe that I have done it in such a way as if I doubted the matter itself or ever wanted to change my mind. Divine truth is also a ruler over the pope; for I do not wait for vain human judgment when I have recognized God's judgment; but because I had to maintain reverence for the one who administered the pope's place, and because even what is said with full truth must be presented and defended with humility and shyness. But you can take the first (answer) as you like, because there is no danger that it will stand or fall. Nothing is lost to indulgence if it had been overcome and false; nothing is lost to it either if it had prevailed and been true. And it obscures little for the main thing, except that by dragging it in, it is cunningly sought to blaspheme the whole disputation. For if I had wanted to act more proudly, I could not have been forced to say one word, since the whole disputation has already been attributed and handed over to the pope, so that nothing more is due to me than to wait for the verdict. But the whole sum of blessedness lies in the latter answer. You are therefore not a bad Christian, whether you know the extravagant or not, but you are nothing else than a heretic, if you deny the credibility of the word of Christ. What I am suppressing and concealing here, you, my dear reader, will, I believe, not without sighing well notice.

2. but I will not restrain you that nothing is sought by this disputation but the true understanding of Scripture, which the so-called sacred decrees in many places, if not falsify, at least obscure for us with twisted and ill-guided words and, as it were, obscure the brightest sun with clouds.

ken. Once, when a Roman flatterer will stir against me, I will act a little more expansively and, if God wills, prove to be a legal theologian, who, however, will earn little favor, especially with the flatterers of the Roman court. For my heart has long desired to engage in such a war game as Joshua did against those of Ai [Jos. Cap. 8]. 1) In the meantime, I give you this foretaste that my thesis really goes against those extravagants, and is therefore false, erroneous and to be revoked. Therefore I also hereby solemnly revoke it in these writings and speak of myself condemned, and finally even say: that it is so set by me, and still so well pleases me until now, that if it were not set, I would still want to set it. Secondly, I reject, condemn, and abhor that extravagant as false and erroneous, and cheap to reject, and confess that it would have been good that it had been written in other words; not that it is false in its sense, but that it errs in theological sense, because it puts the words against the quite obvious opinion of the text.

This is my retraction: Now I have done enough, even to the adversaries, I hope. What? Do you, my reader, think me nonsensical or drunk? No, I am not ranting, but speaking sensible words. In order to prove this, I will make it clear even to the most simple-minded that the popes in their decrees do violence to the words of Scripture. For the most reverend legate has received this with the greatest displeasure, that I would not have spared even the papal sanctity (for so he writes to the most noble prince Frederick 2c.), and said things that one does not like to repeat, namely, that the pope twists and abuses the Scriptures.

4 I must therefore endeavor to show that it is impossible for him to deny that the Scriptures have at times been violated. First, the Decretale *de Constitut* says. 2) If

the priesthood has been changed, the law must also be changed. These are the words of the apostle to the Hebrews [Cap. 7, 12], when he says that the temporal priesthood of the law has ended and has been abolished, since the eternal priesthood of Christ now follows after it. This is the true and actual meaning of the words. But the meaning of this decree is this: the priesthood of Christ is transferred from Moses to Christ, and from Christ to Peter. This is how the jurists interpret it, and the pope allows it or considers it good. But who does not see that this interpretation of the words is quite unsuitable, twisted and highly abusive (abusivissimam), yes, of such a kind that "because" it is not moderated with great effort, it is at the same time quite unlearned and ungodly? For it is most ungodly to say that Christ's priesthood and law are abolished and at an end, that Peter is priest and lawgiver, and Christ is done away. For this is what the word *translatio* [in the Vulgate] actually means in your apostle. I do not desire to have Peter or Paul as priest, because he is also a sinner who does not have what he could sacrifice for me or for himself, in order meanwhile to refrain from the shameful presumption to which such a conception smacks, namely, that Christ's priesthood was transferred to Peter alone, as if the other apostles had remained laymen or had been appointed priests and apostles by Peter.

5 If I now put this thesis in this way: The priesthood of Christ has been transferred neither to Peter nor to the pope: and the most reverend Lord Legate held this Decretal up to me with its majestic giving and thunder and wanted to drive me to recant, but I answered: the pope is twisting the Scriptures and misusing their words, and my sentence is true in a theological sense, but the decree is perhaps true in some other, misused sense: do you think I should shrink from the threats of a man's word, so that I might be frightened, as if I had said something that one did not like to say, and had not spared the pope's holiness? I want to honor the Pabst's holiness, but I want to worship the holiness of Christ and the truth.

6 Likewise, when I read the passage Matth.

1) Namely, he first gives the appearance that he has overcome, but then turns around and destroys them completely.
2) The *istveeretaliu Ore^oriilid. I. tit. II. (46 aonstitutionidus) eap.*
3. (with the initial words *Dranslato kaosrúotio*). sWeim. Aug.^

16,18. f.: "You are Peter, and to you I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven", "What you will solve on earth" 2c., either in the schools or in the chawl and taught this sentence: One cannot prove by these words that the Roman Church is preferred or placed above the other churches in the whole world, and the most reverend Lord Legate opposed me (perhaps with anger at the inequity of what I said) dist. 21, where Pope Pelagius cries out with such a loud voice that the Roman Church is superior to all other churches, not through conciliar decisions, but through the wording (voce) of the Gospel (he even says: according to the sound, not according to the sense), and invokes the passage of the Apostle Matthew for this purpose: do you think that I should leave the evangelical mind above this and accept the mind of Pelagius, who boasts that he follows only the voice, but not the sense of the Gospel? No! Not as if I condemn or deny the new world domination of the Romans of our time, but because I do not want to let the Scriptures be distorted, and reject some unrighteous people's foolishness, which binds us the church of Christ to time and place, since Christ says: "The kingdom of God does not come with outward gestures" 2c. [Luc. 17, 20.] And they dare to deny that he can be a Christian who does not stoop under the Roman pope and his decrees. Thus, for more than 800 years, they have been expelling from the Church of Christ Christians throughout the Orient and Africa who have never been under the Roman Pontiff and have never understood the Gospel in this way. For even in St. Gregory's time the Roman pope was not hailed as a general bishop; indeed, Gregory himself, though a Roman bishop, yet most vehemently persecutes the name of a general bishop and a bishop of the whole church, in more than six epistles, that he has no hesitation in calling such a name nefarious and unholy, which yet in our day is called the Most Holy. For just as Peter did not create or make the other apostles (*for* this is what is called today when bishops are appointed), so the successor of Peter did not make a successor of the other apostles. Yes, even the

The other bishops never called the Roman bishop anything other than a brother, colleague and co-bishop, as Cyprian did Cornelius, and Augustine did Boniface and others. Therefore the holy fathers did not understand the passage of Matthew: "I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven" 2c. according to the meaning of this holy canon, as if it were said to Petro before all others, but one, they say, stands for all, so that an equality of all would be expressed, in that all and each answer exactly what Peter answers. Hence also this saying in another place in the number of the majority expresses the same opinion [Matth. 18, 18.]: "What you bind on earth" 2c., and what is said to one is said to all. Yes, even on the holy day of Pentecost the Holy Spirit did not descend on Peter first, nor is it read that he first blown on Peter on earth, which, if it had happened at once, would not have made Peter the first world ruler before the other apostles. Therefore the above canon may be true, I admit that; but in an abusive way. My thesis, however, is correct according to the evangelical and true understanding. If Pabst's supreme rule can be proven, one would rather prove it from Rom. 13,1: All authority is from GOD, and all that is there is decreed by GOD. By virtue of this passage, I say, we are thrown (if one actually wants to speak) under the Roman chair, as long as GOD wills, who alone, but not the Roman pope, changes and establishes the kingdoms. Many such things, my dear reader, you will find in the sacred decrees and several others, which, if you use the nose of the bride who looks against Damascus [Hohel. 7, 4.], that is, of the flesh and blood, will often annoy you by their smell. 1)

7 I now say of the extravagant thus: The merits of Christ are not an indulgence, because they work grace even without the pope. This sentence is evangelical, as it is written in many places: that we have been justified and made righteous through Christ's blood and obedience, especially Rom. 5:19: "Through one obedience we are justified."

1) There is an anacoluth in this sentence, so instead of otkenUkris we assumed: te otksnäknb.

sam," he says (and I mean these are Christ's merits), "many have become righteous." But by indulgences no one becomes holy, which to say of the merits of Christ is against the revealed Scriptures. Therefore I do not ask whether this sentence is against the extravagant or intravagant. The truth of the Scriptures comes before me, and afterwards it is to be seen whether the words of a man can be true. For I would certainly never dare to claim that through indulgences we become friends of God, as the extravagant explicitly says and draws the word of the wise [Wis. 7,14.], which speaks of your participation in the eternal wisdom, to the participation in indulgences. Such Scripture was true before the time of the extravagant, and the truth did not first come over from it, and it cannot be said that it speaks of indulgences, since it is known in the whole church that there is nothing in Scripture about indulgences, and thus it necessarily follows that if some passages of Scripture are explained from it, as is done here, violence is done to them thereby, and they are drawn to it improperly and abusively. Nevertheless, out of reverence, I confess that it is true, and I will affirm both their understanding. So they say: Rather you shall keep that (that is, the worse) understanding, and deny the other (that is, the right). Therefore, if I am forced to call my thesis false, I will do so, but at the same time call the extravagant one false twice. For if they accuse me of holding against the common custom of indulgences, I confess that it is otherwise, and that it is done by me with diligence, so that the established opinion may be removed, according to which, as I knew very well, the merits of Christ are called the treasure of indulgences, which, however, seemed wrong to me according to the sound of the words. Therefore, I have put forward this thesis [the 60th thesis]: that the keys given by Christ's merit are the treasure of indulgence. Therefore I have put forward this thesis [the 60th thesis]: that the keys given by Christ's merit are this treasure, in that I do not completely exclude Christ's merits from the indulgence, but interpret them according to a different understanding than the common opinion has. But if I had not wanted to contradict this common opinion with reverence and humility, I would not have said that the keys were given through Christ's merit.

I have included the merits of Christ so that I would not contradict them so harshly. But now I have included them so that I would not contradict so harshly. Yes, I would not have committed a mortal sin if I had resisted the extravagant right to the face and had put on the word of St. Jerome, where he speaks of those who take everything they say for God's law, and thus says: They do not desire to know what the prophets have kept, what the apostles have kept (note: "have kept"), but draw to their own understanding unskilful testimonies, as if it were a high and not rather a quite wrong way to teach, to falsify sayings, and to drag the Scriptures, which dispute against it, to what they will. So certainly does this extravagant one. For the words of Christ's merits, by which sins are forgiven, she draws to indulgences; and how justly this is done, let the reader understand from the following. Christ's merits take away sins and increase merits; indulgences take away merits and leave sins. Can then one and the same text be understood by both in a proper way? I think even an Orestes would say no to it. And yet I have admitted it out of reverence, and asserted it, although with great violence. Finally, since the extravagant is also dark in words and quite digressive in truth (*extravagans*), saying sometimes that the merits of Christ are the treasure of indulgences, sometimes that they have acquired the treasure of indulgences: so I have said something that can also stand for my opinion against the common opinion. And because of such a doubtful extravagant, twisting the words of God and falsifying the sayings (as Jerome says), should I do a certain retraction, since the error has not been proven? No, I do not want to do that, but I constantly and confidently deny that the merits of Christ are in any way in the hands of the pope, as the words say; he may see how he understands his extravagant.

Let it be enough for this time to have shown that not all the decrees of the popes contain the right understanding of Scripture, and that therefore one can accept without detriment.

The theological faculties are different from the juridical faculties, where many things are permitted that are forbidden here. Furthermore, the power concerning law (*juridica facultas*) is different from the theological: there, many things are permitted that are forbidden here. The jurists exalt their statutes; much more must we theologians preserve the purity of Scripture, and all the more so since we see that in our time most pernicious flatterers are rising who exalt the pope above the concilium, namely, that after one concilium has been rejected by another, we are left with nothing certain, and finally a certain man, the pope, tramples everything underfoot at the same time, being sometimes above the concilium, sometimes below it. Above it, since he can reject it; below it, since he assumes from the Concilium, as a superior, the power by which he himself is exalted above the Concilium.

(9) There are also some who impudently boast that the pope cannot err and is above the Scriptures. If these abominable doctrines are admitted, the Scriptures are ruined, and consequently the church also, and nothing will remain but the word of a man in the church. But such flatterers deal with it in such a way that they first make the Roman church hateful, and finally even overthrow it and throw it over the heap.

10. Therefore, my dear reader, I hereby testify before you that I honor the Roman Church and follow it in all things, only I resist those who seek to erect a Babel for us through the name of the Roman Church, and want everything they can think, if they can only move their tongues, to call the Roman Church, should be taken for the opinion of the Roman Church, as if there were no more holy Scripture, by which (as Augustine says) we judge all things, against which without doubt the Roman Church neither holds nor sets anything. Among such people, I count the lovely flatterers who have dictated an apostolic breve against me, the contents of which I will publish, so that you may see how cleverly they have used trickery. For, that it was written in Germany, after that

but was sent to Rome with diligence, and perhaps was sent back to Germany only at the suggestion of some great man in Rome, I want to make you sure of that by the epilogue that I will soon add, or at least make you suspicious. For this, too, belongs to my complete stories.

From this follows in the Xeta *Augustana* the breve of Leo X to Cajetan (Document No. 176) and Luther's epilogue to the same (Document No. 177). This concludes the Xota.

227 Luther's table speeches from this trade at Augsburg with Cajetan.

See Luther's *Tischreden*, cap. 55, § 1. Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XXII, 1370 ff.

O. How difficult it was initially for Luther to publish his *Acta Augustana*.

Luther's report to Spalatin that his *Acta Augustana* were now being printed.

See Appendix, No. 19, § 3 and No. 22, § 1.

Luther's report on how the Elector was not satisfied with it, but had it revoked by Spalatin.

See Appendix, No. 23, § 2.

Luther's report that the Elector had even hinted that the printed sheets were to be suppressed.

See Appendix, No. 24, § 2 towards the end.

Luther's respectful apology, which he had presented to the Elector, that it was now no longer possible, nor advisable, to retain the last sheets, since the first had already been fetched from the printing press.

See Appendix, No. 25.

232 Luther's report on how the Court finally saw through its fingers, or rather allowed it to.

See Appendix, No. 26 and No. 23, § 2.

Luther's thoughts from his *Actis Augustanis* to Wenceslaus Link.

See Appendix, No. 24, Z1.

1) The old translation renders the words: *statim adclit* "Postilla so: "und man gleich die Postilla (das ist das päpstliche Siegel oder Unterschrift) hinzugethan".

The third section of the third chapter.

Of Cajetan's more distant undertakings against Luther after his departure from Augsburg.

A. From Cajetan's publication of a new papal preterate of indulgences.

234 Pope Leo X's new decree on indulgences, in which the point of indulgences is declared to be a proper point of faith of the Church, and with which the pope has decided the questions of indulgences, and perhaps also wanted to give Luther the opportunity to free himself from this dispute with honor. Dated 9 Nov. 1518.

This writing is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), tom. I, col. 228b; in the Jena (1579), lom. I, lob 203b; in Löschers Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 494; in Erl. opp. v. Ä., torn. II, p. 428 and in Lünig's eontinuat. I. spoiölöm oolosiastio., p. 147. Latin and German in Kapp, Sammlung einiger zum päpstlichen Ablass gehörigen Schriften, p. 457. - Of this writing Miltitz says in the 277th document: "that he [Luther] jetzund urged the Holy See at Rome to do so, by his writing, that a new Decretalis, which has not been done in many years, is made 2c., which explains to him his dubia completely", and hands over a copy of it to the Elector.

Translated from the Latin by Johann Erhard Kapp and explained with notes.

In the name of the Lord, Amen. Let it be known and known to all and sundry to whom the present copy or *instrumentum publicum* shall come before the eyes, that in the thousand five hundred and eighteenth year after the birth of the Lord in the sixth indiction, the thirteenth day of the month of December, in the sixth year of the reign of the most holy Father and Lord in Christ, Mr. Leonis, by divine providence of this name of the tenth pope, I Peter Anton Berrus, native of Parma, by virtue of apostolic power immatriculated in the Roman archives and appointed public notary in the city of Linz in the Archduchy of Austria, in the room of the most reverend father and lord in Christ, Mr. Thomas, of the title of St. Sixti of the Holy Roman Church. Sixti of the Holy Roman Church Priest Cardinal, at her Imperial Majesty 2c. 2c. Legate de Latere of the Apostolic See, which room is located in the monastery of the Conventual Friars of St. Francis of said city, by the Reverend Cardinal and Legate personally located there, for the things described below, namely that I have a copy or viäimus Draussum

tum [certified copy] of the apostolic letter, the contents of which are indented below, in authentic form, and transcribe the same letter, also make a true copy or transcript, and collate it with the originals which have been presented and handed over to me by the above-mentioned Lord Legate, and after the collation has been made, bring a transcript or such a copy in *publicam formam*. However, the content of this apostolic letter follows immediately after the beginning of the insinuation of the same written below, and reads thus:

St. Thomas, by divine mercy of the title of St. Sixti of the Holy Roman Church, Priest Cardinal, of the Apostolic See by Her Imperial Majesty Legate de Latere, wishes to all and every Lord Archbishops, Bishops and other Ordinaries of the Order salvation in the Lord and sincere love, that they will give undoubted faith to the present. Our most holy Father and Lord in Christ, Mr. Leo, by divine providence the tenth pope of that name, has sent us a letter which is accompanied by a true leaden bull with cords of hemp,^{a)}

a) In Latin it is called: oum oorckulw ex eanopo; since then it is to be known that also in this way written hemp indicates. It has taught me such the Voeaburarr'us 6" -uo, which is printed in 1490 in 4. and is to be found on the Leipzig University Library, which speaks thus: esk Aenu" kinr. I have also itt of Archbishop Ernst at Magdeburg Publication of the St. Anne's Feast of 1495 ordered by Alexander VI to be celebrated in Saxon lands found: LullaxlumdoaoüiQ eoräula eanna'yr's, and the same is in des Herrn Lünig's Öontinuazione KpieileZii, p. 283. Otherwise it is to be noted here also because of the sealing of this bull that one can see immediately from the cords whether it is a dulla gratiae sGnadenbnlles, which is also called ^rativka, or else bulln ju8titin6 sRechtsbullei. If it is ^rntiosn, it is sealed with silk cords that are either red or yellow. If it concerns exercise of the right, then the cords are from hemp, at which the lead hangs, the Breve however under the Fischerring, in roth wax pressed, expedirt; as also Mr. D. Sismeeorus in its mnt6 rl" KiKillis Vtzturn, p. 52 notes. From which it is clear that this bull was a legal decree. One sees from this way of sealing /vnAr Draetatur rie Vnnulis KiZnatoriis antiaurorum, the HerrVrckerr 'eu " 1709

in 8. have put on, p. 80. van jus Veoletziastium, p. 156. Lesseb' ckiputationes, p. 73.

sealed in the manner of the Roman court, also pure and unharmed, not falsified, not crossed out or erased, nor in any part suspect, but completely free from all errors and suspicion and from word to word the following content:

We, Leo, servant of the servants of God,^b) offer to our dear son Thomas, of the title of St. Sixti, our and the Apostolic See's legate to our most beloved Son in Christ Maximilian, chosen Emperor, salvation and blessedness together with the apostolic blessing.

After your careful arrival in Germany, it came to our attention,^c) that some monks, who are ordained to preach the Word of God, in public sermons, spoke of the indulgences that we and the Roman popes, our ancestors, have been dispensing from time immemorial. In our sermons, we have also written about the errors imprinted in the hearts of many, but it was too burdensome and annoying for us to listen to them: In our other letters we commanded your prudence, in which we have a good trust in the Lord because of its peculiar erudition and special experience in the administration of our affairs, that you might approve, by virtue of our authority, things worthy of approval, but disapprove and condemn that which would be given as erroneous and unjust, even by those who will say that they are willing to follow the teaching of the Roman church.

And lest, moreover, any man should plead ignorance of the doctrine of the Roman Church concerning indulgences and the power thereof, or excuse himself under the pretext of such ignorance, or help himself with a trumped-up protestation, but that they may be convicted of a manifest lie as liable to punishment, and justly condemned: we have thought good to report to thee with the present, that the Roman Church, to which the others, as to her mother^d) have been accustomed to

b) This title of the popes has been dealt with above p. 7.

c) It has been proven in the two introductions to Cajetan's Instruction and to this Decretale that the pope had news of the indulgence controversy before Cajetan's arrival in Germany.

d) This predicate, which Leo gives to the Roman Church, does not belong to the Roman Church at all. The fathers of the Council of Trent, Sess. VII, can. 3. de dapti8mo, paZ. 57 (eäit. (7bMeM Vntv. 1677), the Roman church ornniuin DooisÄaruin matrem er magäskram: but that the latter is false and the latter blasphemous, the same Obemnrtr'us Dxam. Oonoil. Driäent., D. II., I., II., p. 325 last eäit., and only recently the famous Herr Hofprediger zu Dresden LI. Carl -Gottfried Engelschall in the victorious evangelical truth.

The Roman Pontiff, Peter's successor in the office of the keys and JEsu Christ's governor on earth, has handed down (tradidisse), by virtue of the keys, to whom it belongs, that the obstacles in his believers in Christ, namely the guilt and punishment, can be removed, The guilt, which is owed for real sins, through the Sacrament of Penance, and the divine punishment, which is owed for real sins according to divine justice, through the Church's indulgence, For important reasons, it has been customary (consuevisse) to grant indulgences from the abundance of the merits of Christ and the saints to these same believers in Christ, who are members through the bond of Christ's love, whether they are still alive or in purgatory, 1) to distribute the treasure of the merits of Christ and the saints through the granting of indulgences by apostolic power both for the living and the dead, to grant indulgences themselves through the way of absolution, or to grant the same through the way of help^e)

heil wider die falschen Lehrrsätze des Tridentinischen Concilli (1720 in 8.), p. 158. The famous theologian of Halle, D. Paul Anton, also dealt with this in his learned disputation de aukorrtate eeetesrae ^ua mater est, which was reprinted in Halle in 1713.

1) The expressions oonsuoV1886 and traäiäi886, which are repeated in the text of the shorter interpretation of the epistle to the Galatians, point to this decree. See Document No. 235.

e) It has been promised above p. 248 that more of the type per moäum sussragär shall occur with this Decretale. Everything is taken from the ZSaMatão, which in its Vnnal. Dool. aä au". 1518, ß 125 thus speaks: Oppugnante etiam Luthero non modo indulgentias vivis concessas, sed etiam defunctorum animabus, quae expiatoris flammis cruciantur, idem legatus apostolicus alio tractatu doctrinam catholicam explicuit sanxitque his verbis: Unde patet, quod indulgentia concessa vivis et defunctis hoc habet commune, quod utraque ex potestate clavium dispensante thesaurum meritorum poenaliu Christi et Sanctorum in remissionem poenae temporalis pro actualibus peccatis debita conceditur: sed modus, quo pervenit indulgentia ad utrosque, diversus est, quia ad vivos, qui illam consequuntur veraciter per modum absolutionis pervenit: defunctos autem, qui etiam illam veraciter consequuntur per modum suffragii liberat, etc. Augustae the XV Octobris MDXVIII. Hanc controversiam cum plures perfidiae fumos illi ostendere niterentur novatores, proximo anno uberius enucleavit.... And in the following year he continues p. 287.] 49 thus continues: Hoo anno eurn novator Dutüorus inäut^ontias oonoossas pro äotunotis Dorpli^riana DuoianaeaHno sourrilitato äoriäorot, oatüolui voro ali^niä äo moäo, <iuo valoant, an adsolutionis, an sutkraZü oontrovoortoront, Ntromas äo Vio 6aräinalis o Oormanioa loZationo Domain rovoran8 controver8iam oäito soripto they oxpionit: Znäukg^ennr aä vvos äe/ert m'amM[Ma6,perMär6r's aetum, seMeet ab-

to grant it. Therefore, all, both living and dead, who have obtained this indulgence, have been exempted from the temporal punishment, which they owe according to divine justice for their actual sins, insofar as this is equal to the indulgence granted and obtained. Decree also by apostolic power, according to the present letter, that all who are under the penalty of the pronounced ban,^f) from which penalty those who fall into it cannot obtain absolution from anyone other than the Roman Pontiff, except in cases of mortal peril, shall thus hold to it and preach it.

And that no one may cite his ignorance of what has been said before in this letter: We therefore command thy prudence that thou admonish and earnestly command all and every archbishop, bishop, and other ordinaries of the Order in Germany, in virtue of holy obedience, and under penalty of suspension from divine offices, that they make known the present letter or its transcript within the time prescribed by your prudence, in their churches, when the multitude of the people shall have gathered there for worship, and that they shall teach the aforesaid doctrine of the

We give you the right to preach and believe in the "first indulgence under the same penalty of excommunication," and that no one may dare to act in any way, directly or indirectly, contrary to this. Nevertheless, we also give you by present complete and free power to proceed against those who take something contrary and disobey, and to punish such with proper punishments as seem good to you, and nothing shall stand in the way of this, whatever it may be.

And because it would be difficult to bring the present letter to all and every place where it would be useful: Therefore, by the above-mentioned power, we decree that the copies thereof, signed by the hand of a public notary requested for this purpose, and bearing the seal of a prelate or other person holding ecclesiastical dignity, or of an ecclesiastical court, shall be given the same credence in and out of court, and wherever else it may be, as would be given to the present letter if it had been delivered or shown. Given at Rome by St. Peter, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord one thousand five hundred and eighteenth, the 9th of November, in the sixth of our Papal government.

Bembus.

Scriptor Alberghatus.

On the back page of the aforementioned apostolic letter registers with me Bembus.

Since we now order this apostolic letter, which we have received with due reverence, to be dutifully executed, and wish to carry out the order of our most holy Lord Leo, this name of the tenth pope, as well as everything and anything contained in the preceding apostolic letter (as we are bound to do), we hereby intimate, Thomas, the aforesaid Cardinal Legate, by apostolic power, which we administer herein, intimate the aforesaid and from word to word presently indented letter to all and every Lord Archbishops, Bishops and aforesaid Ordinaries of the Order of Germany, also insinuate the same, and make it known, and endeavor, as much as can be done, that the same may come to all and every one; admonish you, all and each of the aforesaid Archbishops, Bishops and other Ordinaries of the Order, and command, for the first, second and third time, in place of and in the name of our most holy Lord Leo the Tenth, in virtue of holy obedience, and earnestly command, under penalty of suspension from the ecclesiastical office, that their aforesaid apostolic letter, or current

solutionem; existentes autem in purgatorio (utpote extra Ecclesiae praesentis forum) a Papa absolvi non possunt, sicut nec ligari, et ideo indulgentia, quam auctoritative ex thesauro Ecclesiae confert, illis per modum auxilii ad eorum sublevationem mitti, confidens in divina misericordia, quod acceptabitur ad sublevationem eorum, qui in foro irae et furoris Domini puniuntur purgandi. Et infra: Inter sacramentorum et indulgentiarum efficaciam differentia ad propositum est in hoc, quod remissio poenae per sacramentum sit ex intentione ipsius Christi, cujus est sacramenti operatio, ita quod iste suscipiens sacramentum relevatur a tanta poena, ac si ipse passus fuerit patiente Christo, ut sacramentum baptismi testatur, docente hoc Apostolo ad Rom. 6. et D. Thoma 8. parte quaest. LXIX. Per indulgentiam autem remissionem poenae consequimur, tanquam ecclesia pro nobis illa passa fuerit; quoniam abundantia passionum Christi, et Sanctorum ecclesiae dispensationi credita, intelligitur dona ecclesiae, ut commune ipsius Ecclesiae bonum, ac per hoc per Ecclesiae rectores, ut ipsius Ecclesiae sunt ex intentione Ecclesiae applicanda hisvel illis; devenerunt siquidem passionibus istae ad thesaurum Ecclesiae ex intentione Christi et Sanctorum ad commune Ecclesiae bonum in generali, et commissae sunt, ut ex intentione Ecclesiae ad hos vel illos: et hoc explicatur in forma indulgentiarum pro defunctis, cum per modum suffragii procul dubio Ecclesiae conceditur: deducitur igitur indulgentia ad defunctos non iustitia, sed gratiae divinae acceptione duce, etc. Roma XX Novembris MDXIX.

f) This Npseisni ^xeomvaunieationik I have above.
p. 60 described in detail.

Copy of it, also everything and anything contained in it, within a month after receiving news of it, make it known, fulfill it, also command it and make arrangements for it to be fulfilled, also each one of you fulfill it and make arrangements for it to be fulfilled, as is contained in more detail in the said apostolic letter.

For more faith in all and each of these points, we have had the present letter, which contains the transcript, the intimation, notification and monition, and other aforementioned things, provided with the imprint of our small seal^g). And so that such a letter may be all the more powerful, we have requested the final signed public notary to prepare and publicize an *Instrumentum publicum* or *Instrumenta publica* about all and each of the points described above.

Therefore I Peter Anton Berrus, native of Parma, notary public named above and below, took the present letter with due reverence to me, and after I have perused, read and diligently gone through it together with the witnesses named below, who have been specially requested and asked by me for this purpose: I have found, after having read and inspected it, that the *vidimus* or transcript and the present copy of it, which have been collated with the originals in the most diligent manner, and have been listened to and read against them, agree in all points. Therefore, at the request of the aforementioned Cardinal Legate, I have put this transcript or authentic document into this public form and signed it with my usual seal and name, so that the present document, just like the original, may be more perfectly authenticated everywhere, at all and any places where it will be useful, where it will be useful, is and can be given perfect credence, also so that the present transcript may be relied upon in whatever forum or court it may be, even apart from the same, as if the original apostolic letter itself were present. Concerning which all and any points this same reverend gentleman, the Lord Cardinallegate, has requested of me, the public notary named below, that I issue one or more

Instrumentum publica. Done in the city of Linz in the Archduchy of Austria, in the parlor of the aforesaid reverend lord, the lord cardinal legate, located in the aforesaid monastery of St. Francis, in the year, indiction, day, month and papal government as above, in the presence of the noble lords, Mr. Hilarion Ursinus, a Roman of nobility, Mr. Petrus Flavius Aquilanus, and Mr. Johannes Caspar Caracciolus of Naples, as witnesses specially called and requested to the aforesaid matters.

And I, the above-named Anton Berrus of Parma, by apostolic power and notary public immatriculated in the archives of the Roman court, because I was present at the said apostolic letter presentation, reception, requisition, transsumption, collation, exultation, and at all and every of the aforementioned things, since they were done and executed in such a manner as has been said before, together with the named witnesses, and also saw and heard that everything and anything was done in this way: I have therefore made this present *Instrumentum publicum*, which I have written with my own hand, signed, publicized and put into this public form, and have also affixed my usual seal and name, as well as the imprint of the small seal of the aforementioned reverend Lord Cardinal Legate, as I have been requested and required to certify and witness all and every of the aforementioned items.

Printed at Vienna in Austria with the consent and will of the bishop there. 1)

Because I have found after the collation that the present copy corresponds with the original, I have added the seal of the aforementioned Reverend Sir, the Cardinal Legate, to Peter Anton, Notary Public, who has signed himself above with his own hand, for multiple authentication and assurance of all the above-mentioned points.

Luther's Gedauken opened to Peter Lupinus and D. Carlstadt about this new Decretale, in which he considers Cardinal Cajetan to be the author of it.

See Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. VIII, 1359, from the note sign 1) to the end of the paragraph.

1) Here follows a facsimile of Cajetan's seal in the Wittenberg edition. The square oblong seal of the notary Peter Anton Berrus is already shown before in the margin.

g) I do not know what this small seal of the Cardinal looked like, because I have not seen an original of this bull. Perhaps it is just the one that is found in a letter of grace issued by this Cardinal on Sept. 1, Cusus nuni for the Church of the Holy Cross in Dresden, and in the Unsch. Nachr. 17 13 in the third order under the Cardinal Raymundus large engraved in copper.

236a. Luther's opinion expressed by this same Decretale in the Leipzig Disputation at the tenth thesis on July 11, 1519.

In this volume No. 377 in Luther's disputation with Eck on indulgences, in Luther's first reply, near the end.

236 b. Letter of Pope Leo the Tenth to the Swiss Cantons of Indulgence, in which he refers to this Decretal, which should also serve the Swiss as a rule of faith. Dated Rome, 30 Apr. 1519.

This is the 67th document.

B. The Cardinal's correspondence with the Elector of Saxony concerning the Augsburg events.

237 Cardinal Cajetan's letter to the Elector of Saxony concerning Luther's behavior and departure from Augsburg. Dated October 25, 1518.

This and the following writing is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), tow. I, tol. 219d; in the Jena (1579), tor". I, toi. 195d; in Löscher's Ref. Acta, vol. II, p. 527; in Aurifaber, vol. I, pp. 106 and 118; in the Erlanger, opp. var. ar^h, toni. II, p. 405 and 411; in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, pp. 268 and 284. German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 49; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 124; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 138; and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 203.

Most Serene and Excellent Prince! Brother Martin Luther has come with the letter of your Serene Highness. Before he appeared before us, however, he wanted to protect himself with a free and secure escort, which he also obtained from the lords of imperial majesty, through the reputation and favor of your Serene Highness, but not without my knowledge. For the said councilors did not want to grant him escort without my permission. I gave them this answer: they should do as they please, only that my name would not be mixed in. But here I began to wonder. For if your Serene Highness was on my best behavior, there was no need for an escort; but if she did not trust me, he should not have been sent to me as to a father.

2nd Then brother Martin appeared before us, apologizing first of all because of the

He said that he had come to hear us and to confess the truth that we had recognized. 2c. He further said that he had come to hear us and to confess the truth we had recognized. Then we received him quite willingly and graciously and accepted him fatherly. I said at first: he should be asked only in accordance with the true holy scripture and the holy spiritual rights, and if he recognized himself, would henceforth see better, and we could safely sleep without worrying that he would not recapture what he had said, then I wanted to lay down the whole matter by order and authority of our most holy Lord Pope Leo X.

I further admonished him paternally, pointing out to him that his disputations and sermons were against apostolic doctrine, especially concerning indulgences. I also presented to him an extravagant of Pope Clement VI, which was publicly against him, both concerning the cause and the effect of indulgences.

I also referred to the old and common custom of the Roman Church, showed him also a statement about another article of faith in the sacraments, also reminded him that his opinion was not right, but publicly contrary to the holy scripture and right doctrine of the Church, which contradicted it in all things. I do not know what he answered to the clear, light extravagant, and he asked for a day to think it over, saying that he would come back then. I admonished him to recognize himself, so I let him go.

The following day he came again, together with the Father, the Vicar General of the Congregation of the Observants, and accompanied by many others. And since I expected him to recognize himself correctly, he began to protest in the presence of a notary, whom he had brought with him. To this I smiled, admonished him once again in the most friendly manner, that he should cease this useless pretentiousness, strike himself and mend his ways, it would be difficult for him to lick the sting.

(6) Then he added that he wanted to answer me in writing and thus conduct his business, since I had argued with him enough by words the day before. I was surprised at the audacity of the man and said: "Dear son, I have not argued with you, nor do I want to argue with you, but I am only prepared, for the benefit of the most noble Duke Frederick, to hear you in a fatherly and friendly manner (not to argue or quarrel with you), and to admonish and teach you for the sake of the truth, even (if you want otherwise).

to reconcile with the Most Holy Lord, our Pope Leo X, and the Roman Church.

Then he asked me and his vicar beside him, I wanted to hear his opinion in writing. Then I said that I would like to hear it and do everything fatherly, but not judicially. Therefore he left me, and afterwards came back for the third time, handed me a long written note, in which he answered very foolishly to the decree of the extravagant of the pope, not even sparing his holiness, of whom he says that she abuses the sayings of the holy scripture. As far as the faith of the sacraments is concerned, he fills the paper with many sayings of the Holy Scripture that do not rhyme with the matter at all, and which he had wrongly understood.

8 When I had indicated to him that he had no opinion, neither with what was written in that Extravagante, nor with the sayings of the Holy Scriptures, I repeatedly admonished and begged brother Martin, as a son, with great earnestness, not to be wiser than was proper, nor to impose a new doctrine on the church, but to recognize himself and see that his soul was not lost.

9 Not long after that, the Father Vicarius of the Congregation came to me, with whom we discussed this matter for several hours in the presence of the honorable Mr. Urban, Orator of Montferrat and a Master of Theology of the said Order, how this affair could be settled without violating the reverence for the Apostolic See, and also without any taint for Brother Martin. After a while, that Master of Theology, a comrade of Brother Martin, came alone and approved and praised this negotiation.

When this foundation was laid, and I hoped that everything would turn out well, the said vicar took off, did not say goodbye to his host, and I did not know anything about it either. Brother Martin and his companions soon followed, thus deceiving me, yes, more themselves, only very much. However, I received a writing that Brother Martin had left behind him, in which he ostensibly asked for mercy, but did not therefore recant either the errors or the ailments that he had caused in the Christian church.

(11) I, most noble prince, was not only astonished at the cunning and crafty advice and nobility of brother Martin and his followers, but I was also appalled and very frightened by it. For since I most hoped that it should be well with him, I was on the

most deceived. But I do not see, in confidence in whom he carries out such. 1)

In this matter, however, I can say three things with certainty: First, the statements that Brother Martin made in his theses in a disputatious manner are, however, in the sermons that he wrote, set down as certain and in an assertive manner, and affirmed in German, as they say. This, however, is partly against the teaching of the apostolic see, and partly condemnable. And believe me, Your Serene Highness, for I speak and say the truth out of certain knowledge, not out of uncertain delusion.

13 Secondly, I exhort and beg Your Serene Highness to exercise her honor and conscience, and either send Brother Martin to Rome, or expel him from her lands, because he does not want to recognize his error by paternal means and ways, nor to keep it with the general church.

14 Lastly, your Serene Highness should know that this so serious and extremely pernicious trade can by no means hang around for long, for the matter will be pursued in Rome. 2) For I have washed my hands, and have written such crafty trickery and deceit to the most holy Lord, our Lord. Your Serene Highness is well and blessed, to whom I cordially submit. Given at Augsburg, on the 25th day of October, Anno 1518.

I ask again and again that Your Serene Highness will not be deceived by those who say that Martin Luther's brother's teaching contains nothing evil; nor that she will not let the honor of her ancestors and her own honor be stained because of a little brother, as she has so often promised.

I speak the truth and will keep the rule of Jesus Christ: By their fruits ye shall know them. This little I have written with my own hand.

Your Serene Highness willing Thomas Cajetanus,
Cardinal St. Sixti, Legate of the Apostolic See.

238 D. Mark. Luther's letter of responsibility to the Elector of Saxony in response to Cajetan's complaint. Dated Nov. 19, 1518.

The location of this letter is given at the previous number. At Aurifaber it has the wrong date: November 29.

Newly translated from the Latin.

1) Here Cajetan stabs the Elector.

2) In his reply (Document No. 241), the Elector describes this as a threat.

To the most illustrious and truly exceedingly good prince, Lord Frederick, Elector, Archmarshal of the Holy Roman Empire, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, his most gracious lord, his most devoted servant, Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian, wishes well-being and all that a sinner's prayer can do.

I have received, most gracious and most illustrious Prince, through my dear friend, Mr. Georg Spalatin, a letter together with a copy of the letter of the most reverend Mr. Thomas Cajetan, Cardinal of the title St. Sixti, Legate of the Apostolic See, which has been sent to me according to the will of your Serene Highness; but I have received it with reverence and cheerfully. For I see that I have been given a very fine opportunity to state the whole matter. I would like to ask Your Serene Highness only one thing, that your brilliant greatness will graciously listen to this lowly and despised beggar brother who cannot speak well.

First of all, the Reverend Cardinal writes with truth that I wanted my stay in Augsburg to be secured by a free escort. And this I have done not on my own advice or that of your Serene Highness, but on the advice of individual friends and all those to whom I was recommended by letters. With the exception of one, the highly respectable Mr. Orator Urban, 1) who alone dissuaded me with many words. But it was necessary for me that I preferred all of them to the one, so that they would not, if something had happened to me by chance, write that I had despised both the recommendation of your Serene Highness and their extremely faithful service. Then it is not the sign of a stubborn person, but a natural way of thinking that I, who am a German, prefer many Germans, who are known to me before, and who are well known by their life and reputation, to a Welshman. For I hope that this very nation and the crowd will completely

1) Urban of Serralonga had been an envoy of Count William IX of Montferrat at the Electoral Court in 1517. After the count's death, he stayed with Cajetan and finally became his housemate (Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 453.).

I apologize that that respectable orator will not be able to claim that he is despised by me.

Therefore, Most Serene Prince, you should not have been reproached for a lack of trust; indeed, more trust was placed in the most reverend Lord Legate than the friends expected, so that they were surprised at my sacrilegious presumption or (as they called it with an honorable name) audacity, that I had entered Augsburg without an escort. For your Serene Highness had indicated to me through my dear Spalatin that I would not need a safe escort: so much did your Serene Highness take care of everything good for the most reverend legate.

I will also go through the other pieces in the letter of the Reverend Lord Legate and respond to them in a few words.

He writes with truth that I have finally appeared and have excused the delay of my coming and the obtaining of a safe conduct. For I said that I had received a warning from people in high places, both spiritual and secular, that I should not leave the walls of Wittenberg, because I would be pursued with sword or poison. Then I also added the aforementioned cause, namely the care of the friends who gave me advice in the name of your Serene Highness. Now I have fallen at the feet of the most reverend Lord Legate and have asked with all reverence and humility for forgiveness, if I had said or done anything wrong, and I am quite ready to be instructed and (as I am also still minded today) to be led to a better opinion.

Then the most reverend legate received me fatherly and most graciously, praised me and wished me luck for this humility of mine. Immediately he presented me with three things that I should do according to the command of our most holy Lord, Pope Leo X, namely, as he said (because when I asked for a copy of the breve, he refused it):

First, that I should go into myself and recant my errors.

Second, that I should promise to abstain from them in the future.

Thirdly, that I am also aware of all other things.

should contain, by which the church could be troubled.

With regard to the first, I asked him to show me in what I had erred. Soon he reproached me for having said in the explanation of my seventh thesis: he who goes to the Sacrament must believe that he will obtain the grace of the Sacrament. For he wanted this doctrine to be contrary to the holy Scriptures and contrary to the right doctrine of the Church. But I said constantly that I would not yield on this point, just as I will not yield today or forever. Then he said: "You may want to or not, today you will have to recant, otherwise I will condemn all your teaching even for the sake of this one article.

And although he said that he did not want to act against me with the opinions of the teachers, but with the holy scripture and the spiritual law (*canonibus*), he did not bring up one syllable of scripture against me, while I, on the other hand, cited many scriptural passages for myself, as can be seen from my written answer 1); only that he reproached me with the concilia on the efficacy of the sacraments, which I did not deny, because they were not against me. But under the talking he always fell back on the opinion of the [scholastic] teachers. And I wait, desire, ask to this day for a saying of Scripture or the holy fathers that is against this opinion of mine.

And to speak to you, most noble Prince, from the bottom of my heart: I am sorry with all my heart that this subject of our faith is not only doubtful and unknown in the Church, but is even considered false. But, my dear Prince, I testify before God and His angels: Let there be what may become of my other answer [about indulgences], let it be false, let it be against the extravagant, let it be condemned, let it be revoked: I will do all this if it must be so; but this opinion I will dying confess, and rather deny all than revoke it. For be it that the merits of Christ are the treasure of indulgence, so

If for this reason nothing goes to the indulgence, or be it that they are not, then for this reason nothing goes from it; the indulgence remains what it is, with whatever name it may finally be honored and puffed up. I am therefore not a bad Christian if I do not want the indulgence, which he alone exalts and fights for; but if I were to change this belief, I would be denying Christ. Thus I hold, thus I will hold, until the contrary opinion is proved by Scripture and disproves the sayings I have attracted, which has not yet happened, and (if GOD is gracious) never will.

Then, because he was more concerned about indulgences than about this matter of faith, as he writes: "especially (he says) about indulgences," he referred to the Extravagant of Clement VI against my 58th thesis, where I denied that saints and Christ are the treasure of indulgences, as I still deny. Thesis, where I denied that the merits of the saints and of Christ are the treasure of indulgences, as I still deny, at least as it lies and as the words read, however much he may praise the Extravagante as clear and evident; I, on the other hand, say that it is obscure, ambiguous, and unsuitable, as is clearly evident in my earlier answer.

But that he writes in his letter that I had said to the extravagant, "I don't know what, that is not proper to say", he writes as to a layman. This, "which it is not proper to repeat" (in order to reveal the spitefulness of this word, and so that it becomes clear whether this means: to seek me paternally), was that, most noble prince, that I said that that extravagant one did not have sufficient strength against my thesis, especially since she twisted and misused the words of the Scriptures to a foreign meaning. This word "twist and abuse" tormented 2) the man extraordinarily and still torments him, as his letter indicates. For he wanted and still wants that the human words of a pope are accepted without regard to whether they agree with the scripture or not.

But, dear Prince, your Serene Highness allows that I, too, as a layman, should have these

2) This word "tormented" and immediately following "torments" would also like to be translated: "twisted" and "twisted", because it is the same word *toruere*, as immediately before.

I will treat the matter, that is, roughly and clearly. In the meantime, I want to forget the extremely sharp power of judgment, which is to be feared even by all scholars, with which God has distinguished the mind of Prince Frederick above all that our time has seen. I now say that it is nothing rare and new that the holy Scriptures have been twisted by popes and holy teachers and drawn to a foreign meaning. In order to make it short, I will also make it clear to every gross ox-driver by citing an example which does not belong to the present case (*extra propositum*, as it is called).

A decree, *de constitutionibus*, says: Where the priesthood is changed, the law must also be changed. These are words of the apostle in the letter to the Hebrews, Cap. 7,12, where he teaches that the temporal priesthood and the law are finished and at an end, since the eternal priesthood of Christ followed. This is the true and right opinion of the apostle's words.

But in the *Decretale* this is the opinion: The priesthood of Christ is transferred to St. Peter; for this is how the jurists interpret it. Who does not see that this mind is a strange one, and by all means such a one, which, if it is not tempered with much flourishing, is an exceedingly godless one. For it is utterly ungodly to say that Christ's eternal priesthood has been transferred, that is, that it is finished, and that his eternal law is finished and transferred, so that Peter is priest and lawgiver with the removal of Christ.

I do not want to have Peter or Paul as priest, because he is also a sinner who does not have what he could not sacrifice either for himself or for me, to say nothing of the fact that it is said that it was transferred from Christ to Peter alone, as if the other apostles had remained laymen or had been ordained as apostles by St. Peter. How much more correctly it would be understood that not the priesthood, but only the office of the priesthood was imposed on Peter, or that it was taken in any other sense that would leave the right sense of the apostle intact.

Do I therefore speak ill when, in view of this *Decretal*, I say this opposite sentence

Since the priesthood of Christ is eternal, is it not transferred to St. Peter? Or will the most reverend legate force me also here to deny the true sense and to accept only the sense of the *Decretals*? Such things are many in your ecclesiastical law (*in juro canonico*), by which (to put it bluntly) the Scripture, if not corrupted, is certainly obscured.

I have also done something like this against the extravagant. For it is quite certain that the merits of Christ cannot be dispensed by a man; then they (the merits of Christ) even impose good works of repentance rather than dispensing with them (that is what indulgences do), as Peter clearly says [1 Pet. 2:21.], "Christ suffered for us, leaving you an example, that you should follow in his footsteps." He does not say, He suffered for you, that is, so that you should not suffer, or so that you should be relieved, but He left an example to be followed, not a treasure He left, so that this should be left in place 2c.

For this is actually the power of the merits of Christ, that they arm for the work, not that they make pillows and put pills under the arms and at the heads, as the prophet says (Ezekiel, Cap. 12,18.). Therefore I have set myself against the extravagant, rather against their bad conception, and I still set myself against it. Nor is this the common custom of the church, which he (the Cardinal) exalts, but a corruption and an abuse that goes against the truth of Scripture.

Therefore, I admit that the extravagant is true, but I deny that its sense is that which the attracted words of the Scripture have in their place. These words have been true for more than twelve hundred years before this extravagant was arranged/ and they have not received the truth only from the extravagant or from their time. For if these words of Scripture, according to their proper and right sense, must be understood by the indulgence, then from the Holy Scripture the indulgence could be proven and proved.

1) The extravagant dates from 13th9 (Erl. Briefw.),

The first thing to be done is to make sure that the people of the world are aware of what everyone, except the last man, denies.

Therefore I want to hold both. And they say to me: Rather you shall hold this (namely the worse) opinion, deny the other (namely the better). But this I will not do, but think that it is enough that I have shown such a degree of reverence to the word of a man that I confess it to be true; I will not deny the word of God, who cannot lie (like that one), for the sake of the word of that one. Therefore, it is not "something that is not proper to say" (unless one tries to bring another to death and destruction without a cause), if one says that the pope or the holy fathers have sometimes twisted the Scriptures or misinterpreted them in a foreign sense. Or if one persistently denies this, we will certainly make the pope as well as the saints heretics and ungodly, since it is obvious that they follow an opinion different from that in Scripture, and not in few places, not even rarely.

So much was done on the first day, that is, these two things were reproached to me. For I asked for one day to signify myself, and went away. For I saw that it would not serve my cause to deal with the matter in words, because he, sitting in the place of the pope, wanted that whatever he said should have complete validity with me, again whatever I opposed was hissed out, rejected, even laughed at, if I put on the holy scripture. For I will be silent about the fact that he took it upon himself to raise the power of the pope even above the Scriptures and the councils, by stating how the pope had already passed the council at Basel. 1) When I had mentioned the appeal of the University of Paris, he said: "You will receive your punishment. Finally he condemned I don't know what followers of Gerson 2). For I had mentioned the Concil at Basel or at least Gerson in my "Explanations on the Theses", which had annoyed the man.

1) This had happened at the Lateran Council in 1312.

2) Gerson placed the church above the pope.

In short, that fatherly kindness, which was promised to your Serene Highness so often, consisted against me in this: either I would have to suffer or to recant, because he said he did not want to dispute with me. Therefore, it was the best advice to answer in writings, which at least give the oppressed the comfort that they can also be tested by the judgment of others, and instill some conscience and fear in him who otherwise has the upper hand with words.

The next day 3) zero I returned, and with me the venerable father Vicarius Johann Staupitz, who had arrived in the meantime, and there were four excellent men, councilors of the imperial majesty, present. I began to protest before the notary, whom I had brought with me, 4) that I did not want to say anything, nor would I ever say anything, that was contrary to the teachings of the Roman Church, and that I was ready to be instructed and guided, if I had erred somewhere, by submitting my statements to the pope, then also to four universities, the one in Basel, the one in Freiburg, the one in Louvain, and finally, if this were not enough, also to the mother of studies, the one in Paris, as indicated by my protestation.

Here he again laughed at this counsel of mine, and began to exhort me that I should go into myself and recognize the truth, that he again wanted to reconcile me with the church and the pope, and the like, as if I had already been declared a heretic, an apostate, and standing outside the church. But since I promised to answer not with words, but with writings, and asked that it had been fenced (*digladiatum*) enough the previous day, he took the word "fenced" full of displeasure and said with a laugh: "My son, I have not fenced with you, nor do I want to fence with you, but rather admonish you and, out of consideration for the most noble Prince Frederick, hear you fatherly and kindly, that is, (as I was forced to understand it) urge you to do nothing but recant. For he rightly disliked my foolishness, that instead of: disputing or arguing

3) October 13.

4) This is Document No. 200.

(which, to tell the truth, we had in fact done the day before) somewhat more delicately than the matter required at that time.

Meanwhile, as I remained silent, the venerable Vicarius stood up and asked (as I had also asked) that he might hear me in writing, which we finally obtained only with difficulty. For he did not want a public disputation, also refused to dispute privately with me, also to answer in writings, he would not allow until this hour, but always insisted only on the word "recant". If I had done so, everything would undoubtedly have been settled in the most fatherly manner, for he is, in my opinion, a very kind man who would have liked to hear the recantation.

When I had returned for the third time, I handed over in writing the answers to the two pieces reproached to me. Of these he first said that they were many and useless words, as he also now writes; that I had only answered foolishly and filled the paper with scriptural passages that did not serve the cause, and that he had given the right opinion of them. But when I finally said that it serves for me that the extravagant says: Christ acquired (acquisivisse) the treasure for his church with his sufferings, he immediately seized the book, read and came across the word "acquired" (acquisivit), but he carefully tried to conceal that he had come across it.

Finally he got up and said: "Go away," he said, "either recant or do not come before me again. But I left immediately, believing that I should not dare to come back, since I had made up my mind not to recant unless I was taught otherwise. Not to mention that the rumor was circulating that the venerable Father General 1) had allowed me to be taken in the eye and put in fetters if I did not recant; but I remained in Augsburg that same day.

It was on Friday afternoon. 2) After

1) Gabriel Venetus. See Document No. 158b.

2) These words are attached to the preceding paragraph in the editions. After that Luther's third

the venerable father Vicarius had been called, he negotiated with him that he should make me recant without any stain, as he writes here, that is, with eternal disgrace, which tends to follow those who, out of fear of men, deny the truth against their conscience. This he [Staupitz] did; but when he was asked to refute the scriptural passages to me, he said that this was beyond his ability, and I said: it would be against my conscience to refute, if the scriptural passages were not explained to me differently and better. After that I stayed the whole Saturday; nothing was said to me, nothing was commanded. I also stayed on the following Sunday, where I at least wrote a letter 4) to the most reverend legate, but nothing happened. I stayed also on Monday, I stayed also on Tuesday, and the silence became suspicious to me and all my friends. Fearing violence, I left Augsburg after I had prepared an appeal, and left on Wednesday, confident that I had shown the pope abundantly grave and faithful obedience according to the wording of the citation. But if they should do anything further by virtue of it, it is not to be wondered at if I suffer violence.

Then see, my dear prince, that God truly dwells on high and catches the crafty in their cunning. For he says: "Three things in this matter I can say with certainty."

I answer: If he recognizes that it is put disputation-wise: why then do they torment me wretched and poor man with so many burdens, suck me dry with so many

and last audience with Cajetan took place on Friday. We have followed the reading of the Erlangen correspondence, which, according to two manuscripts, draws these words to the following paragraphs. According to the letter to Spalatin of October 14 (Appendix, No. 17), Luther's last interrogation took place on Thursday, as well as according to Rühel's report (Document No. 202). In both of these documents, however, Staupitzen's appointment to Cajetan is also attributed to the same day, i.e., a Thursday, while Luther erroneously places it here on Friday. The remark, which De Wette, Vol. I, p. 146, makes about the incorrectness of the date of the above letter, does not apply.

3) This "he" is also to be referred to Staupitz.

4) The letter is the 209th document.

Do you think that I am a man of expense, that I am overwhelmed with so many accusations and insults, that I arouse so much anger and almost scandal in the church? They are disputations (he says), for which I give thanks. I am acquitted, yes, all are also condemned who have rightly challenged me. For the reverend legate himself, by these words, becomes a witness for us that he acted without cause and unreasonably all against me, and did not write this sincerely. Are they not yet ashamed of their tyranny, which they so clearly confess by their own testimony? For what offense can a disputation be accused of? what a disputator, which I am after all, as he confesses here? What did he want with this letter? Is it that we should recognize that brother Martin has done nothing but disputing? And for this reason his adversaries and the most reverend Lord Legate himself were moved against him, and only deceitfully did they carry out slander and injustice against him? For he was cited because of the disputation, not because of the sermons; for they only learned about the sermons after I had been cited. I can defend these (with God's help) more easily than the disputations themselves. For in the latter I doubted many things and did not know them, but there I spoke out of certain knowledge, not out of imagination.

Now let us see that he claims that what I have said in the sermons is "partly condemnable, partly contrary to the teaching of the apostolic see", because for him it is something else to be condemnable and something else to be contrary to the teaching of the apostolic see; perhaps that he is not condemnable who speaks contrary to the teaching of the apostolic see. And so I am again acquitted and justified, because I am accused and cited primarily and solely for speaking against the teaching of the apostolic see, that is, not condemnable, as is distinguished here.

Oh how I would have liked, most Serene Prince, that this letter had been written by some Silvester Prierias, so that it would only have been allowed to be signed with the full freedom of my mind.

seek. I would truly show how difficult it is to cover an evil and unjust conscience with a semblance of right; but now, deference to a very good and kind man compels me to press down the heat of my flowing heart until another time.

But I do not like the fact that he tries to make a kind of Pilate out of the extremely clever and highly perceptive prince. For when the Jews had brought Christ before Pilate, and were asked what accusation they had brought, or what evil this man had done, they said [John 18:30], "If this man were not an evildoer, we would not have delivered him to you." So also here the most reverend lord legate answers, after he had handed over the brother Martin to the prince with many spiteful words, and the prince wants to ask: What then has that poor brother done? He answers, I say:) "Believe me, Most Serene Prince, Your Serene Highness, for I speak the truth out of certain knowledge, not out of uncertain delusion." I will answer for the prince: Create proof that I can know it is certain knowledge. Let it be in writing, let it be in the form of letters, let it not shun publicity and light: when this is done, then I will send Brother Martin to Rome, yes, even capture and kill him. Then I will take care of my honor and my conscience and not bring any stain on my honor. But as long as this certain knowledge flees the light, and can only be heard through the voice, I will not trust in darkness, since even the light is not sufficiently secure. For that is how I would answer, most noble prince. But your highly enlightened wisdom needs neither a teacher nor a counselor. For these coarse French and Roman practices (*Italitates et Romanitates*, that I say so) have already become the song of children.

Now your Serene Highness may judge what more I should have done or should do. I appeared against the advice of all friends with such great danger to life and well-being that they still say today that I was not obliged to appear. Then I

I gave an account of my statements before the most reverend Lord Legate. I could have answered according to the freedom that I am entitled to by law. I could have answered a word, and not given myself up for any examination, since my explanations about the theses had been handed over to the pope and made known, so that this matter did not concern me, but I only awaited the verdict. For I had already put aside what I had entrusted to the decision of the church, and yet I suffered out of deference to the most reverend Lord Legate that I was even examined. I have not been deceitful [by leaving], but have withdrawn from violence out of quite justified fear. I do not see that I have omitted anything except these six letters: *REVOCO* [I recant].

By the way, they may condemn, teach, interpret, either the most reverend legate or the pope himself, but they shall not merely say: You have erred, you have spoken evil; but in writings they shall indicate the error, prove that it is evil spoken, give the reason they have, refute the scriptural passages I have cited, they shall teach as they boast in words that they have done, they shall instruct him who desires to be instructed, asks, also wants it and waits for it, which even a Turk would not refuse me. If I see that it must be understood differently than I have understood it, and then should not recant and condemn myself, most Serene Prince, then let your Serene Highness be the first to persecute me, cast me out, and let the men of our university cast me out; yes, I call heaven and earth against me, and may my Lord Jesus Christ himself destroy me. I also speak out of certain knowledge, and not out of uncertain delusion. I do not want God the Lord Himself to be merciful to me, that no creature of God be favorable to me, if I, having been taught better, should not follow.

If they should despise to instruct me, poor brother and beggar, because of all the lowliness of my state, and to lead me back to the way of truth: well then, do it your most Serene Highness, and ask the most reverend Lord Legate that he may do a little

At least write to your Highness about the things in which I have erred and how I must correct the error, so that I may at least hear from your Serene Highness the reasons and scriptural passages with which they can refute my error. If they should refuse this to your most noble Highness, then they may write it either to the Emperor or to some archbishop in Germany. For what else can I do? It is a strange thing that I am accused of having erred, and cannot obtain it, not even by so great a prince, wherein and wherefore they think that I have erred.

Therefore, your most noble Highness may see: he does not refuse me a public disputation (which to this day I do not refuse either at Leipzig, or at Erfurt, or at Halle, or at Magdeburg, or everywhere where the rule of your Highness extends, or where it applies to safe conduct, but rather even ask for it, and God would that I could ask for it), privately he refuses it in the same way, even in writings he refuses to denounce the error, he refuses the judgment of the four most famous universities. If he now adds to this that he rejects the requests of the most noble and very powerful prince, how can I then suspect anything but pure force and deceit?

Therefore, again, and again, and again for the third time, I ask Your Serene Highness not to believe those who say that Brother Martin has spoken evil before he is heard and taught that he has spoken evil. Peter was wrong even after he had received the Holy Spirit; a cardinal can also be wrong, however learned he may be.

Therefore, your Serene Highness will take care of her honor and conscience by not sending me to Rome. For the man has not to command this to your Serene Highness, since it is impossible that I should be safe in Rome, and this would be nothing else than to command your Serene Highness that she betray the blood of a Christian and become a murderer, since even the pope does not live there safely enough. They have paper and pens and ink in Rome, they have innumerable notaries: it will be easy,

to record on paper in what and why I have erred. I can be taught absent by writings with less expense than killed present by deceit.

One thing hurts me in my innermost heart, that the most reverend Lord Legate in his letter covertly stabs at Your Serene Highness, as if I were doing all these things in confidence in the power of Your Highness. For even among us, some liars have pretended that I have disputed these things on the admonition and advice of your Highness, while none of my most trusted friends knew anything about this dispute, with the exception of the most reverend Archbishop of Magdeburg and Jerome, Bishop of Brandenburg. For I humbly and reverently admonished them in private letters before I published the disputation, as it was incumbent upon them to defend against these abominations, that they might watch over the sheep of Christ against these wolves. I knew very well that this should not be brought to the lay princes, but first to the bishops. My letter is available, which has come into the hands of many, which gives testimony of all this. This is how I have acted.

But that now the most reverend Lord Legate would like to attach a stain of shame to your Serene Highness and to the whole flower of the Saxon house and make her hateful to the Pope: so even people nowadays believe that Christ is buried, as if he could not also now speak through an ass and, since the apostles and apostolic men are silent, shout through wood and stones.

But I wish, ask and desire that your Serene Highness in all things adhere to the church and the pope, but be opposed to me in everything, except for this one thing she wants to ask for me (rather for the holy truth, for the honor of the church and the pope, yes also for the honor of the most reverend Lord Legate, finally also for the sake of the good name of your most Serene Highness), that the reasons and scriptural proofs finally come to light, by which, as one thinks, my error is shown. For to condemn me without these [proofs] would be neither for your Serene Highness, nor for the pope, nor for the church, nor for the most reverend priest.

It will be an honorable experience for our dearest Lord Legate. The faithful are trembling, Christ is alive, and there are certainly still people alive who can judge.

But that the most reverend Lord Legate reminds your Serene Highness that if she does not send me to Rome, or chase me out of her lands, the matter will be pursued in Rome 2c.: so I do not refuse very much to go into exile, since I see that I am being set up on all sides by my adversaries, and I cannot easily live safely anywhere. For what can I, a wretched and lowly monk, hope for? indeed, what danger have I not to fear? what evil have I not to fear from my envious ones? since they do not even care to offend your most illustrious Highness, although she is such a great prince, such a great Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, such a great promoter of the Christian religion, so extraordinarily that they threaten him, who deserves much better, as you can see, I do not know what misfortune, if she does not either send me to Rome or chase me out of her lands.

Therefore, lest any harm befall your most noble highness for my sake (which I least of all wanted), behold, I leave your land and will go where the merciful God wills, and surrender to His divine will, He will do with me as He wills. For nothing is further from my mind than that any man (let alone your most illustrious Highness) should be brought into disfavor or into any danger for my sake.

Therefore, Most Serene Prince, I respectfully greet E. C. F. G. and simply bid her farewell, and offer my eternal thanks for all the good deeds she has done me. Wherever I may be in the world, I will never be unmindful of your Serene Highness and will always be a sincere prayer for your and your people's welfare.

Furthermore, that the most reverend legate says that the venerable father vicar left without taking leave of his host, what is that to do with Your Serene Highness? The Vicar was not called, this matter did not concern him. He could go, come back, go away, come as he pleased, at any time.

Hour. Did the gates of Augsburg also have to be closed to those going in and out for my sake? But I am afraid that, wherever it may come from, a cause will be gathered and sought against me. For he who wants a thing where he has no thing must necessarily seek a thing.

But now forgive E. C. F. G. for my rambling. I am still cheerful by the grace of God and give thanks that Christ, Son of God, has counted me worthy to suffer in such a holy cause. May He keep E. C. F. G. for eternity, Amen. November 19, at Wittenberg, 1518.

E. C. F. G. unworthy intercessor Brother
Martin Luther, Augustinian, with his own hand.

Luther's report of this matter to D. Staupitz.

See Appendix, No. 23, ? 2.

240 Luther's request to Spalatin to write him his verdict on the responsibility paper against Cajetan that was sent to him enclosed.

See Appendix, No. 22, ? 1.

241: Prince Frederick of Saxony's reply to Cardinal Cajetan. Dated Dec. 8, 1518.

This letter is found in Latin in Aurifaber, tom. I, tot. 108b; in the Wittenberg edition (1550), tom. I, fol. 220b; in the Jena edition (1579), tom. I, col. 197; in the Erlanger, opp. var. arZ., tom. II, p. 409; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 542 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 310. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 56; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 136; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 148; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 216 and in Spalatin's Annalen, p. 2.

Gott waits.

Most venerable in God the Father, especially dear Lord and friend! We have received and understood all the contents of your dear letter, dated Augsburg on the 25th day of October and delivered to us on November 19, not by a special messenger, but by a random messenger, concerning Doctor Martin Luther, Augustinian.

Because the said Martinus has appeared in your love for Augsburg, as we have agreed and promised with E. L. at Augsburg, that which we have granted has been done enough. We would also have provided that E. L., after he had been interrogated, would have released Martinus according to her many promises, fatherly and good-willed, and would not have urged him to revoke unrecognized and not sufficiently discussed matters, as Martin indicates. For there are many scholars in our principalities and lands, at the universities and elsewhere; but so far we have not been able to be consistently and irrefutably assured by any of them that Martin's teaching is ungodly, unchristian and heretical, with the exception of some for whose private cause and financial gain his teaching was not useful, who, in order to advise their own advantage, have set themselves in opposition to Martin, but so far they have not yet proven their pretense against Martin.

3 For if it came to us with some consistent reason and proof that D. Martin Luther's teaching should not be Christian and consistent, we would, by the grace and help of Almighty God, instruct ourselves in such a way that no admonition and reminder would be needed. For our mind, our will and our opinion are completely ready for the office of a Christian prince who desires to exercise his honor and conscience with God's help.

Therefore, we did not at all expect that we would have to suffer such a threat in such a state of affairs, namely that the Roman court would pursue this matter and that E. L. would have washed his hands, or that we would be required either to deliver Martin Luther to Rome or to expel him from our lands, and yet for no other reason than that Martin Luther has not yet overcome the offense of heresy. For he would be expelled to the detriment of our university, which, as is known to this day, is a Christian one and has many pious and learned and diligent people.

5 We have also not omitted to hold the letter to Doctor Martin E. L. against us. L.'s letter, to which he answered us, as E. L. will see from the enclosed copy.

6 Because D. Since Martin offers to argue on the basis of the verdict of several universities and at certain ends, and to be obediently instructed and at the same time instructed after the matter has been recognized, we think he should be allowed to do so, or at least the error should be reported to him in writing, as we also want to have requested, so that we know,

why he must be considered a heretic, and why we too have something to follow and be guided by.

(7) For even we cannot hold that he is to be considered a heretic (since he has not yet been convicted) and that he is to be excommunicated. Finally, we would not like to be led astray, or to be found disobedient by papal sanctity.

8 We did not want to restrain your love, which we blessedly command God the Almighty to abstain from. Date Altenburg on the 8th of December, Anno 1518.

**Luther's testimony of his heartfelt joy against
Spalatin, which he felt when reading the Electoral
reply to Cardinal Cajetan, together with his thoughts
about it.**

See Appendix, No. 25.

**6) How Luther was prompted by this persecution of
Cajetan to appeal to a general concilium.**

**243 Appeal of D. Martin Luther from the proceedings of
Pope Leo X against him to a general concilium,
Wittenberg, Nov. 28, 1518.**

We take from the Weimar edition the following introduction to this document: "Cajetan, the papal legate, had boasted during the negotiations with Luther of the authority to have the heretic monk imprisoned if he did not recant, and it was rumored that the general of the Augustinian order had given his consent to this [see Doc. 238]. On his return journey, Luther himself had received in Nuremberg the document on which the legate relied: it is the *deneinverleibte* *breve* to Cajetan of August 23, 1518 [that is, the 176th document]. In this, the reformer already found himself condemned, and even if he initially regarded it as forged (see Doc. 177), it nevertheless showed him what he had to "take care of" in Rome. Thus the time had come which he had set for his appeal to a future general council. Already on the day of his return to Wittenberg, October 31, he informed Spalatin that he would handle it. On November 28, he performed the act before a notary and witnesses: however, we know nothing of a public announcement by notice." - Only with the condition that all copies would be sent to him, Luther had given this document to the press: if the ban would be pronounced over him, he wanted to spread them, otherwise not. But almost all of them had been sold before he was informed by the

Luther did not learn anything about the completion of the printing. Since Luther in his letter to Spalatin of December 9 only remembers the act of the appeal, but in the letter to Wenzel Link of December 11 already expresses his disapproval of the printer's procedure, we may well regard December 10 as the day of publication. The Elector Frederick had been opposed to the publication, but he had warned Spalatin too late. To some, the appeal seemed too lofty. Two years later, banned by the pope, the reformer renewed it.

Our writing first appeared in poster form with the superscription: *kt ^lartini I,utüor act 6cm-*. cJinn, in total 76 continuous lines. After that, three prints probably made by Valentin Schumann in Leipzig, 4 leaves in quarto. Likewise, a cursory impression by Martin Landsberg in Leipzig, and a Basel print. An impression in octavo is available, which is made after the *eclitio xrin:ep8*. In the "Gesammtausgabe" it is found in Latin in the Wittenberg (1550), tom. I, cob 231; in the Jena (1579), tom. I, col. 2055; in the Erlanger, oxx. var. ar[^], vol. II, p. 438 and in the Weimarschen, vol. II, p. 34. Also in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 505. German only in Walch. This entire document, although a reference would have sufficed (as was done in the Jena edition, tom. II, col. 257 b), is reprinted in the Erlangen edition, oxx. var. ar[^]., tom. V, x. 121-128.

1. in the name of the Lord, amen! In the year of Christ 1518, in the sixth indiction, on Sunday, the 28th of the month of November. of November, the sixth year of the papal government of the most holy in Christ the Father and of our Lord Leo, by divine providence of the tenth pope, the venerable father, Mr. Martin Luther, an Augustinian of Wittenberg, master of sacred theology, and there ordinary senior lecturer of theology, and especially for theology, has, in my presence as a public notary, and in the presence of the witnesses specially called and requested for this purpose, and there ordinary supreme lecturer of theology, and especially for himself, without herewith revoking anything of his lawyers appointed by him in various ways, or thereby depriving them of anything, had and held in his hands a professional or appeal document, in the opinion and intention to appeal, and therefore to seek letters of reprimand (*apostolos*) to a higher court: saying, telling, appealing and calling, for certain and lawful causes contained and stated in the very note, to the nearest and immediate future concilium lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit, excluding all other angular rolls and meetings or assemblies, and

would be entirely rejected; thereby protesting and doing everything else as it is more fully contained, stated, and described in said Appeal Petition, the contents of which thus read and are as follows:

2. Since the remedy of appeal has been invented by the authors of rights for the consolation and refreshment of the oppressed, and the rights permit to appeal not only from the inflicted, but also from future inflicted and threatened burdens and wrongs, so that an inferior may not refuse to go to the superior, or may close the hands of the superiors; and it is sufficiently admitted that a holy council, lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit and representing the holy catholic church, is above the pope in matters of faith, so that even the pope cannot order in such matters that no appeal be made from him to the council, because he would then be doing what is not proper to his office; In addition, the appeal is such a defense, which according to divine, natural and human rights is due to everyone and which the prince himself cannot revoke.

3. Therefore I, brother Martin Luther, of the order of the hermits of St. Augustine at Wittenberg, master unworthy of holy theology, and of the same highest ordinary teacher there, have appeared especially and for myself before you, the public notary, as a public and credible person, and the witnesses present here, with the intention and opinion to call, appeal, and to demand and receive the apostles (or referral to higher ones), but with the express and solemn protestation (or assurance) that I do not intend to say anything against a certain holy catholic and apostolic church, which I consider to be the master of the whole world and therein supreme, and against the prestige of the holy apostolic see, also of our most holy lord the pope, if he is well informed, violence. If, however, out of weakness or irritation on the part of the adversaries, I should perhaps miss something that was not said correctly or reverently enough, I am willing to improve and change it.

4. because he who represents God on earth, whom we call pope, as a man like us, adopted from men, and, as the apostle says [Heb. 5:2], surrounded with weakness, can err, lack, lie, become vain, and is not exempt from the common saying of the prophet [Ps. 116:11.], "All men are liars"; and St. Peter, as the first and holiest of all popes, has not been free from this weakness, that he walked in harmful hypocrisy against the truth of the gospel, so that he had to be punished sharply, but still holily by the apostle Paulas, as to the Galatians Cap. 2, 14. is written: We believers in Christ are instructed and made certain by such a glorious example, which the Holy Spirit has shown in the church and left in the Scriptures, that even if a supreme pontiff should fall into the very weakness of Peter or similar infirmities, and command or conclude something If a supreme pontiff should fall prey to the weakness of Peter or similar infirmities, and should command or resolve something contrary to divine commandments, he should not only not be obeyed, but should also be confronted with the apostle Paul, and the lower members of the body should, as it were, take care of the weakness of the body as a whole and remedy it. And for the perpetual and salutary remembrance of this example, it may have happened, as malt not indistinctly recognizes, by special divine providence, that not only St. Peter, but also his salutary punisher, Paul, became protectors and governors of the holy Roman church with each other and at the same time; so that we would always be reminded of this necessary and highly useful example, not only by Scripture, but also by a visible monument, namely both the heads and we members. And if, through the violence of the powerful, one should gain such an upper hand that he could not be resisted, then there is still left the remedy of appeal, which was mentioned earlier, by which the oppressed may be raised up.

5. which also I, the above-mentioned brother Martinus Luther, taking the aforementioned way and intention, thus say and present:

6. that, since in recent times indulgences were granted by some (as they claimed) apostolic com-

They began to preach unrighteous, heretical and blasphemous things in order to suck the money out of the people, for the seduction of believing souls and the highest mockery of the church authority; as their booklet, which is called Summary Instruction 1), clearly shows, especially about the pope's power over purgatory, since it is certain from the *Canon Abusionibus* etc. that the pope has no power over purgatory, that the pope has no power over purgatory, and that the whole church and all teachers agree that indulgences are nothing but a remission of the penances of satisfaction imposed by their judge, as the text clearly states C. quod untern, etc. But the penance of satisfaction, which the spiritual judge (or confessor) has imposed, is nothing else than works of fasting, prayer and almsgiving 2c., therefore by the keys of the church that cannot be remitted which is not imposed by them; likewise that from 35. *Dist. C. Qualis*, etc., it is clear that in purgatory not only punishment but also guilt is remitted, but the church can no more remit guilt than it can confer grace:

7 Since I, based on such reasons, have opposed their foolish and dishonest teachings in the manner of disputing, those who raged for gain first began to declare to the people with the most impudent outrageousness, with public clamor, that I was a heretic, and then also to accuse me before our most holy Lord Leo X., through a certain Mr. Marius of Perusco, the Procurator, as one suspected of heresy. And since, through this same Lord, before the persons of the most reverend lords and fathers, Jerome of Ghiuucci, Bishop of Ascoli, the chamber interrogator, and Silvester Prierias, palatii magistri, they finally obtained the order to cite me, they have had me cite or summoned to Rome by them to appear there in person.

8 Since I was hardly safe from reenactments in Wittenberg, much less such a great

I could not undertake a journey or remain safely in Rome, because I was both a poor and a weak and sickly man, and the aforementioned judges were suspicious of me for many reasons, especially because the venerable father Silvester was already my adversary and had published a discussion 2) against me, and was not so well versed in the Holy Scriptures as this matter required, but Jerome was more versed in law than in theology, so it was rightly feared that he would concede too much to Silvester's theology, because the matter did not belong to his science at all: So I have made a request through the most illustrious prince, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, that the matter be transferred to people who are unsuspicious, but righteous and honest men.

9 Then, armed with crude and rude cunning, they managed to get your most holy Lord Leo 2c. to refer the matter to themselves, that is, to the person of the most reverend Lord Thomas, Cardinal St. Sixti, then Legate of the Apostolic See in Germany; because he was the head of the Order of Preachers and of the Thomist party, that is, of my repugnant party. Sixti, at that time legate of the apostolic see in Germany; because he was the head of the order of preachers and of the Thomistic, that is, of my repugnant party, and so it was easily hoped that he would decide against me for them; or that I, as it seems credible, frightened by the mere sight of this judge, would not appear, and thus be accused of contumacy (or of disobediently remaining outside). Nevertheless, I have relied on God's truth and have come to Augsburg with much trouble and great danger, where the most reverend Lord Thomas, Cardinal St. Sixti 2c. has also accepted me quite kindly. The latter, having set aside my protestation and offer of inheritance, by virtue of which I offered to answer either publicly or privately, before a notary and witnesses, and also before four eminent men, the imperial majesty's councillors, added that I had submitted myself and my speeches (or teachings) to the holy apostolic see and the judgment of the four noble universities.

1) In the original institutio instead of instructiv. - It is read the 72nd document.

2) The "Dialogue," St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 310.

I was not willing to submit myself to the laws of Basel, Freiburg, Leuven and the mother of all universities, the famous University of Paris, and only insisted that should recant without fail, that he would not show me my errors, nor would he present me with reasons and testimonies by which the error could be recognized by me, No doubt out of too great partiality against his brothers, and assuming the form of an unjust judge, he finally, if I did not recant, regardless of all my pleading and desire that I wanted to learn, and my requests for instruction, threatened me harshly and cruelly according to the contents of an apostolic breve, and ordered me not to come before his eyes again.

[illegible]

Tyranny and fullness of power only urge the revocation of an opinion which I believe to be true in conscience, and want to tempt me to deny Christ's faith and the right understanding of the revealed Scriptures (as much as my conscience can grasp it): since the power of the pope is not against or over, but for and under the majesty of Scripture and truth, and the pope has not received authority to destroy the sheep, to throw them into the jaws of wolves, and to deliver them into error, and to the teachers of error, but to call them back to the truth (as befits a shepherd and bishop, Christ's governor): and I therefore feel hurt and burdened, seeing that by such violence it will come to pass that no one will dare to confess even Christ Himself or to teach the Holy Scriptures in his own church, and that I will thus also be driven by force from the true, sound Christian faith and understanding to vain and lying opinions of men, and be plunged into seductive fables of the Christian people:

11. Therefore, I hereby appeal from the said our most holy Lord Leo, who is not well reported, and the above-mentioned alleged rulers and judges, and their summons and proceedings, and all therefrom made, or still to be made, and every part thereof, and from all banishment, suspension, and the judgments of the interdict, ecclesiastical penalties, fines, and all other proclamations and declarations (as they claim) of heresy and apostasy which they or any of their number have in any way undertaken or intended, fines, and all other proclamations and declarations (as they pretend) of heresy and apostasy which they or any of their number have in any way undertaken, done, or intended to undertake, do, and intend to undertake, do, and intend to do, and of their nullity (without prejudice to their other honor and respect), as unjust, unreasonable, wholly tyrannical and violent things; as also of all future grievance that may come to me therefore, both for myself, and for all and every one that shall cleave or cleave to me, to a future concilium, which shall be lawfully, and to a safe place, where I, or my attorney whom I shall desire to send, may and may safely come tendered; and to whom or to whom I shall otherwise by right, use, liberty, or otherwise

I appeal and may appeal, and appeal and appeal in these writings, and ask for the first, second and third time, imploringly, imploringly, most imploringly, that the writ of referral to the higher court (or writ of appeal, apostle) be given to me, if there were anyone who would and could give it to me; and especially from you, the Lord Notary, letters of testimony. And testify that I want to pursue this appeal of mine on the grounds of nullity, abuse, injustice or inequity, or otherwise, as best I can, with reservation to add to or subtract from it, to change and improve it, and to make myself partaker of all other legal good that is competent to me or to those who now hold to me and want to hold to me in the future.

12) Since he has now entered (or laid down) this note before me and the witnesses set below, as reported above, he has testified and expressly protested that he could neither come himself nor through a lawyer to the one from whom he has appealed, both for fear of many who would pursue him and his life, and of the one from whom he has appealed, as well as because of the dangerous ways.

Therefore he has requested from me, the public notary, with due diligence, that such a certificate of appeal (apostvlos), as was due to him by law, be issued and given to him. To whom, therefore, at his request, I hereby have such apostles (or appeal slips) as are due to him, or letters of testimony, produced and issued by this public writing. About all and every of which he requested from me, your final signed notary, that one or more public or public instruments (deeds) be made and drawn up.

This was done at Wittenberg, Brandenburg district, in the year, indiction, day, month, and papal government, as above; under the government of the most glorious Maximilian, Roman Emperor, about 3 o'clock, in the Corpus Christi Chapel, situated in the parish churchyard there, in the presence of Christoph Behr, by holy apostolic and imperial authority Vicecomes in Costnitz, and

of Hieronymus Papiß, clergyman of the district of Hof (Curiensis), as witnesses requested and called.

Luther's complaint about the printer who, contrary to his promise, issued the printed copies of this appeal under his own hand, in two letters to Wenceslaus Link and Georg Spalatin.

See Appendix, No. 24, § 2 and No. 25.

Luther's report to Spalatin that he had appealed.

See Appendix, No. 26.

Luther wrote to Link that, in his opinion, the matter had not yet begun, so much was lacking that the Roman greats could hope for the end.

See Annex, No. 24, § 1.

D. How the Elector accepted Luther's imperial trousers.

247: Prince Frederick of Saxony's letter to Degenhard Pfeffinger, his minister at the imperial court, to bring about a settlement of Luther's case.

Dat. 19 Nov. 1518.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 58; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 134; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 147; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 214 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 550.

Gott walts.

By the Grace of God Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire.

1) Dear faithful one, after you know in what way we have left the Cardinal, Doctor Martin Luther, at Augsburg by Papal Holiness Legate, 1) so that we should let him come to Augsburg to interrogate him; as the said Doctor is at Augsburg, 1) so that we should let him come to Augsburg to interrogate him; as the said Doctor is at Augsburg, 1) so that we should let him come to Augsburg to interrogate him; as the said Doctor is at Augsburg, 1) so that we should let him come to Augsburg to interrogate

1) secreted - arranged.

and appeared before the legate, as you know, to hear what he had erred in with his teaching and writings, with the offer of inheritance, when such was constantly made known to him, that he would gladly renounce it and consider himself a Christian man.

2 But no further objection or request had been made against him, except to revoke his writings and teachings; that he, because what had been erred in them had not been published, had been complained of, and had therefore appealed. And the legate let himself be heard against the doctor: if he did not want to recant, he should no longer come to him. Thereupon the doctor departed and turned again to Wittenberg.

3 And recently a document was sent to us by the aforementioned legate, in which it is stated, among other things, that the Cardinal reminds, admonishes and asks us to respect our honor and conscience, and either to send D. Martin to Rome, or else to expel him from our lands, because he does not want to recognize his error and keep it with the entire Christian church.

We should also know that this deal would not last long, because they would deal with it in Rome; he wanted to have his hands washed. Which we do not provide, because Doctor Martinus, according to his inheritance, is unconquered in standing appeal.

(5) Since you know that we have sent you several times in this matter to the Imperial Majesty and

Hansen Renner sent, and Renner let himself be heard against us, that imperial majesty would write to Rome, and thus see into the matter, so that it would be put to rest. Now we do not know what the Imperial Majesty has done in this matter, and therefore our request is to you, where you are or would be with the Imperial Majesty, to inform her Majesty of this with submission, and thereupon to ask her Majesty humbly to reinstate the matters, so that the matter may be settled and satisfied, or be interrogated by unsuspected persons in Germany.

6 In view of the fact that Doctor Martinus is afraid if he is constantly reported to be mistaken, he will gladly recant and remain obedient as a Christian man. But without this it is difficult for him to make a retraction, as you and every impartial person must undoubtedly respect.

7 You will also request Hans Renner, Zigler, and others, and remind them of the fact that Renner has been put off in this matter, and request them to help you once again to ensure that Your Imperial Majesty will show mercy in this matter.

(8) And what thou wilt accomplish and obtain therein, that wilt thou make known unto us most conveniently by thy writing, that we may be directed according thereto. In this you do us favor to recognize in grace. Date at Grimme, on Friday, St. Elisabethtag j49. November, 1518.

The fourth chapter

Of the negotiations about Luther's cause continued by the papal nuncio Carl von Miltitz under the direction of Cajetan, both at the electoral court and with Luther himself.

First Section.

Von Miltitzens Abfertigung am päpstlichen Hof, seiner Reise nach Deutschland und Ankunft in Sachsen.

A. How Miltitz announced to the Elector of Saxony, and also to Spalatin, the mission carried out to him by the Pope.

248 Carl von Miltitzen's letter from Rome to Spalatin, in which he reports that the Pope has appointed him nuncio and consecrated the

Rose to be delivered to the Elector of Saxony.
Dat. Rom, 10 Sept. 1518.

This letter is found in Latin in Tentzel's historical report, vol. II, p. 53; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 550 and in Seidemann, "Karl von Miltitz", p. 3. - The gaps are filled in by us.
Translated from Latin.

Hail, beloved brother! Today at 8 p.m. our most holy lord, Leo the Tenth, ordered me to hand over the golden rose to the highborn Prince Frederick, and at the same time ordered me to take the indulgence bulls with me and deliver them to his highborn glory. This I did not want to do to you, my so much beloved brother, that you alone deliver this to the most illustrious Lord, I would come and bring all this together, as well as an extensive breve made in the form of a confessional and other things. But before I leave Bologna, I will write more to you, my dearest and most faithful friend. I would also have written to the Highborn Prince, Lord and Benefactor, if there had been so much time. Now everything (to speak so) goes over hill and dale. If ... then I especially recommend myself and ask that you also recommend me to your most noble lord and others to my lords and fathers, namely to Bernhard Hirschfeld, Johann von Weißenbach and Johann von Dolzig, and to all other friends. In all haste the 10th of Sept. 1518. Your servant

Carl von Miltitz, papal chamberlain.

I apologize to others for not writing to them because I have not had time and could not wait longer.

Inscription.

To the venerable and dear man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, [his] extremely dear [friend].

B. What instructions, brevia and letters are given to Miltitz.

249 Papal Instruction or Commissoriale, given to von Miltitz for his journey to the court of the Electorate of Saxony concerning the rose to be presented. Dated Tuscanella, a small town in the diocese of Viterbo, October 15, 1518.

This document is found in Latin and German in Tentzel's Hist. Bericht, Vol. II, pp. 56 and 58, only in Latin in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 554.

After Spalatin's translation.

Leo Babst the Zcehend.

To our beloved son Karl von Miltitz, our honorable chamberlain, nuncio and commissioner. Beloved son. The Blessedness and the Bestowal. Because we in the Lord are particularly

if you have modesty, faith and discretion. Accordingly, we have appointed you as our nuncio and commissary, or skilful and commanding officer, the Golden Roses, a gift which, according to ancient custom, the most noble of our princes is required to be given to a future prince, to the beloved son of the noble man Frederick Duke of Saxony, of the Holy Roman Empire. We have accepted him on account of his noble name and his virtue with such an honor and reward, together with several letters of indulgence, to be brought to the same prince in our name, out of the kindness and esteem of the holy muties of the Church. To be considered and set forth in the present letter. The Duke will be moved by these and many other special graces and honors with which the Holy See has endowed his house, to uphold the praise and glory of his nobility and of the Holy Church, and we will wait with reasonable assurance. Because his nobility will do this, he will do a thing that will be pleasing to his Christian mind, and through it, besides the highest Godliness and faith, he will earn the highest praise and honor from God and man, and for this reason he will show us gratitude and goodwill. However, we will publicly order you, in the name of holy obedience and by the penalties of the highest ban and of our grace, if you do otherwise, so that you will fall repudiatively, that you will be judged from above by the same Duke, on the advice, will, and expressed permission of our beloved son Thoman of the title of Tant Sixten Priest Cardinal of our and named Stul in Teutschen Landen Legaten, neither hand over nor answer anything, in any way. nor subject yourself to it, considering all that is contrary to it. Given in Tuscany, under the fishermen's ring, on the nineteenth day of October, in the year five hundred and eighteen, of our Baptism the Sixth.

Jacobus Sadoletus.

Papal decree to the Elector of Saxony himself, in which Luther is most disgracefully scolded. Dated Oct. 24, 1518.

In Tentzel's Hist. report Latin, vol. II, p. 71, German p. 75; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 556 only Latin. The date, which is faded in the original Latin, was given by Spalatin as Oct. 24.

After Spalatin's translation.

Beloved son. Noble man. The Bliss 2c. the most holy golden roses given with our hands, and on the fourth Sunday of the last Lent (quadragesime) gloriously wept, here most worthily given, and a thing of secret hidden meaning, and a notable adornment of the noble house of the Dukes of Saxony and your nobility in this year, we have so much liber decided by the beloved son Karl von Miltitz to send to our notaries and cameryrs also to your noble faithful subjects the clerics of Meissen diocese, that the same Karl, what we have to do in the most holy procession against the most cruel crime of the holy Christian name, and the sacrilege and excessive error of your brother Martinus Lotterst), wisely and adequately as we trust your nobility and schickl. know how to show it. Noble man and beloved son. We are always afraid of such a delicate and necessary move, and it makes us feel so much better from day to day that we have to worry about the Turk's most unpleasant gryms. And although we may think that he is in delay, yet he is still willing, as much as is possible, to harm the Christians, who, as we have learned, are of the opinion that he will attack the Christians as soon as he is able. Now your nobility is at peace because of the Christians' affairs by God's help, and so many kings and rulers have been amicably agreed upon, among whom you are powerful with arms and strength of mind and spirit, that this holy procession is begun by means of God's prompting, and that we, with your nobility and other Christian kings and rulers, and the holy Christian faith, intend to carry out such a procession, and how much we believe that your nobility, that our comfortable and diligent beger, because of which we have asked for five years, has learned and noted all the cryts in Christianity, not only from our legat, but also from other of our writings and messages, and that all our worries and thoughts are in this very kind and necessary work. Accordingly, we wish to write little of such a move, and to have it pointed out to us by our friend Karl mer. So that your nobility may realize that they can do nothing more righteous to their great and noble comforts, and nothing less to God, than that they, together with other Christian monarchs and princes, turn their comforts to it, and all their fortunes to dissemination.

most holy train. Since we intend and intend to spend this amicably, and to do so with all our creatures, Sathanas presents the son of loss or damnation, Martinus Lothar, 2) of the Order of Saint Augustine, who may preach to the Christian folk, before the words and opposites of your authority, against us and the holy Holy Trinity, which is not only reprehensible according to the most obvious heresy, but is also severely punishable, and since all this is completely hidden from us and your nobility, we do not want to report it any further. And even if we do not want to be punished because of our and your nobility's We do not wish to tolerate such a leniency, so that the gullible folk may easily be led to an evil opinion with the utmost anger. We also know and have no doubt that we will not tolerate such a lame and rude thing, so that the gullible followers of the Lord's evil opinion will be easily angered, so that lazy and rude things will not grow up in the Lord's healthy treasury, and so that the arts of this free Martin will cease, so that he will not plant the roots too deeply and hard, so that they will not be uprooted from the Lord's field, which we have followed, We also know and doubtless consider that it will not little weigh down your conscience, and tarnish your and your most noble ancestors' reputation and honor (who have always been the most powerful opponents of heresy), and shall be contrary and burdensome to your nobility. For this reason, we have ordered the same Charles, our deputy and chamberlain, to have a diligent investigation of this through our writings and letters and to do and take other measures against the aforementioned Martin; also against those who are in bondage to Martin, and who are of his evil opinion. This is further clarified and understood in our constitution and decree. We also remind you of your nobility in the Lord, and ask you cousinly to consider in high esteem your reason and a great and Christian prince's virtue, so that your nobility is adorned with such a good gift and filled with its good odor, to show to the same Charles the aforesaid favor and support, and what the same Charles will show to your nobility on our behalf I will believe no less than ourselves when they hear us speak presently. Then, in that your nobility will do a thing worthy of such a powerful prince of the highest praise, our blessed God, of which the matter is acted upon, and will show us and the named Stul the-

2) In Latin: Lotterst; likewise in the following documents of the same date.

1) Also in Latin: NÄrtini P'otterst.

half in their delicate and honest petitions and requests from day to day more and more gracious and mild. Date "ivitatis vetons Viterliisiois Dio6668i8 8Ub> aimulo xi8oatoris the XXIV. ovt. XV 0. XVIII. of our Pabstthumbs in the sixth.

251 Papal Breve to the Electoral Supreme Minister and Hereditary Marshal in Lower Bavaria, Mr. Degenhard Pfeffinger, concerning Miltitzen's action with the Elector of Saxony against Luther, dated October 24, 1518.

This writing is found in Latin in the Wittenberg (1550), tom. I, toi. 233; in the Jena (1579), toru. I, toi. 208d; and in the Erlanger, opp. var. arZ., tom. II, p. 446. German in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 254; in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, bl.61But because in all these editions the text is faulty and the date is wrong (Jan. 1, 1519), Cyprian had it printed from the original in his Urkunden vol. II, p. 82 (but also with a wrong date: XXIII ootobr.). From it Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 559 has communicated it and corrected the date in a marginal note.

Translated from Latin.

Pope Leo X.

To our dear son, Degenhard Pfeffinger, our dearest son, the noble Lord, Duke Frederick of Saxony 2c., Rath.

Beloved Son, salvation and apostolic blessing!

(1) Out of what heartfelt opinion and fatherly love we have consecrated the most sacred golden rose, which the Roman Popes are accustomed to consecrate annually on the Sunday of Lent in Holy Lent, not without great secrecy, and to dedicate and send to one of the most excellent Christian kings or princes, but this year to the noble, our beloved son, Frederick, Duke of Saxony 2c., who, according to the custom of his noble ancestors, deserves well and may deserve even better for us and this holy apostolic see, your devotion will be understood more thoroughly by our beloved son, Carl von Miltitz, our nuncio and secret chamberlain, who is always at hand, besides other things that concern us and the above-mentioned see's dignity and authority.

(2) Moreover, because we know in what great grace and favor, and indeed justly, your devotion is with the said prince, and how great and highly he esteems your salutary, wise counsel, we admonish the same your devotion in the Lord, and fatherly desire that, out of dutiful devotion

and reverence to us and to the said Holy See, to signify with diligence what great honor and delicious gift we have now deemed worthy of thoughtful Princes.

3. Your devotion also wanted to consider how horrible and frightening is the great foolishness and sacrilege that Satan's child, brother Martin Luther, practices by spreading a public heresy, known to everyone, in the holy church, so that the laudable name of such a powerful prince, as well as his ancestors' delicious good rumor, might be stained; as your devotion will hear from our reported nuncio, Carl, who also wanted to remind the said prince of this by salutary counsel and well imagine, so that our and the apostolic see's dignity and majesty would not be blasphemed, nor that prince's honor and good reputation would be stained. That also the sacrilegious foolishness of brother Martin may be resisted, and the error, which unfortunately is all too great, and which the common rabble so easily believes is sown, and which in time would take deep root, may be controlled, especially by your help and faithful counsel, and even eradicated.

4. in which your devotion will do a pleasing service to God, our Blessed One, whose cause it is, and a very pleasant work to us, who seek with the greatest diligence, as much as we can, nothing else than that such noxious weeds, thistles and thorns be eradicated from the Lord's field. For this your devotion in its Christian petition and desire shall find us and the above-mentioned See more gracious and kind. How then your devotion will be heard further and better by the aforementioned Carl,-of which we have been told enough.

Given in the old city of the Viterbian diocese, under the fishermen's ring, the 24th of October, 1518, of our papacy in the 6th year.

Evangelista.

252 Letter from the Papal Vice-Chancellor, Cardinal Julius de Medicis, who later became Pope under the name of Clement VII, to Mr. Degenhard Pfeffinger to assist the Papal Nuncio in his action against Luther with the Elector of Saxony. Dated Rome, October 11, 1518.

This writing is found in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1550), torn. I, toi. 233d; in the Jena (1579), toro. I, toi. 209 and in the Erlangen, opp. var. ars., tona. II, o. 447. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, bl. 6ld; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, bl. 138;

in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 254 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 218. In all of these somewhat deficient and with the wrong date: Jan. 5, 1519. A more accurate and better impression is in Cyprian) vol. II, p.84 and in Löscher, vol. II, p. 560.

To the strict, honorable Mr. Degenhard Pfeffinger, the most illustrious Lord, Duke Frederick of Saxony 2c, Councillor, our special friend.

1. Most honorable sir, dearest friend! Because the venerable gentleman, Carl von Miltitz, our most holy Lord Pabst Leo X's chamberlain 2c., is now traveling in Germany on some business of papal sanctity, we did not want to let him go to your feast of honor without our writing. For we know the esteem, grace and favor in which your Feast of Honor is held by the Most Serene and Serene Prince, on account of her virtues and sincere disposition, and how she has always had an inclined will to promote the cause of our Most Holy Lord and the Apostolic See.

2. request that your honorable feast also remain in this sense; and because the occasion now arises, that this holy apostolic see faithfully command the most illustrious prince the necessary things, and hold and persuade his lordship to follow in the footsteps of their noble ancestors, whom the enemies of the holy Roman church, where they had their residence, persecuted, and also for some time did not permit to dwell in their lands and cities. Our most holy lord, the pope, and the entire Roman court, certainly have the same friendship for the most illustrious prince.

For his noble nature, noble virtues and deeds give everyone good hope that he will hold his own.

Furthermore, we want to have ordered Mr. Carl your festival of honor most diligently, with a high request that it should help him and his things with the most illustrious prince, so that your festival of honor does our most holy lord and us a great favor. Which is well done.

Ex capite montis, ben 11 October 1518.

Your Julius, Vice Chancellor.

Date: I. Jan. 1519. German in Spalatin's translation in Cyprian, Vol. II, p. 86 with the correct date. In the margin, Löscher has also made the correction.

According to Spalatin's own translation.1)

Babst Leo der Zcehend entbeutt dem Georgio Spalatino seinen geliebten son, seines geliebten sons des Edeln manns Fridrichen, Hertzogen zu Sachßen, diener. His greetings and best wishes.

Out of what great joyful affection and veteran love, we bless and bless the Most Holy Golden Roses, which we present and send to the most distinguished Christian conyge or prince on the fourth Sunday in Lent, out of great mystery. We give this to our beloved son, the nobleman Frederick Duke of Saxony, as one who, like others of his most illustrious predecessors, has held himself in the best way against us and the Holy See. In order that he may also earn much more from us, he will have sent, paid for and delivered to us a few florins of roses. All this will be more fully known and heard by your attention from our beloved son, nuncio, skilful, noble chamberlain and servant Karin von Miltitz. Knowing then that you are in the grace of the same Prince, that he also esteems your noble and wise counsel, we therefore remember and acknowledge your consideration in the Lord, and request you to consider and observe, out of your noble consideration and reverence for us and the same Royal See, what great honor, what great treasure, we have esteemed the same Duke Fridrichen. You should also consider how horrible is the excessive joy of Martin Luther, the child of the devil, which also tastes of secret heresy, and how such a great prince's noble and rudimentary name and praise, as well as the praiseworthy rumor of his predecessors, may well be cleared. You shall advise the said our skilful hornet, and the same Duke, by your salutary counsel, of this. Thereby ours and the said Stul ere also his own of the duke's good reputation. In addition, the reverend Martini Jr's wealth and freedom will be punished, so that, unfortunately, such an old and grievous evil and error from among the common man, who believes it to be too easy and too dangerous, may be removed by your good promotion and advice. In this will your devotion, God of our heaven,

1) This letter is in all respects the same as the one mentioned above, No. 251 (to Pfeffinger); however, according to the older translation by Spalatin himself, it is here indented again (Walch).

253 Papal Breve to Spalatin of October 24, 1518.

This breve is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (<1550), tom. I, toi. 234; in the Erlanger, opp. var. arA, tom. II, p. 448; and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 561. In all these editions with the false

Whose business it is to do a pleasing wrck, to us also, who have no greater lead, to clear the dreps 1) and weeds from the Lord's field, to the highest gratitude. On the other hand, in your kind and Christian request, your prayer shall be more gracious to us and to the said school. As then your consideration of the said Charlemagne is to be further ordered. Given in the Alben Statue of the Bishopric of Viterbo under the Fisherman's Ring, on the xxiiiite day of October. Thousand five hundred and eighteen. Our bishopric in the sixth year.

254 Cardinal von Medici's letter to Spalatin against Luther, according to Spalatin's German Translation. Dated October 20, 1518.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), körn. I, toi. 234l>; in the Jena (1579), torn. I, toi. 2095; in the Erlanger, opp. var. urß., tom. II, p. 450 and in Löscher, ref.Acta, vol. III, p. 7. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 62; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 138b; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 255 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 219. In all these editions with the wrong date: I.Jan. 1519. With the correct date according to Spalatin's translation in Cyprian, vol. II, p. 89 and in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 562. In the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 265 in another translation with the date February 7, 1519 (Seidemann, Miltitz, p. 5).

Respectable Lord and special friend, because the great Lord Karl von Miltitz, our Most Holy Lord's secretary, has in some of his quests consented to the Most Serene Prince and Duke of Saxony. And we will gladly assist him with all possible favor and assistance. Accordingly, we have deemed it good to remind you, as those who are in the favor and esteem of high-born princes, not only to show the good and favorable will of Karl von Miltitz in his own endeavors, But also in some matters concerning the honour and sovereignty of our most Holy Lord and the Holy Roman Church, which he himself will best believe to give, and to advise the Reverend Prince on the matter of the Church. In this way, his sovereignty, like that of his predecessors, will have the church in good protection and protection, in which we will be especially pleased with the Most Holy Lord and ourselves. And we herewith entreat you to be well disposed towards us, Given at Cornet, on the XXth day of October XV C. XVIII Eur
Julius Vice-Cantzler.

1) lollium - lollipop, dizzy oat.

255 Papal breve to the Naumburg canon, Donat Groß, October 24, 1518.

This breve, which is identical with the one to Pfeffinger (No. 251) and Spalatin (No. 253), is first printed in Latin and German after the original by the hand of Spalatin in Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden", Vol. II, p. 91 and afterwards in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 563.

Beloved Son. The Blessedness and the Favourable Benediction. With what great affection and cousinly love we wish the most holy roses, which are used to be given and sent by the priests on the fourth Sunday in Lent, to the beloved son of the nobleman Frederick Duke of Saxony, as the one who, according to his most apparent predecessors. And that he may still show himself to be good to us, your consideration of our beloved son Karl von Miltitz, our skillful, holy chamberlain and servant, and several other opinions which have been painted for us and for the Holy See, will be heard more commonly. When we now know that you are in the good graces of the said Duke, and that your wise and noble counsel is greatly respected, we therefore remind you and urge you to show your consideration for the Duke, and cousinly request that you consider your gracious consideration and reverence for us and for the same see in the right way. You should also consider how great and terrible is the excessive joy of one of the devil's brothers, Martinus Lothar, who also tastes of the most obvious heresy and may spoil the noble name of such a great duke and his predecessors. And if you have heard the same from our nuncio or the learned ones, that Jhenig berurten Hertzogen raten, dadurch vnser selbst v demselben Stuls eren v und werden, auch vilgedachten Hertzogen ere wol geraten vnd geholfen, vnd genannter Martinus Freuel gedempfft vnd unterdrückt, and that this burdensome error, which is thus seen in the common faithful followers, is put down most of all by your advice and help, in which your faithfulness to God our Saviour, which is this matter, is an acceptable thing, and for us, which we have a greater vindication than to root out the weeds from the master's field, to act. However, your consideration against us and the said school in their

The author is to be found more gracious and more lenient in his kind requests. As then your attention of the same Karl von Miltitz the weyter report volckommentlicher versteen. Date of the old bishopric of Viterbo, under the fisherman's ring, on the fourth and twentieth day of October in the XV C. XVIII. and of our baptism in the sixth year. Evangelista.

To the beloved son Donat Grossen Tumhernn zu Naumburg.

256 Papal decree to the then captain and council of the city of Wittenberg against Luther, issued October 24, 1518.

This breve is in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 98, in Latin and German, in Löscher, vol. II, p. 564 only in Latin.

Beloved Son. The Blessedness and the Benediction. We have not received any complaint from our hearts, and have been informed by many scriptures and rumors of what has been considered and held to be Christian by you and in the faithful followers of the end and the opposite world in Germany, which has always been Christian. And to the Holy Spirit in the lowest and most humble manner, a son of the perditionis filius Martinus Lother, with the advice of the devil, to the most common feyndt vnser selickeit. He is not afraid to be publicly admitted, not only with preaching, but also with vilification, all because it not only smacks and tastes of the most well-known heresy, but is also subject to great and severe punishment, and is longer unacceptable to us and to you on account of your honesty and reverence toward us, and if we do not accept it, it may be too much and too deep in the too easy believing folk, because we then want to be that weed painted with ours, and with the help of your right and fair help and favor out of the good and fertile field of the Lord, to clear it out and to pay it back, we have out of special trust in the faithfulness and honesty of the beloved son of Carl von Miltitz. We have, out of special trust to the faithfulness and speech of the beloved son of Carl of Miltitz, given him, by other writ, some condemnation, which we, as is proper, and as such a wicked and convenient matter requires, intend to be soon and well executed and enforced. All of which we wish to report to you and to show you our cousin's affection for you.

Now we hope that this same Charles will make our prayers easier, wiser, and more useful, so that we can show him your help and goodwill. For this reason we remind and acknowledge your devotion in the Lord, and the painting of the entire Christian church of ourselves, and of all the faithful, kind mother, and of the Christian faith, to which you also confess our own, and to maintain the said church, we ask of the Lord most earnestly and civilly. We would like to consider carefully and faithfully how important it is, and what great reward it would give, if the joy and the damnable sin and the greatness of the reign of Martin were to arise, and to show Charles our Commissioner such convenient chance and support that he may carry out all his duties freely and without hindrance. Therefore, God our Savior accepts this matter. And to please us and the aforementioned Council, with your special praise. Given in the old city of Viterbo bishopric, under the fisherman's ring, on the fourth and twentieth day of October. One thousand. And in the eighteenth and sixth year of our birthright.

Evangelista.

The beloved sonen dem Hauptman vnd Ratßherr der vornemen Stat Wittenberg Brandenburger Bistumbs.

6) How Miltitz set out on his journey to Germany and what he did on the way.

Luther's report to Spalatin that Miltitz was certainly on his way, and that he was not unaware of how the pope wanted to present the prince with the golden rose, along with his thoughts about it.

See Appendix, No. 26, § 3 and No. 16, § 11.

258 Albert de Mironibu's letter to Spalatin, in which he implores him to report whether the long-awaited Herr Carl von Miltitz has finally arrived, and if so, where he has traveled on to and where he is now to be seen; if, however, he has not yet arrived, he is to be contacted.

If he has come, he would like to inform him of this as soon as possible. Dat. 22 Dec. 1518.

This letter is found in Latin in Cyprian's Useful Documents, vol. II, p- 44, after the original.

Translated from Latin.

Hail. Worthy, dear sir! Although Carl von Miltitz promised you in three letters, some of which I have read myself, that he would return from Rome, I have not heard the least about his arrival since I left you. Accordingly, I ask your love very much that you give me news with the bearer of this when he has arrived, and where he has gone from the Elector, and where he can now be found; but if he should not yet be back, which seems more likely to me, then I implore you to give me news of his arrival in writing immediately at my expense, where it can happen without causing you inconvenience. That will be very dear to me. For there are some who want to speak to him about an important matter for urgent reasons. Farewell and continue to love your friend Albert, and if there is any strange news, let me know. From my hostel Mittelfron. In the year after the redemption of Christ 1518, December 22.

Albertus de Mironibus.

Luther's report of how Miltitz, on his journey, had inquired everywhere in the inns what they thought of the Roman See and of Luther, and how they had consistently been more on this side than on the Pabst's; all from Miltitz's own mouth, as he faithfully told Luther himself afterwards.

This report can be read in Luther's preface to the first part of his Latin books, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 445.

260 Miltizen's letter to Spalatin, informing him that he had already arrived in Gern and would be with him tomorrow in Altenburg. Dated Gera, Dec. 26, 1518.

This letter was first printed in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 104, from it in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 566.

Translated into German.

Venerable, as a brother highly honored 2c. Our greeting before! Yesterday we arrived in the city of Gera with the respectable gentleman, Mr. Degenhard Pfeffinger, whom we had wished to meet in Bavaria, his fatherland. However, since I had firmly decided to follow the most reverend Lord, Cardinal St. Sixti, Legate de Latere, who was then in Austria with the Imperial Majesty, and heard that the said Lord Degenhard had gone to the most illustrious Prince's court camp, I did not want to pass by without meeting him before he arrived at the Prince. Therefore, I quickly decided to go to the most illustrious prince together with him.

But what the cause was, and for what reason I did it, you will hear from the aforementioned Mr. Degenhard in full, and tomorrow, God willing, you will also hear from me verbally. For I am only forced to forgive a little today, because I am somewhat indisposed. Herewith, I am at your Reverence's disposal, and I ask you to give a nice greeting, especially to Bernhard Hirsfeld, our brother. Farewell. From Gera, Dec. 26, 1518.

Your Reverence's humble servant Carl
von Miltitz, apostolic nuncio.

To the excellent and venerable gentleman, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the most illustrious Duke Frederick of Saxony 2c. Geheimsecretär, his dear and as a brother highly venerable Lord.
Altenburg.

The second section of the fourth chapter.

Of the Elector of Saxony's timidity, and how Luther should have left Wittenberg, but should and will finally stay there again.

A. How the court gave Luther to understand that he would like to see him leave Wittenberg.

261 Bavaru's account of the hardships Luther, who had been abandoned by the whole world, had to face, since Prince Frederick not only did not like his return from Augsburg to Wittenberg, but also hinted to him that he would like to go elsewhere.

From the Bavarus Manuscript, tom. I, p. 213, in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol.

Translated from Latin.

When Luther came to Augsburg to Cajetan and did not want to recant, he was alone there, abandoned by all human help and protection, by the emperor, the pope, the legate, the cardinal, the duke of Saxony, Frederick, his prince, his order, even Staupitz, his most trusted friend. Prince Frederick did not like him to return from Augsburg, just as he had not advised him to travel there. As he was not a little dismayed by this abandonment, he consulted with himself where he wanted to go; there was no hope in Germany, nor was it safe to stay in France because of the Pope's threats. Thus, he was in the greatest distress at that time. He therefore went back to Saxony. When he traveled the first day from Augsburg to Mannheim, he had a hard trotting nag, only knee breeches, no knife nor weirs, no spurs, and yet he came so far as Wittenberg. When he arrived there, the noble courtier (curtisanus) Carl Miltitz was there, and he had 70 brevía from the pope to the princes and bishops that they should send Luther captured to Rome to the pope. Prince Frederick, because he was worried that the pope would demand that he take Luther prisoner, gave him to understand that he should go somewhere else where he could hide himself safely. 1)

Luther's report to Spalatin about how, if the papal ban were to arrive, he would certainly have decided to go to France, because the Elector himself wanted him to stay in another place and had therefore already had Spalatin negotiate with him at Lichtenberg.

See Appendix, No. 23, 8 3.

B. Per University of Wittenberg intercession for Luther.

The University of Wittenberg's petition for Luther to Prince Frederick of Saxony when Luther wanted to leave Wittenberg. Dated November 23, 1518.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg (1550), tow. I, col. 227; in the Jena (1579), tow. I, toi. 202 d; in the Erlanger, opp. vor. urk., tom. II, p. 426 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 503. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 57; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 135; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 147 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 215.

To the most illustrious Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, our most gracious Lord, grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ, with their humble submission.

1 Most Serene Prince and Most Gracious Lord! The worthy man, Brother Martinus Luther, Master of Liberal Arts and Holy Scripture, a noble and highly renowned member of our University, has informed us that the most reverend Lord Thomas Cajetan, of the Holy Roman Church with the title of St. Sixti PriestCardinal, Papal Holiness Legate, has written to E. C. F. G. advising him either to send the same Doctorem Martinum to Rome, or to expel him from their lands, on account of certain

1) The continuation of this report will follow in No. 269.

Positions or propositions, which he has disputed, and now recently presented to papal holiness, with attached instruction, as that he has offered himself for a public disputation, or secret answer, written down. He also requests that his errors be reported to him in writing with attached causes and sayings of the Holy Scriptures and Holy Fathers, by which he may be enlightened to see and recognize his errors.

(2) But he has not obtained any, but has been badly pressed to revise and revoke his doctrine and writings. He was not proven to be a faithful pastor or shepherd before, who is obliged to give an account to everyone who demands the reason for the hope that is in us, not only to those who want to be taught and instructed, 1 Petr. 3, 15, but it is also commanded to punish, reprimand, admonish 2c. those who do not want to be instructed, 2 Tim. 4, 2.

For this reason, the said D. Martinus has asked us, and obtained from us, to request him against E. C. F. G. that E. C. F. G. write to the Reverend Legate or Papal Holiness himself, write to the reverend legate or papal holiness himself, and graciously ask for him that he be informed in writing of the articles and points of his errors, and that next to them either original authority or sayings of the Holy Scriptures be included, from which he could recognize that he had erred and then recanted, but not before he was urged to condemn or recant the same sayings as wrongfully introduced, unless he had first been instructed with clearer sayings that he should and must recant them.

(4) For it is an ancient custom and usage of the holy Christian church, even pointing to the examples of the holy fathers, that those who have taught unrighteously are to be held to recant and condemn their error with sufficient causes shown and testimonies of Scripture, not with mere human commandments or force, as they have hitherto (as he complains) dealt with it.

Therefore, Most Serene Elector, although we may not have refused this pious man his very reasonable request, and give credence to his adverts, we are nevertheless pleased beyond measure that E. C. F. G. means the Holy Church and the Pope with all fidelity, and holds them in high esteem. This is what we say from the heart, and we do not want to speak or be of a different mind in the future. Yes, we also say further, as much as the said Doctor Martinus would be found to have erred in some article, so we will

be the first to speak out. For we esteem nothing higher and greater 1) than the knowledge and judgment of the Holy Roman Church.

Accordingly, most gracious Lord, we ask in all subservience this alone now at this time, that E. C. F. G., so some comfort and upholder of this our university, which now by God's grace and E. C. F. G. is the only university of ours. C. F. G.'s gracious diligence, do not want to have any complaint about it, Papal Holiness, after humble submissive request: In their letter (as we know that they can do best without our remembrance) they do not forget to indicate Doctoris Martini's humble request, who deals with it and is worried that the purity of truth is opened and comes to light; but ask that the light may be shown to him by those who say that he walks in darkness.

He does not deny that he walks in darkness (because the Scripture says that all men are liars), Ps. 116, 11. Rom. 3, 4. But he desires that this very cheap grace and benefit, which befits all Christian men in the best way and is very well regarded, may be granted to him, that the light may be kindled for him, and that after displaying the testimonies of truth he may be led out of darkness and not cast into further darkness. Not because he, Doctor Martinus, doubts that the most holy pope Leo X will not do so, but because he is afraid of his enemies' treachery and presumptuousness, and that his detractors might, in the name of the holy church, refrain from that which the holy church, if it knew it, would most diligently abolish and avert.

May the Lord Jesus keep us and his whole church blessed and healthy for a long time, amen. Date Wittenberg, on the third and twentieth day 2) of November, Anno 1518.

E. C. F. G.

understated

Rector, Magistri and Doctores of the University of Wittenberg.

1) In the old German editions: "nichts höhers noch grössers"; in Latin: nilūl suthuius.

2) In all German editions the date uniio Laleind. Okeklukr. is wrongly resolved by November 22. So also in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 188 in the introduction to our letter.

C. How Luther made arrangements to leave so as not to cause the Elector any displeasure on his account.

Luther's repeated request to the court through Spalatin, whether the Elector could not effect a commission in Germany on his behalf with the Pope, so that his cause would be settled before fair judges, because he nevertheless did not want to leave the dear university, which was very dear to him.

See Appendix, No. 18, § 3.

Luther's declaration to Spalatin that he was quite ready to leave Wittenberg, along with notification that he wanted to leave behind a letter of farewell. Dated Nov. 25, 1518.

See Appendix, No. 22, ? 2.

Luther's thoughts, which he freely revealed to Spalatin, that he did not require the protection of secular princes and prelates.

See Appendix, No. 27, U 1-3.

Another such frank declaration by Luther.

See Appendix, No. 28.

268 Another quite exceptional testimony that Luther did not want the Word of God to be protected by men and princes, and that is why he first intended to dedicate his book of good works to Duke John, in order to avoid all appearance as if he had sought the grace and help of princes in his cause.

See Appendix, No. 29, § 2.

D. How the Host finally instructed Luther to stay in Wittenberg.

269 Bavaru's report on how Luther had made serious arrangements for his departure, and also held a banquet with some good friends.

during which first a repeated order arrived from the court to leave, but immediately afterwards a counter-order that he should stay.

This document is the continuation of No. 231, in Cyprian 1. e. p. 385.

Translated from Latin.

Luther was forced to obey his prince, therefore he arranged a meal with his brothers to take leave of them, but did not know where he should go. During the meal, letters arrived from Spalatin in which he reported that the prince was surprised that he had not yet left, and that he should therefore speed up his journey. He was immensely saddened by this news and thought that he had been abandoned by everyone. But he regained his courage and burst into the words: Father and mother are leaving me, but the Lord is taking me away. Soon after this, other letters arrived while he was still sitting over the table, in which Spalatin indicated that if he had not yet left, he should stay; Miltitz had spoken with the prince and declared that the matter could be settled by a discussion or disputation. 1) As soon as the prince heard this soothing statement, he kept the doctor, who remained in Wittenberg until this day, August 12 of the 1536th year.

Luther's letter to Spalatin, in which he reports that he would have already left Wittenberg if his letter had not been received shortly before, and assures him that he is ready to leave even now, if his staying should make the Elector displeased.

Dat. 2 December 1518.

This letter, the original of which is in the Anhaltische Gesamtarchiv, is printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 105; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 638; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 189 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 308. Only in the latter edition is the postscript found after the original; likewise in Burkhardt, p. 15. We have added it here.

. Newly translated from the Latin.

1) What is said here with regard to Miltitz is not connected with the letter reported in the next number, because this is dated December 2, while Miltitz arrived in Gera only on December 25 and probably in Altenburg on December 27. Therefore, the Elector will not have come to the decision not to let Luther go only because of Miltitz's declaration. Compare Seidemann "Miltitz", p. 7, Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 309, Note 1,

To the very good man, the highly learned Magister
 Georg Spalatin, his dearest [friend] in Christ.
 Jesus.

Hail! If your letter had not come yesterday, I would have already arranged my departure, dear Spalatin, but even now I am ready for both. The concern of our people about me is extraordinary, and greater than I myself can suffer. Some have insisted and strongly urged that I should hand myself over to our prince for capture, and that he should take me and keep me somewhere, and write to the lord legate that I should be captured and kept in a safe place to answer for myself. Whether this advice is good, I leave to your discernment; I am in the hands of God and my friends.

It is certain that one believes that the prince holds it with me just like the university, which was recently talked about by one of whom I know that he certainly does not tell me lies. At the court of the bishop of Brandenburg, people were talking about me: on what confidence and on whose adherence I would trust. Here one said: Erasmus, Fabricius 1) and other very learned men are his confidence. No, said the bishop, these would be nothing against the pope; the University of Wittenberg and the Duke of Saxony, they are more valid. Thus I see quite clearly that one believes that the prince holds it with me, which displeases me very much. Of course, I would like the university to fear the same in the highest way. But this suspicion against the prince will compel me to leave, if it is necessary to leave; but the prince can counter this in his writings, saying that he is a layman and cannot judge in such great matters; now all the less, since he sees that the university, which is recognized as good by the church, does not stand against me. 2) But these are secondary matters. If I stay here, I will lack a lot of freedom in speaking and writing; if I leave, I will

1) Wolfgang Fabricius Capito. At that time, however, he was not yet a councilor and court preacher of the archbishop at Mainz, as De Wette, Vol. I, p. 189, Note, states, but still in Basel. Capito left for Mainz only on April 28, 1520 (Erl. Briefw. I, 309).

2) See Document No. 263 of Nov. 22, 1518.

I will pour out everything and offer my life to Christ. Farewell. Wittenberg, Dec. 2, 1518, Brother Martin Luther.

The Prepositus 3) at Kemberg has died, and his nephew has requested that I work on his behalf with the most noble prince so that he would be recommended to the university for appointment. For he is a good man. Furthermore, the surviving sister of the Prepositus has contributed much to the welfare 4) of this provosty. Because I do not like to bother the prince, let me, I beg of you, be relieved of this intercession, 5) so that I can answer that I have interceded, because you are also able to do more than I am. Farewell.

271 Luther's explanation in a letter to Spalatin as to how far the talk among the people was true, that in public preaching he had already

I said goodbye to the people.

See Appendix, No. 26.

Fragment of a letter from Wolfgang Fabricius Capito to Luther of 18 Feb. 1519, in which he reports to him that there are many powerful friends in Switzerland and on the Rhine who are favorable to him and who had already made arrangements for his safe residence and support when they heard that he was in danger; however, after he had seen a copy of a letter from the Elector of Saxony to Cardinal Cajetan, he realized that he no longer needed outside help.

This writing is found in the extract from a manuscript, datirt Lusileue. XII. Xuk Äurtii in Scultetus uuuul 6VNUA6l. rouov., p. 45, as in von der Hardt, kist. Uten rek. 1717, Theil V, p. 30. also in Tentzel, Hist. Bericht, vol. I, p. 219 "very erroneous). Complete in Arnold's Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historien, vol. I, 1037 k and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 424. According to the latter, we have retranslated and supplemented the excerpt in Walch.

Newly translated from the Latin.

3) According to Lingke, Reisegeschichte Luthers, p. 57, the provost was called Ziegelheim von Spremberg. His nephew, however, did not become his successor, but Bartholomäus Bernhardi (Erl. Briefw. I, 310).

4) Burkhardt: prsekotum. Erlanger Briefwechsel: protootum.

5) Burkhardt: levar. Erlanger Briefwechsel: Isvarl.

Switzerland and the Rhineland all the way to the world's oceans have righteous friends for Luther, and very powerful ones at that, who are not entirely aloof from good studies. Since the Cardinal of Sion, 1) the Count of Geroldseck, 2) a certain learned and extraordinarily righteous bishop, 3) and not a few others of ours had recently heard that you were in danger, they promised not only sustenance, but also safe places where you could either be hidden or stay openly. Since the rumor said that you were in great distress and had to struggle with the greatest misery, there were people who sought to raise a very rich aid through me, and they would have raised it in any case. But this evening we received the golden message: Luther lives and will always live. Then we saw a copy of the letter of the most illustrious duke and true-

1) Matthäus Schinner (Erl. Briefw.).

2) Diebolt (Theobalt) von Geroldseck, a native of Swabia, administrator of the Einsiedeln monastery, a member of Zwingli's closest circle of friends; he later left the monastery and, like Zwingli, fell in the battle of Kappel (Erl. Briefw.).

3) The Bishop of Basel, Christoph von Uttenheim (Erl. Briefw.).

We can see from this that you do not need our little help at all. But if we are able to do something through our good will, we will assist you everywhere. 5) We have printed your Memoirs together, as you will recognize from Frobenius' gift, soon after the Frankfurt Fair. And at the same time, in a month and a half, we have spread them through Italy, France, Spain and England with good luck, for we are thereby advising the common cause, which, we believe, will be helped most if the truth is made known as widely as possible. For by nature the sweetness of truth attracts even the unwilling to love it. Forgive me for having reminded you the other day 6) of Erasmus' suggestion, that is, for having carried owls to Athens.

4) This is Document No. 241, the reply of the Elector to Cajetan of 8 Dec. 1518. The old edition of Walch has in the caption to our document: "an den Cardinal zu Sitten".

5) The following is missing in the old edition of Walch. - With the "Denkwürdigkeiten" (mōrūmenta) are meant especially the *Źeta VriZustanu*. Compare the 425th document.

6) September 4, 1518, Erl. Briefw. Vol. I, No. 92.

The third section of the fourth chapter.

Of Miltitzen's negotiations with Luther at Altenburg.

From -the personal Zummenkunst of Miltitzen and Luther at Altenburg.

Luther's report of the intimate conversations he had with Miltitz in Altenburg, and how Miltitz let himself

See Luther's preface to the first part of his Latin books, *h.*, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 445.

Luther's report of this to Joh. Egranus, in which he says, among other things, that Miltitz honored him at audience with a Judas kiss, and also shed tears of joy under his admonitions.

See Appendix, No. 30, U 1-3.

275 Luther's report of this to D. Staupitz, in which he calls Miltitz's hypocritical tenderness *Italitäten* [Italian ruses].

See Appendix, No. 31, U 2. 3.

Luther's *status causae*, recently drafted for Carl von Miltitz in Spalatin's house, on the causes of the Reformation movements that have arisen. About 4 or 5 Jan. 1519.

This writing, which is to be set about January 4 or 5, 1519 *zn*, is found with a preceding historical introduction in Latin in the Wittenberg (1550), *toir*°. I, col. 234 k; in the Jena (1579), tom. I, col. 209 d and in the Erlanger, opp. var. nr^h., tom. II, p. 450. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 64 d; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 141 d; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 258 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 222. Without the introduction in Löscher, *Ref.-Acta*, vol. III, p. 9;

in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 9; in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 341 and in Walch. We have only prefixed the last words of the introduction, because they seem to us to be necessary for understanding.

As it was discussed what kind of answer should be given to Carl von Miltitz, the venerable Lord D. M. Luther repeated these five following articles (which before Carl von Miltitz had often referred to in his complaint at court) at Altenburg in Mr. Georg Spalatin's house.

The articles, however, are these:

The first: that the people would be deceived, that they would now have a wrong opinion of the mind of the indulgence.

The other: that D. Luther was a beginner to this seduction or error.

The third: that Johann Tetzel had given D. Luther cause for this.

The fourth: that the bishop of Magdeburg had been able and driven to this deal by Johann Tetzel for the sake of profit.

The fifth: that Johann Tetzel had done too much to him in this imposed trade.

To this I say 1) (Doctor Luther answered and said): no one would have been more guilty that such disunity and discord over indulgences arose than papal holiness itself. Therefore, it alone would be the cause of this great accusation of disobedience against the Roman Church. For the pope, as his office demands, should either have forbidden and resisted the bishop of Magdeburg from seeking so many bishoprics for himself, or indeed should have granted them to him free of charge (as he received them from the Lord).

But because the bishop's ambition was strengthened by the pope, and his greed for money was atoned for, since he had spent so many thousands of florins on the pallia, that is,

2) and in this way, he would have given his indulgence preachers the cause to shame Christ's people in the most disgraceful way (through the indulgence stuff). In addition, the pope would have remained silent and thus approved of the bishop's handling of indulgences, and thus made himself guilty of the third sin.

In this distress, however, the bishop was induced to look for such a journeyman as Johann Tetzel was, who had been engaged for many years in the trade of scraping and scraping together money and pulling off the skin and hair of the people, and who was therefore a skilled master, but otherwise not capable of anything else.

Finally, the same Johann Tetzel, in order to satisfy the bishop's hope and desire, and not to forget his own, foamed and purified the power of indulgences so purely, that is, so great and highly praised and exalted, that now and then all the world has an abhorrence of it.

At first I was impatient with the miserable seduction, great treasure and burden of the poor people; but much more with the Florentine avarice, which the Pope's good simple heart, wherever and wherever they wanted, talked, yes, drove into all kinds of misfortune and highest danger. For experience shows that their shameful avarice and addiction to money is less satisfying than hell. Since I was given the opportunity and great just cause to attack the Romanists' avarice, I did not want to let it pass, and let what was printed before, and will follow, go out against the indulgence.

277 Miltizen's concern, raised at the request of the Elector of Saxony, as to what might be helpful in Luther's affairs with the papal see to settle them amicably. In order to

January 11, 1519.

1) De Wette and the Erl. Briefw. I. e.: "Darauf sagte ich und sprach" with the note: "Daraus (sagte ich) antworten D. Luther und sprach" in Löscher; but the words "antwortete D. Luther" seem to be explanatory addition by a later hand. - The Wittenberg and the Jena offer, "Darauf (sagen ich) antwortete" 2c. We have, as can be seen, changed the position of the brackets. - Seidemann and Enders overlooked the presence of our writing in the old editions, otherwise they could not have placed it among the letters. It is, as also the Latin, from the German very different, relation shows, the report, not Luther's, but of another about these negotiations.

From Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden", vol. II, p. 134 reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 843. The time determination is according to Seidemann, "Miltitz", p. 8.

2) In the old editions: marcken.

1. most illustrious, highborn prince, most gracious lord, because your prince graciously begs me to discover my opinion and good deeds to your lordship. Gn. to discover: What may be found useful in the matter of the Bebestlichen Stul and her Martin Lotter, I have done so at Your Curl's request. I will not fail to do so as a faithful servant and, for the sake of my salvation, I will tell your Curl. I will not fail to do so, and, for the sake of my soul, I will tell Your Grace all that may be found useful or fruitful in my case.

2. first, that Your Curl. Your Grace, that doctor Martinus Lotter humbles himself against the Roman Church and in this way he has been willing to use the Church and the Constitution, that the same does not contradict the Church, which we have concorded among us and which we have come to.

3 On the other hand, Your Curl. Gn. may consider that Martin should not preach by any other means than that he should preach for eternity.

4 Thirdly, I believe, most honorable sir, that the matter is quite useful and appropriate, that doctor Martinus is here with your Curl. Gn., I hope to be able to work together with your Curl. Grace. I want to obtain something from him that the church will suffer, but by inscription to Your Grace. Gn. and Jme, and we would also like to agree that Mr. Martinus would be unsuitable to hear the matter before a friendly judge.

5. fourthly, your Curl. Your Grace, consider whether Martinus dared to protect the Holy Roman Churches with his appendages, because during the reign of Pope Julio, the Holy Cardinal, the Roman Emperor, King of France, England, Scotland, Burgundy, and the whole of Atalia, was opposed to the Pope. King of France, England, Scotland, Burgundy and the whole of Atalia, have been against the Babst, and have begun a concilium 2c.: which the Babst has unseen privatized these same Cardinals and their statues, which he has forfeited, so that the holy church has always triumphed and prevailed.

6) Fifthly, Mr. Martinus may not say that he is not allowed to be a lawyer, or to give other instructions of indulgence, or to indicate that he does not want to be heard 2c., if he has urged the Holy See of Rome to do so, by its letter, that a new decree has been made, which has not been done in four years, 2c., which explains in its entirety what decree or bull I have here presented to your Curl. Gn. Copia with 2c. 1)

7 Now may Ew. Curfl. Gn. gnedigister Lord

Consider the above and from it devise another means by which I may at all times show myself to be a faithful and humble servant of Your Grace. Gn. and in truth do nothing that may be detrimental to the matter, so that I may humbly thank Your Curl. I humbly submit to your grace.

278: Spalatin's counter-reflection, also on the prince's orders. Around January 11, 1519.

This document is found in Chprian's "Nützliche Urkunden", Vol. II, p. 137 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 845. The time determination is according to Seidemann, "Miltitz", p. 8.

Most Gracious Lord!

1. if one is to do something with Doctor Martinus, one must first of all know from the Miltitz what and how much he should object to the Babst between them, and signify the same objection with expressed words. Considering that perhaps the Miltitz may refuse to demand a more serious objection than the legate has done.

When the legate, according to Doctor Martinus, has not contested the whole matter of the indulgence, then this one article, that the merit of Christ our dear Lord and Savior shall be the indulgence.

3 Because the New Decree of great merit now makes such a report that it is not at all contrary to Doctor Martinus' opinion, it will be necessary to bring a form of objection from Miltitz, and to consider it more carefully.

4) It is also clear that if Doctor Martinus were to occupy Miltitz 2), the legate or other Doctor Martinus would also take another route and contest it, because many changes and prints had been made in the matter according to Miltitz's decision, which could also have changed the opinion of the Babst and legate.

5 If it were necessary, then it would be freely given to Doctor Martinus, that according to his request the matter would be heard and recognized by the four universities Freyburg in Preysckaw, Löven in Nyderland, Basel vnd Paryß. Or, however, that the official authorities have ordered some of the best Westerners, Frenchmen and Germans to a safe place to hear and consider this matter.

1) This is Document No. 234.

2) to satisfy == to saturate, to satisfy.

6) If Doctor Martinus is to make a contradiction according to the first consideration, he must know on which article and which measure.

7. das ander bedenken Miltitz trytt zw weytt. quia verbum Dei non est alligatum. Ita dicit Sanctus Paulus [For God's word is not bound. So says St. Paul (2 Tim. 2, 9.)]f.

8 I cannot estimate what the freemason judge might do on his own according to the third consideration.

9 The fourth prayer is painted as a warning against the Babst. Sic non fecit Sanctus Petrus: neque ceteri Sancti pontifices: qui populum Dei viam veritatis humiliter et fideliter docuerunt [So did not St. Peter, nor the other holy popes, who taught the people of God the way of truth humbly and faithfully].

10 On the fifth consideration, Doctor Martinus would soon see what he should and might do or not do on account of the Nawen Decretal cristlich.

For this, compare Luther's letter to the Elector, No. 536, which belongs here.

B. What Luther promised Miltitzen in this conversation, and how he also fulfilled it, also suggested certain arbiters from Mittihen's request.

Luther's written report to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, who was staying at Lochau at the time, about what he had declared against Miltitzen that he was willing to do. About Jan. 5 or 6, 1519.

The original of this letter is in Oock. 60tū.

379, k. 2. Printed in Chprian's Urkunden, vol. I, p. 386; in the Supplement of the Leipzig edition, p. 27; in Löschner's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 11; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 207 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 5. Cyprian had it printed after the original, as De Wette says. We reproduce its text with the corrections given according to the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 343. Pa's letter should be dated around Jan. 5 or 6, 1519.

JEsus!

1st Illuminator High Porter Prince, Gnedigister Sir. It is too much for me that E. F. G. ßo weyt ynn meyne suche vnnd mühe gezogen

1) The "reservations" are to be understood as the five points listed in the previous paper (No. 277) 8 2 ff.

But because of the need and God's will, I ask the Lord for his mercy.

2 Yesterday, Mr. Carolus von Miltitz highly criticized the dishonor and injustice inflicted by me on the Roman Church, and I humbly offered to do what I could to acknowledge it. Now I ask E. F. G. to decide on my concerns, which I would like to make known here to E. F. G., then I would like to do something for you.

3) First of all, I promise to keep quiet about this matter, and to let the matter itself 3) bleed to death (as far as the opposing party is also silent), if I consider it so, they will let my letter go free, it will be all sworn and sung out for the time being, and one or two of them will get tired of the song. Also, if this remedy is not followed, and is further challenged, with force, or 4) words, then the thing will first come out right, and the insult will turn into a serious one, when I still have my word in full. Therefore I consider it best to stand still in the matter.

4) On the other hand, I would like to declare my loyalty to the priesthood, 5) and submit myself humbly, confessing how I have been too hot and too sharp, but not avoiding to be too close to the H. Ro. I do not avoid being too close to the Holy Roman Church, but rather denounce the reason that I, as a faithful child of the church, have fought back against the lesterly preaching, which has led to great ridicule, slander, and anger of the people against the Roman Church.

5) Thirdly, I wanted to send out a cedel 6) to order everyone (them!) to follow the Roman Churches, to be obedient and ruthless, and not to disgrace my writings, but to the benefit of the Holy Roman Churches. I also confess that I have brought the matter to light in an excessively heated and perhaps untimely manner. Then, if the cause had not been so great, I had done enough, and still had a

2) beschlahen (beschlagen) - to consider, consider, consider (Dietz).

3) "let" is added from Cyprian.

4) In the original: adder.

5) This promised letter is the Letter to Leo X, Document No. 283.

6) This "note" is Document No. 281.

The first is that the right of the person to be informed in writing of the matter is a right of the person to be informed of the matter in writing.

6) Fourthly, Magister Spalatinus proposed through Mr. Fabian of Feylitz that the matter was ordered by the High Archiepiscopate of Saltzburg, whose judgment, as decided with learned, unrighteous people, I should hold, or 1) to my appeal, Aries would not be held. Thus, the matter may become urgent and pass away in its own right. But I am afraid that the bishop will not let a judge, so I will not let the bishop's judge either: therefore, if the first decision does not go well, the result will be that the bishop will make the text, and I will castigate him. That would not be good. I have also spoken with Mr. Carol, who says it would not be enough, and yet not the recantation soderet, sinners on the consideration of another went. Weyß E. F. G. if I want to do something more, for the sake of God E. F. G. will do me the favor. I will gladly do everything, everything, so that I am not caused to do anything more. For nothing will come of the revocation.

E. K. F. G.

lord capellan
Doctor Martinus.

Luther's short report to Elector Frederick of Saxony on how he had united with Carl von Miltitz on two articles. About Jan. 6 or 7, 1519.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 65; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 143; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 259; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 224; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 7; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 209 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 13.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord.

I do E. C. F. G. humbly to know how He Carol von Miltitz and I finally agree, have decided the trade on two articles.

First, that a common inhibition be imposed on both parties, and that both parties be forbidden to preach, write, and act further on the matter.

Secondly, he wants Carol to write recently to the Holy Father Pope of all things, as he invented, opportunity, and then see that papal holiness orders out, for example, a learned bishop, to learn the matter, and indicate articles that are erroneous and should be revoked by me. And then, if I am taught the error, I shall and will gladly recant it, and not weaken the honor and authority of the Holy Roman Church.

281: Luther's instruction on several articles imposed on him by his patrons. Published at the instigation of Carl von Miltitz, probably at the end of February 1519.

This writing is the "note" promised by Luther in No. 279. It probably appeared at the end of February 1519. In the Weimar edition, no less than 16 individual editions are listed, which belong to the years 1519 to 1524. The editio xrineeps was published by Johann Grüenberg in Wittenberg in 1519 and again in 1520. The title reads: "Doctor Martinus Luther Augustiners Vnterricht aufs etlich artickell die im von sehnen abgunnern auff gelegt vnd zu gemessen Vuerden. 1519." 4 quarto leaves. All other printings are reprints, as, by Melchior Lotther in Leipzig, by Wolfgang Stöcke! in Leipzig, by Silvan Otmar in Augsburg, by Adam Petri in Basel, by Martin Flach in Strasbourg, by Jörg Nadler in Augsburg, by Hans Froschauer in Augsburg 2c. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1554), vol. VII, p. 7; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 165; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 293; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 224; in the Erlangen, first edition, vol. 24, p. 3; second edition, Also in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 84 and in "Mancherlei Büchlin und Tractetlin" 1520. We give the text according to the Weimar edition, but, as with Walch, in modernized language.

To all who see, hear, and read this letter, I, Martinus Luther, Augustinian at Wittenberg, offer my humble service and poor prayer.

It has come to my attention that some people have falsely imagined my writing, especially that which I have dealt with the "scholars" according to its sharpness, to the "simple-minded" people, and have made me suspect in some articles, that even some, otherwise dilapidated in the faith, caused by such imagination, speak shamefully of

of the dear holy intercession, of purgatory, of good works, fasting, praying, 2c., of the Roman church power, as if all this should be nothing. Therefore, I must, as much as possible, counter the same harmful tongues and explain myself. Please, any devout Christian would hear me rightly, and not believe my uninvited interpreters more than myself.

1. from the dear holy intercession

I say and stand firm with all Christianity that one should honor and call upon the dear saints. For who can deny that even today God is visibly working miracles in the bodies and graves of the dear saints through the names of His saints?

But this is true, and I have said it, that it is not Christian not to seek spiritual needs more or more diligently than bodily needs from the dear saints.

Where can one find a saint who is called upon for patience, faith, love, chastity, and other spiritual goods, as St. Anne for wealth, St. Lawrence for fire, the one for a bad leg, the one for this, the other for that? Not that everything is to be rejected, but that a Christian man should respect the spiritual more than the goods he sees, even common to animals and pagans.

(4) Some are so foolish about this that they think that the saints have a power or authority to do such things, when they are only intercessors, and everything is done by God alone. Therefore, one should call upon them and honor them in such a way that one calls upon and honors God through them, as Psalm 132:1: *Memento Domino David*, "Remember, God, David, and all his meekness." Moses also praises Abraham, Isaac and Jacob before God, and the Christian Church teaches the same in its prayers.

1. from the purgatory

one should firmly believe, and I know that it is true that the poor souls suffer unspeakable pain, and one is obliged to help them with prayers, fasting, almsgiving, and whatever one can. But what is the nature of the torment, and whether it serves only for satisfaction or also for recovery?

I do not know, and I still say that no one knows it well enough. Therefore, one should command God, and not gape and cry out as if one were sure of it. We are not commanded to do more than help them. God alone wants to know how he will deal with them.

2 Also that one wants to rush into purgatory with indulgences, and thus fall by force into God's secret judgment, I have no knowledge, and do not yet know how to obtain or prove. Believe it, whoever wants to, I do not want to believe it, unless it is proven wrong. Thus, whether God wills it, I have not denied purgatory.

1. from the indulgence

It is enough for a common man to know that the indulgence is a discharge of the atonement for sin; but that it is much less; for good works are commanded, and we are bound to do them.

2 Indulgences are free and arbitrary; no one sins who does not redeem them, and no one deserves them. Therefore, if someone does not give to a poor person, or does not help his neighbor, and yet thinks to redeem indulgences, he does nothing but mock God and himself. He does not do what God has commanded, and does what no one has commanded him. What more is to be known about indulgences, one should leave to the scholars in the schools, and be satisfied with this understanding.

From the commandments of the holy church.

1. the commandment of God is to be esteemed above the commandment of the church, as gold and precious stones are above wood and straw, as the apostle says in 1 Cor. 3:12, 13, and never despise any of them. Therefore, if you see anyone swearing, cursing, back-talking, or not helping his neighbor, remember and know that he is much worse than he who eats meat on Friday or breaks the commanded fasts. In this way, I have undoubtedly not opposed good works, but have preferred the right good works to the little ones.

(2) Thus I have said that a great perversion is now in the world, that one completely despises God's commandment, covering himself with human rights and works, and now fears the pope and his words far more.

for God and God's word. And when I say this, they say, I resist the pope and spiritual law; 1) but do not want to hear that they brazenly resist God Himself and His law.

3) If one sees an adulterer, robber, liar, it is nothing special, if he can wear a delicious paternoster, keep an idiosyncratic fast, or honors a special saint. But if someone eats meat on Friday, or does not celebrate Saint's Day, or does not keep a church commandment, he must be worse than a pagan, if he could raise the dead. Thus the commandments and works of men shine beautifully; God's commandment and God's work are seen through a dark mist.

(4) Therefore I still say: Mall should keep both commandments, but distinguish them with great diligence. For even if there were no commandment of the church, one could still be pious by God's commandment; but if God's commandment remains, then the commandment of the church is nothing other than a harmful sound cover, and makes a good appearance on the outside, since there is nothing good on the inside. For this reason it is my advice that the commandment of the church be laid down in part in a council, so that God's commandment may also shine and shine for once; for with the lights of many commandments the eyes of the day of divine commandment have been very nearly illuminated. 3)

1. from the good works

I have said, and still say, that no one can be pious and do good unless God's grace makes him pious first; and by works no one becomes pious, but good works are done only by the one who is pious. Just as the fruit does not make the tree, but the tree brings forth the fruit. And as Christ says [Matt. 7:18.], "An evil tree never bringeth forth good fruit." Therefore all works, however good they are, however beautiful that they shine, if they do not flow from grace, they are in vain. Not entirely in vain; for the good works that are done apart from the grace of God, God rewards temporally with riches,

Honor, strength, violence, joy, friendship, art, understanding 2c., but they do not attain eternal life.

(2) I have preached all this against those who, looking only at the outward appearance of works, call good that which is often evil in the sight of God, for God judges according to the heart, not according to the appearance of works. This is what is said: God wants us to despair of ourselves and of all our life and works, so that we may realize that we cannot stand before His eyes with all our best works, but only rely on His causeless grace and mercy, and thus walk in fear and let go of our confidence in our good life.

(3) Behold, the works and the life that are done out of such a fearful, humble heart are good, and not those that seem good by heart, how great, much, whimsical they are, done without such reason and opinion. This is what the saying of the Psalter [Ps. 147, 11.], *Beneplacitum est Domino* etc., wants, "God is heartily pleased with those who fear Him, and yet rely on His mercy." But then one fears, when one realizes that we may not stand before His judgment, and therefore flee from judgment to the throne of mercy, speaking with David [Ps. 143,2.]: "O Lord God, do not act with judgment against Your servant; for no living man may be found right in Your sight."

4 Again, God is displeased with those who know they are safe and insist on their good works. Behold, I have rejected these free, sure, trustworthy good works, so that I may teach (as Scripture does) that the fear of God is the chief good and the whole being of a wise, pious man, and that all wisdom and good works are righteous when one fears God in them and desires His grace. This is called *principium sapientiae timor Domini*, the fear of God is the head and whole faculty of all wisdom and piety [Ps. III, 10. Sir. 1,16.]. Now notice whether I have forbidden good works or not. For the fear of God is a grace of God, and no one has it before Himself; therefore all good works are evil works where grace and fear are not.

1) In the original: Just.

2) In the original: heyligen tag.

3) In the original: auß gelaucht.

From the Roman Church.

There is no doubt that the Roman Church is honored by God above all others, for there St. Peter and Paul, 46 popes, and many hundreds of thousands of martyrs have shed their blood, conquered hell and the world, so that one may well grasp how special a moment God has on the same church. Whether, unfortunately, the situation in Rome is such that it is better, 1) there is no reason so great, nor can there be, that one should tear oneself away or separate from the same church; indeed, the worse it is, the more one should join and adhere to it, for it does not become better by tearing it away or despising it. Nor should one leave God for the devil's sake, nor avoid the rest of the pious for the sake of the evil crowd. Yes, for the sake of no sin or evil that mail may think of or name, divide love and divide spiritual unity. For love is able to do all things, and nothing is too hard for unity; it is hasty bad love and unity that lets itself be divided by strange sin. 2)

(2) But what the power and authority of the Roman See can do, and how far it is stretched, let the scholars argue. For the salvation of souls is not at all concerned, and Christ has not set and founded his church on outward, apparent power and authority, or on some temporal things left to the world and worldly things, but on inward love, humility, and unity. Therefore, let authority be what it is, great or small, all or part of it, it should please us and we should be satisfied as God distributes it; just as we should be satisfied as He distributes other temporal goods, honor, wealth, favor, art 2c. But we must be careful of unity, and not resist papal commandments.

Behold, now I hope it is evident that I do not wish to take anything from the Roman church, as my dear friends reproach me. But that I do not put up with some hypocrites, methinks I am right in doing so, and should

1) In the original: tuchte.

2) In the original: tsurteylen.

not be afraid of water bubbles to death. The Holy Roman See should be followed in all things, but no hypocrite should ever be believed.

282 Luther's answer to Spalatin, from which it can be seen that his friends, especially Spalatin, had urged him to publish this work, thinking that it would make things better.

See Appendix, No. 32, §§1.2.

Luther's humble letter to Pope Leo X, which he had promised Miltitz he would leave out. Probably end of February 1519.

The original concept of this letter is found in the 60ä. Ootbnn. 379, l. 1 with the heading: "Meynung des brieffs zcum Hseiligen] Vsaters Babst." In the same, of course, there is no address. In the editions is set: Lentismuo katri l'onl X. Uontiüoi Nnxiruo 1?. Nurt. Imtberm VuAustiuunus, Lnlutsm N6t6rnnin. Likewise, the place and time designation together with the signature is missing there: Lx ^ldenburZo, 3. Llartii 1519. IV lVnrtinus Imtberus, Ooetor. The Weimar edition, Vol. II, p. 66, notes that the location itself is suspicious of the date, and the place and date were probably added by a chancellor at the time of the no-writing; and Luther's letter was then sent at the same time as the letter from the Elector to Miltitz of March 4, 1519. Luther was, as the letter in the appendix of this volume No. 32 proves, not in Altenburg at that time (March 3). Furthermore, according to § 4 of our writing, the publication of the "Unterrichts" (No. 281) is only imminent, while Luther writes in his letter of March 5 to Spalatin that it had already gone out before Spalatin had sent him reminders concerning its contents. Therefore, we have not retained the feasible time and place determination, but have dated it further back. The Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 445 notes that, if the "from Altenburg" of the editions had any meaning at all, Luther may have written the letter already in January during the negotiations with Miltitz in Altenburg and sent it only now on March 3; or Luther may have dated it from Altenburg because the negotiations were held there. In the editions: in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 152 b; in the Wittenberg (1550), toin. I, lob 235; in the Jenaer (1579), tom. I, lob 210; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 92; in Seckendorf's Hi8t. bmtk., üb. I, p. 65; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 233; in the Erlanger, opp. var. urg., tom. II, p. 452 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 442. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 65b; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 143; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 259 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 230. We have, according to the Erl. Briefw., which brings the original concept.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Most Holy Father! Again, 1) necessity forces me, the lowest among men and dust of the earth, to speak to your holiness and so high majesty. Therefore, let your holiness deign to incline its fatherly and in truth in Christ's stead (Christi vicarias aures) ears most graciously to this little sheep, and take this my bleating favorably.

The venerable Lord Carl Miltitz, your Holiness' chamberlain, was here with us and complained very strongly in the name of his Holiness to your most noble Prince Frederick about my irreverence and sacrilege against the Roman Church and your Holiness, and demanded satisfaction.

When I heard this, I was very sorry that my extremely faithful service had such an evil destiny that what I had undertaken to protect the honor of the Roman church was interpreted as dishonorable and even by the supreme head of this church was to cause the complete suspicion of all evil.

But what shall I do, most holy Father? I have no counsel at all; I cannot bear the power of your wrath, and I do not know how to escape it. I am asked to revoke the disputation. If he could do what is demanded of him, I would do it without delay. But now, since through the resistance and the urging of the opponents my writings have traveled further than I would ever have expected, and at the same time are more deeply rooted in the hearts of very many than they could be revoked; yes, since our Germany today is extraordinarily flourishing, through many fine minds, through scholarship, through correct judgment: so I see that I cannot revoke anything in any way if I want to honor the Roman Church, for which I must take care above all. For to recant would be nothing other than to defile the Roman Church more and more, and would bring her into the mouths of men to accuse her.

5. those who, O Most Holy Father, have brought this insult and almost [I would like to say] disgrace upon the Roman Church among us, deuen

I have resisted them, that is, those who, with their completely unreasonable sermons under the name of your holiness, have only served the most shameful avarice and have defiled the sanctuary with the shame of Egypt [Jos. 5:9] and made it an abomination, and, as if that were not enough evil, they accuse me, who opposed their outrageous abominations, by your holiness as the author of their outrage.

Now, Most Holy Father, I testify before God and all His creatures that I have not been nor do I now have the will to do anything in any way close to the Roman Church and to Your Holiness.] rather I confess without reservation (plenissime) that the power of this church is over all, and that nothing in heaven and on earth is preferable to it, except only Jesus Christ, the Lord over all, and your holiness will not believe any evil plotters (dolis) who plot something else against this Martinus.

7 And there is only one thing I can do in this matter: I will very gladly promise Your Holiness that I will henceforth let this matter, that which concerns indulgences, go and be completely silent, "if even those will keep their petty grand braggers (ampullas) in check". 2)

8) Yes, I also want to send out a writing among the common people, 3) from which they should recognize and be admonished that they should rightly honor the Cologne church, and not blame it for the outrage of those people, nor follow my sharpness against the Roman church, which I have used, yes, abused, and gone too far against those useless people: whether, at last, by God's grace or through this effort, the disagreement that has arisen might again be quenched.

9. for I have sought this alone, lest through the shamefulfulness of others' avarice

2) Here we have put the speech marks instead of the brackets in our original, since we are of the opinion that the brackets (as otherwise ost in the old editions) should emphasize. - Our translation of ampullas is justified by Luther's word in No. 281, 8 3: "und soll mich nicht vor Wasserblasen zu Tode fürchten".

3) The "Unterricht," No. 281.

The Roman Church, our mother, would be defiled, and people would not be led into error and learn to regard love as less important than indulgences. Everything else, since it neither helps nor harms, is held in less esteem by me. But if I can do more or know how to do more, I will undoubtedly be quite ready to do it. (Christ keep your holiness forever. At Altenburg, March 3, 1519, Brother Martin Luther, Doctor[. 1)

Luther's letter to Spalatin, in which he reports that, at Miltitzen's written request, he has proposed three bishops to decide his case. 19 Jan. 1519.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 138d; in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 953; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 212 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 367.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To Georg Spalatin, his dearest friend, the Irenian and wise servant of Christ, his most beloved.

JEsus.

Hail! Carl Miltitz (what you want to know) has written me in a vain, very short letter that he has verbally presented the whole matter to the most noble prince, and it is at the prince's discretion, in order not to hinder the matter, that I would like to name the bishop who should carry out this matter. I have named the archbishop (to Miltitz), first of all that of Trier, 2) then that of Salzburg, 3) and finally the Palatine of Naumburg. 4) But the will of the Lord be done! Time will teach everything. The Lord lives! I will do the rest in his time. Farewell, for I am very busy, or perhaps the one most burdened with business. In the evening of Sebastian [19 Jan.] 1519.

Martin Luther
Augustinian.

C. How Elector of Saxony, no doubt on Miltihen's advice, wanted to apologize to the pope in writing, but subsequently failed to do so.

285: An objection drafted by the Electoral Council of Altenburg concerning the sending of a letter from the Elector of Saxony to the Pope in Luther's matter.

This writing is found in the German Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 62 d; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 138 d; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 255; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 219.

Firstly, that at the citation issued by Papal Holiness, at the request of His Holiness, and at the request of my most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c, Doctor Martinus has obediently appeared at Augsburg before the legate.

Secondly, because the Lord Legate acted more swiftly with Doctor Martinus than he had promised and put off, and was based solely on the revocation, and finally Doctor Martinus was not to come to him again, because he wanted to make a retraction, Doctor Martinus was therefore caused to return from Augsburg, considering that he had undertaken not to make a retraction without the indication of better writing and instruction.

Thirdly, that the Lord Legate, following D. Martinus, denigrated his farewell and property, and wrote to my most gracious lord, whereupon my most gracious lord answered him again; as can be seen above.

Fourthly, my most gracious lord had decided with him to dispense with the things everywhere, so that his C. F. G. in the papal sanctity did not act and take anything contrary.

5th In which His Holiness Nuncio and Chamberlain, Mr. Carl von Miltitz, would have come to his C. F. G., who would have asked, among other manifold diligent solicitations and efforts, that his C. F. G. would not let Doctorem Martinum come away, but rather that he would join him in Altenburg in his C. F. G.'s court camp. F. G.'s court camp, hoping that when they came together they would be able to talk to each other so much that the matter would be carried out and settled in such a way that it would be agreeable to Papal Holiness and Doctor Martin. Thereupon Doctor Martinus, as the obedient one, would have appeared and would have talked with Mr. Carol; as his holiness would further hear from Mr. Carl's letter.

1) The last bracketed words are missing in the original concept.

2) Richard von Greiffenklau.

3) Matthew Lang.

4) Philip, Count Palatine of the Rhine.

Fifth, to consider whether one would like or want to ask Papal Holiness to consider the matter graciously, and to lay it down in such a way that D. Martinus may remain unencumbered in his bid for inheritance, which is considered by many people to be sufficient. Without doubt, D. Martinus would show himself to be an obedient son of papal holiness and a pious Christian man; otherwise, my most gracious lord would help punish him himself and not suffer his conduct in any way.

7) Sixthly, to remember how my most gracious lord wanted to indicate diligence to papal holiness to Carl von Miltitz, so that it would also be good for him, glimpses and graces.

8) Seventhly, whether it would not be good to nevertheless outline a little to papal sanctity how Doctor Martinus came into the matter, and what great attachment Doctor Martinus would have. And whether one would refrain from fraudulence against him, that it would grow to more indignation, which S. C. F. G., as one who always meant it faithfully with papal sanctity, should be sorry for.

9. finally, with attached reverence to papal sanctity 2c. But on male enhancement only 2c.

286 Draft of the princely letter to the pope, established according to the above concerns.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 63 and in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 139 b with the misleading heading: "Des Kurfürsten zu Sachsen Herzog Friedrichs Schrift, an Bepstliche Heiligkeit, wie der Cardinal Thomas Cajetanus D. M. L. at Augsburg, M. D. XVIII. interrogated at the Imperial Diet." Further in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 256; in the Leipziger, vol. X VII, p. 220 and in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 14.

1st Most Holy Father 2c. After Your Holiness' Legate, the most venerable in God the Father, Mr. Thomas, of the title of St. Sixti Cardinal, has informed me from the Imperial Diet held in Augsburg last summer, in what manner Your Holiness has ordered him to act in the matter of Doctor Martinus Luther, on the citation which Your Holiness should have issued against the Doctor.

(2) So I have had a conversation with your Holiness' legate, and I with him, and especially that he should ask your Holiness to order the matter out to the German nation, so that it might be heard in an emergency, which he refused me, but

I had insisted that Doctor Martinus should come to him himself, that he would deal with him in a fatherly manner, and that he would seek ways that things could be settled amicably. Therefore, I have worked so hard for Doctor Martinus to come to your Holiness's legates in Augsburg, and would also have provided myself with such consolation if his action had been taken in such a way.

3 But the legate's action alone, when I was reported, was to recant. Also, in the end, the doctor was sanctified by him with the words: he should go away and not come before his eyes, because he wanted to recant. Because the doctor had decided with him not to recant without better instruction, he left, thinking that he should not come to the legate again, and so he left.

4 Your Holiness's legate has written to me following such action and farewell, to which I have replied with sent over! Doctor Martinus' instruction to answer it; all of which Your Holiness, at Mr. Carl's request, I hereby send you a copy, which you can believe. I have not yet received an answer to such a letter from your Holiness's legate.

(5) And even though, in response to the same letter from your Holiness, I decided to abstain from the matter altogether, because I did not want to be under the illusion or suspicion that I wanted to be too contrary to your Holiness; as I have also informed D. Martin of this: nevertheless, immediately after your Holiness' nuncio and chamberlain, Carol von Miltitz, came to me; he has, after other manifold, diligent solicitations and efforts, asked that I not let D. Martin come away, but that he join him in the hope that, when they meet, they will talk to each other so much that the matter will be settled. Martin, but that he should join him, in the hope that, when they meet, they will be able to talk to each other so much that the matter will be dealt with in such a way that Your Holiness and the doctor will be comfortable and unburdened. And although I had completely abstained from the doctor, so much diligence was nevertheless applied that the same doctor, as the obedient one, appeared before your Holiness Nuncio, and the aforementioned have conversed with each other, as he offered to ascribe Carol to your Holiness, and he will undoubtedly do.

6 And therefore I ask with obedient diligence that Your Holiness will look into the matter with mercy and in such a way that it will be settled in a just manner, and that Doctor Martinus will not be weighed down by his opponents over his inheritance. Un-

I doubted that he would be an obedient son to your sanctity, according to his commandment, but I wanted to help him punish himself.

7 Thus, Your Holiness will note from Carol's letter how Doctor Martinus was caused to such his undertaking, and that such did not flow from his own will, that Carol, by his diligence in this matter, has partly found out.

8 He will also report to Carol Your Holiness by his letter in what esteem D. Martinus is held by scholars and others, that to worry where the matter should be laid other than by proper and reasonable ways, that a detrimental outrage might result from it.

9 I did not want to restrain Your Holiness, but I have no doubt that the same, as the kind Father, will know how to see things, so that they may be for the betterment of the holy Christian Church.

Commands of Your Holiness me as the obedient son, which the eternal GOD wanted to contain in blissful government for His glory. Date 2c.

287: Elector Frederick of Saxony's letter to Fabian von Feilitzsch, containing the Elector's decision to refrain from writing to the Pope. 12 Jan. 1519.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX. Bl. 63b; in the Jenaer (1564), Vol. I, Bl. 140b; in the Altenburger, Vol. I, p. 257; in the Leipziger, Vol. XVII, p. 221 and in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 17.

GOtt walts.

By the Grace of God Frederick 2c.

Dear faithful and councilor! Since you know that next to Altenburg, at the request of Er Carl von Miltitz, it was considered good and granted to write to Papal Holiness in the matter of D. Martini, we do not want to keep it from you that we have thought about it further and, for various reasons, considered it good to refrain from writing to Papal Holiness in this matter; however, we have had a letter made to Er Carl, of which we are sending you a copy herewith, as you will hear. And thereupon our request is that you answer Er Carl's letter to his future in Altenburg, and at the same time indicate: although next it is considered good that we should inform Papal Holiness of our decision.

If we were to write to him, we would have considered it good for him and ourselves, from various motions, to refrain from doing so.

2 And especially because the legate has sent us such a swift and threatening letter, regardless of the fact that we have nothing to do with the matter, but only that we demanded at his request that he come to him in Augsburg. If we should now write to papal holiness and get involved in the matter, it might be thought that we would be so anxious and urge him not to come from us, and so much would be done with interdict and in other ways that the matter would not come to that, as he considered it good for Carl, and D. Martinus offered. Martinus offered. Wherever such action should be taken against us, for which we would not gladly give cause, we would not like it, especially in these dying days; therefore, we would, as much as possible, think of going about the matter idly.

3 But we would be in error if he, Carl, knew how to report to the papal sanctity of the matter, so that it could be settled more easily and conveniently. For he would know what it was based on, also what would be done with it, and D. Martinus offered.

For if we knew that papal sanctity would suffer action in the matter, what we could then promote for it, we would not allow it to happen to us. How you will further indicate this; and in what way you will depart with him, you will let us know by your letter; in this you do us a favor. Date Torgau, Wednesday after Erhardi [12 Jan] Anno 1519.

288: Prince Frederick of Saxony's letter to Carl von Miltitz, in which he apologizes for not writing to the Pope. Lochau, 11 Jan. 1519.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 64; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 141; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 258; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 221 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 18.

GOtt walts.

By the Grace of God Frederick 2c.

1. our greeting before. Venerable, dear, devout one! After you have considered it good that we should write to Papal Holiness in the matter of Doctor Martin Luther, we would be well inclined to do so.

2 We consider, however, that because papal canonization

Our Lord and friend, the Cardinal St. Sixti, has written us, since his departure from Augsburg, an arduous letter on the action he had with D. Martina, to which we have written again, sending D. Martini's instruction, but have not yet received an answer. Martini's instruction, but have not yet received an answer, which we hereby send you, at your request, a credible copy, from which you will find, as you have heard from us, that we have completely renounced the matter, which we have also reported to D. Martin. Martin of the matter. Although we had nothing to do with the matter before, for as much as we requested, at the legate's request, that D. Martin come to him in Augsburg, as we have now done at your request.

3 We also intend to stand idle in the matter; for we would not like to be under the delusion or suspicion that we might have been in the papal

Holiness that we should promote that which would be detrimental to the Holy Christian Church; therefore, we refrain from writing to Papal Holiness in this matter.

4 But do not doubt, you will know their holiness, how you found the things, and how you inquired into them, together with the circumstances, and how they are surrounded with care, also D. Martini Erbietten. Martini's legacy, as you have indicated to us, so that their holiness, as the kind father, may see into it according to justice.

(5) We did not want to restrain you, and we wish you to command us to papal sanctity as the obedient son. By this you do us favor to recognize in grace against you. Date at Lochau, on the 11th of January, Anno 1519.

Section Four of Chapter Four.

From Miltitzen's journey via Leipzig, where he interrogates Tetzeln, to Cardinal Cajetan in Trier.

A. How Miltitz cited "Tetzel" to Altenburg immediately after his arrival in Saxony, but he did not appear.

Tetzel's letter of apology to the Papal Nuncio Carl von Miltitz that he could not come to Altenburg without risking his life. Leipzig, Dec. 31, 1518.

According to Spalatin's own translation in Cyprian's Urkunden, Vol. I, p. 374; then in Löscher's Res.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 567.

Grandfather. Your Honor encourages me that she has forced me to come to Aldenburg to hear something special from her. Now, I should not be distressed by such work and such recklessness. Your Lordship will be pleased when I leave Leyptzich for the rest of my life. When Martin Luther Augustine aroused and moved the powers that be not only in all German lands, but also in the conquering countries between Austria, Hungary, and Poland against me in such a way that I am nyrgently certain. The aforementioned Martin Luther has also, in the youngest of his actions between Augsburg and in the appeal, the process

this citation and the whole grievance which he suffered. then by the foremost clerics the law was falsely imposed on me. And I have been accused of having preached heresy and the reading of God, and of not having drawn the most noble in God, Father and Lord, Archbishop between Meintz and Mayburg and the Holy See between Rome and Cardinal Transitions, into this plan. If, however, the noble Archbishop has ordered them to cite and not me, as God is my witness, now I have forced my sermon before the longest heylicky knowledge. I have also excused myself from the libel against the holy virgin, which he forced me to commit verbally and in writing in the past year, as your Honor will hear from the copies sent over here. But such an apology of mine, when seen, is again obscene to me, as if I had preached heresy and the reading of God. All men's opinion against me is unjustly moved and made me repugnant, some of whom, when I stand from the preaching pulpit, draw my attention to me with their eyes. I have also been warned by many daphne and credible people that I should be very careful. Then many of Martini's followers have sworn me to death. For this reason I can

Our heritage, which I would rather see than an angel, will not come out of my life. Therefore, for the sake of God, and because of my greatest fear, may Your Excellency pardon me, when I have loved the Holy Spirit at all times, and will love Him as long as I live, I have for many years, and especially now, because Martinus, on his predecessor's estate, has had a vntzal ferlickey of life, of rumor, and of the good of the common folk, of spirituality, and of other earthly things. On account of which I am challenged with unimaginable deceptions and schedules. But this is said. I want to defend the truth of the law until my end against all its opponents. Therefore, your father commands me what I should do, so I will live forever, if only I can do it on my own life's journey.

Given at Leyptzick. on the last day of December anno Dni XV 6. XIX-)

Brother Tetzl.

B. How Miltitz therefore demanded that he appear before him when he was passing through Leipzig and gave him his

has sharply spoiled sacrilege.

Miltitzen's written report to the Electoral Councilor Pfeffinger on his interrogation of Tetzl in Leipzig. Gräfenenthal,

22 Jan. 1519.

From Chprian's Urkunden, Vol. I, p. 380 reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 20.

The way I have heard about you not having been healthy in Leipzig, Tetzl has come to me with all his provincials, which I have then spoken about as if they were born out of a search for others. I have heard from many people, and from him himself, that he wants to leave and flee from these lands, and that he is angry with him, because his lies and deceit have been revealed to me in great numbers, and also in great other things I addressed him, also brought enough testimony to him about it in his present value, which

1) That is Dec. 31, 1518, because the new year began with Christmas. Walch has in, the heading wrong: 1519.

I also want to write all the official heylickey and be a vrteyl oberm Tetzl warthen. I have consulted with the Fucker Factor at Leyptig, who has collected the money of the applause, that Tetzl has received every month lxxx fl. for his work and all costs free with a wagon and iij pherd beyrewternn and every month for his servant x fl. ane that he has stolen and useless. We must consider what he has preached of grace and what he has thought of the Holy Roman Church; or of my most gracious Lord of Mentz, that and much else I have truly understood and if it has time I will tell you everywhere, also he has ij children 2c. I want to show this to my most noble lord, if it is good for you. I have had letters from the University of Wittenberg and from Her Martina, and will keep to them as much as I can.

Eylend zw Gräfenthal am Sonnabend nach Sebastiani [22. Jan.] 1. 5. 19.

Carolus von Miltitz..

Luther's report of how Miltitz had let Tetzl get to him in such a way that he died of melancholy.

See Luther's preface to the first part of his Latin books. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, Col. 445 f.

Luther's magnanimous compassion for Tetzl's condition, who had become quite pusillanimous and sick over the fact that Miltitz had been so hard on him.

See Appendix, No. 6, § 2.

293 Letter of intercession from the Provincial of the Saxon Franciscans, Hermann Rabe, to the Papal Nuncio on behalf of Tetzl, a man in need. 3 Jan. 1519.

From Cyprian's Documents, vol. II, p. 106, Latin there.

Venerable Father and Lord in Christ! I rejoice exceedingly and have already rejoiced that your reverend fatherhood and glory have arrived in our region. I had hoped that I would be comforted by confidential conversation in the so great sorrows and troubles that have come upon me and mine at this time. God forgive Martin Luther, who diligently strives to draw us innocent people into his cause and has striven to make his-

would like to pull his head out of the noose a little. But what he inflicted and has inflicted on this venerable father, Magister Johann Tetzl, because he has defended the sovereignty of the apostolic see even with his damage and does not cease to defend it, as his sermons to the people prove, and all who have heard him must bear witness to him, is known to everyone who reads and hears Martin's appeal and other writings. Indeed, I do not know if there is anyone like him who has done and suffered so much and so great things for the Most Holy See and is still suffering. If God wanted our most holy Lord to know, I have no doubt that he would honor him duly for it. But what lies and shameful calumnies, which are invented in an endless way, are poured on him, is known in all places and in all corners. Therefore, I entrust the same Father to your most reverend Fatherhood and Glory, for whose protection and that of the Holy See, for which he also works to the limits, as an honest friend and Lord. I wish that your glory had heard his sermon on the day of the circumcision of the Lord, then it would certainly be able to conclude from it how he was and still is minded against this holy see. Therefore, I once again command him and myself to Your Glory in the best possible manner. Date Leipzig, January 3, in the year of salvation 1519. Brother Hermann Rab,

Provincial in Saxony.

C. Von Miltitzen's continued journey to Augsburg and the correspondence continued from there with Chursachsen.

294 Letter from the Papal Nuncio Carl von Miltitz to Chursachsen, in which he gives every good hope of a happy outcome to Luther's cause, but encloses a request that Luther be able to hold on to his book writing until his return, because he has reported everything to Rome. Augsburg, the Feb. 5, 1519.

From Cyprian's Documents, Vol. I, p. 382.

Your Lordship, my most reverend Prince and Lord, my humble and entirely obedient service, together with my duties, are to be granted by your princely grace in all respects. Most Gracious

I have written everything that your Curator has written to me, with all due respect, to my most holy father the Babest, which your Curator has left with me, by the way of doubt, that it is worthy of your approval, and that your Curatorship will be well pleased with all the articles that your Holiness has written. Curff. genaden gut menung fornemenn, dar ann seyn Heylikeit Eyn sunderlichenn gefallen haben, och genedigster Curff. vnd Her, all die artichel die mir Her Fabian von Feyltzß von wegen Ewr Curff. g. I want to save time and money until I can demand that your Curate should proceed in all doubts, if I know that your Curate does not want a greater one. I am also hoping that Your Honor will allow Martin Luther to hold that his will will not be started otherwise until I return, as we have left it up to you, so I hope I will bring the matter to your possession, Most Honorable Honor and Your Honor, Doctor Lamperther of the Supreme Court has given me a more praiseworthy order than Your Honor. I have also written here to your Curff. g. what I have requested from your Curff. g. in the other cases, and with this, I hereby submit to your Curff. g. as my most gracious Lord Date Awßburgk In Die Agathe [5. Feb.] 2) 1519.

Ewr Curff. g.
vnderteniger capellan
Carolus von Miltitz.

295 Elector Frederick of Saxony's answer to Miltitzen's above letter. Altenburg, March 4, 1519.

From Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. I, p. 3dl reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 95.

By the Grace of God Frederick Duke of Saxony and Elector.

Our greetings before. Dear andechtiger. We have received your letter, and that you have written to Rome about our affairs, and that you will only be informed and will not hinder us, so that we may receive an answer, and that our affairs may be judged to the best of our ability.

1) This comma is set by us.
2) Walch has incorrectly resolved this date in the caption: 6 Feb.

We trust in you. But you indicate that you hope we will keep Martin's lute so that he will not do anything else until you return. As we want to provide him with that, he would be caused to do so. Therefore, we want those who are in need of him to refrain from doing so, so we do not doubt that Doctor Martinus will not resist any further. We have not wished to restrain you from doing so. We are therefore inclined to be gracious to you. Date Aldenburg am virden tag Marti: anno 2c. XIX.

To Her Carol von Miltitz.

No. 335 is Miltitzen's answer to this letter from the Elector. Due to incorrect dating (already in Cyprian), this letter is set in the year 1520.

Luther's letter of apology to the Elector of Saxony, in which he reports how, in order to save the honor of divine truth, he was forced to debate with D. Eck, since he would otherwise have been more than happy to remain silent, according to the conclusion reached with Miltitz, if only the papists had left him alone and not challenged him again, despite Miltitz's promise that his opponents would also be urged to remain silent. Dated March 13, 1519.

From Cyprian's Urkunden, Vol. I, p. 389 in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 204; in the Leipzig edition, Vol. XVII, p. 241; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 237 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 53, p. 7. We have used the variants communicated from the original in the Erlangen correspondence, Vol. I, p. 448.

To the Most Illustrious and Highborn Prince and Lord, Duke Frederick, of the Holy Roman Empire, Elector, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Doringen, Margrave of Meist. Reichs Ertzmarschalk, Churfürsten, Herzog zu Sachsen, Landgrafen zu Doringen, Markgrafen zu Meisten, my most gracious Lord and Patron.

Jhesus.

My poorest subject is E. Churf. G. alzeyt beuohr, Durchleuchtigster Hochgeporner Fürst, gnedigster Herr. It is sent to me by E. Churf. G. Capellan Herr Magistro Spalatin some Punct, ßo der Erwidrige Herr Carolus von Miltitz Bepstlicher Heyligkeit Com

missarius, to E. C. G. concerning me, has decided that I should stand still in Hynfurt and not start anything new. As we then decided in Aldenburgk. Now God knows that my whole heart was in it, and that I was glad that the spill should have an end, as much as was in my hands, and that I kept the same pact so steadfastly, that I let Her Silvester Prierat's replica 1) go, how much I had despised many of my adversaries' defiant mockery, and had sworn to Aries my friend's counsel: Thus our decision, as Her Carolus well knows, has been that I will remain silent, however far my opponents remain silent. Now, however, Doctor Ecke has attacked me in such a way that he has not disgraced me, but" the entire E. C. G. Univerfitet zu Wittenberg and is noted in the 2) search: "and many brave people think that he has been bought for the cause, has not wanted to show me such a weather-turning, hynderlistic grip, nor to let the truth be put in such mockery". Then one should shut my mouth, and open it to someone else, E. F. G. can well judge, that then also he would fall on me, who otherwise might not look at me. Now I am still heartily committed to obediently follow C. F. G.'s faithful wheel, and to stand still all the way, so that it will also stand still when I have more to do, and when my life is not wanted there. But if not, I ask E. C. F. G. most sincerely, will myrs nitt fürvnnngnaden, dann ich es auch ym gewistzen nicht weiß zutragenn, die warheytt zu lassen. Then, as well as the position of priestly heylickness, I have to follow the disputation of white, to keep the return, all the time with all due respect and obedience of the Holy Roman See. God save Ew. C. F. G. soulidichen, Amen. Given at Wittenberg, on Sunday Invocavit [March 13] 1519.

E. C. F. G. subordinate capellan
D. Martinus Luther, Augustinian.

- 1) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 412.
- 2) That is: dishonor.

Section Five of Chapter Four.

How Luther's matter, after Miltitzen's arrival at the Cardinal Cajetan at Coblenz, according to the agreement made with Luther and also with the Cardinal's approval, was to be settled before the Elector Richard at Trier.

A. How Miltitz reminds the Elector of Trier, who is staying at Ehrenbreitstein at that time, in writing, to now undertake the investigation of Luther's case that was assigned to him and also taken over by him.

From Cyprian's Urkunden, Vol. I, p. 393 reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 96.

The Elector Richard of Trier responds to two letters sent to him by Miltitz, in which he postpones Luther's interrogation until the upcoming Imperial Diet. Ehrenbreitstein, April 2, 1) 1519.

Richardus Dei gratia Archiepiscopus Treuerensis etc. ac Princeps Elector,

Wirdiger, Dear Special. We have now again received one of your writings, concerning the first and ecclesiastical, our dear special one, Master Martin Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures 2c. which date stands Sonnabend post Inuocauit [March 19] glychs content of another of your writings, which date stands Zurbitz vff Mitmachen post trium Regum [Jan. 12.], which we received here before, and read all its contents, and let you know that we have given you an answer to your letter, Zurbitz, at Mitmachen post trium Regum, the contents of which we have abolished, and we are not a little surprised, that such an answer of ours should not come to you, then we have officially transferred the same grove to you, and because your Roman Royal Majesty our most noble Lord has written to us and indicated that your Majesty, the King of the Holy Roman Empire, has given his consent to the use of this grove. He will raise them up in this month of March, and as soon as it is deemed convenient, they will go to the Holy Roman Empire in Schelf. Therefore, we hold that the Diet will be held in the near future, and therefore we leave it at our discretion.

1) Seidemann, "Miltitz", p. 11, has "April 1".
2) No. 298.

according to the above-mentioned copies and documents. We also want to remind you herewith of the order that was given to us by the most exalted in God, our special dear lord and friend, the Papal Legate, and how his love is now incumbent in Rome, but nothing then, when the day of judgement was delayed into the long, (as we do not hold), therefore we want to obey Papal Holiness, whose we are in all ways vndertheniglich to wilnfarn and bereyt, and the matter to good, by the highborn vnnserm special friend, Mr. Friederichen, Hertzogenn zu Taxen 2c. We have decided to make an appeal to the Elector, and to the said Master Martin Luther, and how we may obtain the matter from you, to provide Martinum before the Imperial Diet, before us and you, with sufficient sufferings, on a certain day, and to proclaim to you the knowledge of the same in advance, 4) and to act in all possible ways, so that such a matter may be brought to a just end. We did not want to give you this on your first writing, dated Erenbreitstein on the Saturday after Sunday Oculi [April 2] Anno 2c. XV C. and XIX. more Treuerensi

To the former, vnnserm dear special Carolo Miltitz Thumherren zu Meintz, vnndt Bepstlicher Heiligkeit Nuntien 2c.

A copy of the Electorate of Trier's reply to Miltitzen's first letter, enclosed in the above letter, because he had not received it. Feb. 6, 1519.

From Cyprian's Urkunden, Vol. I, p. 395 reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 97.

Richardus etc.

Dear special. We have received a new letter, from the trade of the first and spiritual of our dear special master Mar-

3) That is, orally.
4) This will probably mean: to designate the certain [day].

The Holy Father, in the holy created Doctors, reporting about much, and especially understood in it, how the same for and for with speeches and writings on remission some artyckel vßpreiten, which would reach the holy Roman church to great disadvantage, with indication as you therefore of Papal Holiness, as to whom such matters have been recently and again highly exhorted, by which you have caused us also to be reminded of this, that we, as judges appointed for this purpose, may take far-reaching action to prevent such errors as may arise from it, and appoint a day for this purpose 2c. We would like to let you know that we are completely inclined and meant to do everything possible for Your Holiness, according to all Your Holiness' wishes, and in this matter, we were also inclined to appoint a special hearing day for the matter, but because we have here before at Franckfurt the separation by the Highborn Prince Mr. Frederick Duke of Saxony 2c. Prince, our friend, as you know, that the matter is to be taken up by us on the future judgement day, and that it should be acted upon in this way, and that the Roman Royal Majesty of our most gracious Lord has briefly written to us, and has announced the future of His Majesty, We therefore consider that the necessity will require that we do not bring forward the judgement day, but rather that we take it forward, and therefore we are of the opinion that we should continue with the matter until the same judgement day, unless a change, which we do not hope for, or other matters arise in the meantime with the honourable of our most noble lord the Roman king, for which reason it is necessary for us to act. We have not wished to do so with your good gracious and favorable opinion. Date Ehrenbreitstein Sunday after purificationis Mariae [Feb. 6], anno XV C. XIX. more Treuirensi.

To the Willing Our Dear Special Carolo von Miltitz,
Dhumherr zw Meintz und Bebstlicher Heiligkeit
Nuntien 2c.

B. How Miltitz tried to make Luthern loyal and lure him to Coblenz, but in vain.

299 Miltitzen's letter to Luther, in which he seeks to make him safe and exhorts him to be confident and only soon set out on the road to Coblenz.

so that the settlement of his case will not become more difficult afterwards. Coblenz, May 3, 1519.

From Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 123, printed in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 826. Miltitz sent this letter at the same time as his letter to the Elector (No. 304) and to Spalatin (No. 305). Also in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 18.

Translated from Latin.

JEsus.

Hail! Excellent and venerable father, dearest friend. I think that your fatherhood will still know what happened and was decided among us when we were with our most noble prince, Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. I have written to our most holy Lord, and repeatedly urged again and again, that letters and brevia should be sent from their holiness, so that the matter would be happily, as I hope, settled for your fatherhood. But because of many other very important matters with which Her Holiness has been busy in various ways, she has not yet been able to find time for it, although it would have been otherwise. However, I hope hourly for letters from Her Holiness.

Yesterday I came to the most reverend Lord Legate, who was very pleased about my presence and asked me about my prince and about the opinion of your fatherhood, to whom I answered everything to the best of my ability that seemed to me to be useful for the cause of your fatherhood. Among other things, he assured me that he would do everything that a kind father should do, if only your fatherhood would improve, as had already been discussed in many ways between your fatherhood and me in Altenburg. He also added that everything that the most reverend archbishop in Trier would do and decide in his presence should also please his most reverend fatherhood. For since your fatherhood at that time in my presence and afterwards in writing demanded the most reverend archbishop as a unanimous judge and relied on his honesty and loyalty, I also wanted you to come without any fear to the said most reverend archbishop with a letter from the most noble prince; Since I am present, I promise that no injustice will be done to your fatherhood, and also the Cardinal Legate will neither impose nor do anything to your fatherhood than what pleases the said Archbishop. I also promise your

Fatherhood, in turn, my faithfulness, which I hope you consider righteous.

Therefore, I admonish and remind your fatherhood, since it is God's will and order, that you prepare yourselves as soon as possible for the journey to us in Coblenz, where everything will be arranged and settled in the best way for the benefit of your fatherhood. I have also written to our most noble prince, our common lord, who will hopefully also write to your fatherhood. For if your fatherhood refused to come to us (God forbid!), then perhaps the matter would become more difficult because of the many judges. For the most reverend Cardinal of Rango has written to me that the Pope wants to add three other bishops to the bishop in Freisingen. Therefore, if your fatherhood does not hasten its arrival, I would be forced to come to your fatherhood with the breves that I am now hourly awaiting. For this reason, your fatherhood is setting out immediately, setting aside all business and without any fear, since the most reverend Lord Cardinal also wants to completely disregard everything that your fatherhood has written against him, even without apology, which he has sworn by his soul. Therefore, I sincerely ask that your fatherhood advise well in this matter for its own sake and for the common honor and benefit, and I hope that if your fatherhood follows my advice, it will never regret it, for it knows how I have been disposed toward it up to now and will be in the future, as long as I live. May your fatherhood live well, to whom I also entrust myself in her prayers. Given in the city of Coblenz, on the day of the Holy Cross [May 3] 1) Anno 1519.

Carl von Miltitz, Commissarius and Apostolic
Nuncio 2c., Canon at Mainz 2c.

To the respectable and excellent man, Brother Martin
Luther, of the Order of St. Augustine, Professor of
Sacred Theology 2c., his esteemed friend.

Luther's report of this to Spalatin and his thoughts about it.

See Appendix, No. 33, UI and 4.

Luther's thoughts to Joh. Lang about these whimsical impositions.

See Appendix, No. 34, § 3.

1) 8. oueis is cross invention. Because Löscher has taken it as the raising of the cross, he places Vol. III, p. 821 this letter as well as the documents No. 304 and 305 in September.

Luther's response to Miltitz's invitation to the Elector of Trier, in which Luther gives a negative answer. Wittenberg, May 17, 1519.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 176k; in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 103; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 275 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 53.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the excellent man, Mr. Carl von Miltitz, apostolic commissary, canon of Mainz, his patron in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! Dear Lord, I have received the letters from Your Glory in which you advise me to go to Coblenz as soon as possible, since this would serve my cause. But, I beg you, listen patiently to my opinion. First of all, when we met in Altenburg, it did not seem necessary to me at that time that I be present, but because the books in which I opened my opinion to everyone in the clearest possible way have been published, I thought it would be sufficient if the articles that I had to revoke were established after the examination of my opinions, I thought that it would be sufficient if, after an investigation of my opinions, the articles that I had to revoke were determined, and the manner of the revocation, with indicated causes, so that the revocation would be strong and credible, so that, if it happened in a different manner, it would not be said that it had been forced from me by force, and the last would become worse than the first. And I am still of this opinion.

But even if I should come, you will be able to consider for yourselves how foolish those would think me who heard this matter, since you write that no order has yet come from Rome, nor has the archbishop summoned me in force of this order, but I also do not consider it certain whether such an order will come, especially in this troubled state of the empire; 2) I am also not certain whether the archbishop will accept the order when it comes. How, therefore, can I go into such doubtful matters, through so many dangers and with such heavy expenses? How can I, who

2) during the interregnum after the death of Maximilian I.

I am quite poor, take these? I have spent so much in this matter so far, and have made my protectors tired, that I am ashamed to ask for more, to keep silent in the meantime, that as long as the interregnum lasts, not even anyone could be granted safe conduct, especially me, who has so many enemies after me.

In addition to this, a solemn disputation, which the most reverend Cardinal of Augsburg has refused me, now awaits me in Leipzig, which has been entrusted to me by Johann Eck; if I were to withdraw from it, no matter how just the cause, I would bring the greatest disgrace upon myself and all my friends, and even upon our most noble prince and upon my entire order and the university. Yes, in this disputation, in the presence of so many learned men and in such a sharp discussion, this matter can be examined more loudly and precisely than either before the archbishop or the cardinal, so that it is better that all negotiations in this matter come to a standstill than that this disputation be prevented.

But since the archbishop is also Elector of the realm, will he not be required to be absent at this time? But if he is absent, what slot, what treatment of the matter is then possible?

However, even if everything were even, I do not want this matter to be discussed in the presence of the most reverend Cardinal. I do not want him to be present, and he is not worthy of it, since he has tried to dissuade me from the Christian faith at Augsburg; I doubt that he is an orthodox (catholicum) Christian. And if I have time, I will write to the Roman Pontiff and the Cardinals, and if he does not mend his ways, I will convict him of all the things in which he is most shamefully mistaken. I am sorry that the legates of the apostolic see are such people who strive to put Christ aside.

Therefore, I hope, dear sir, that I am quite justly excused by these causes if I do not come, not to add also that the other day a beau laden with many letters

(sycophanta.) was with us, who first asked for you, then for me, who left behind great suspicion that I was being pursued from all sides. Finally he was forced to flee, so that he would not be forced to jump into the Elbe; and there would have been little missing, if we had not resisted, that they would have interpreted it as having happened at your instigation, especially since we heard that you were still staying in Germany, while you promised us that you would travel straight and in a short time to Rome. Thus it comes about that I have excused you, but nevertheless see that I have to fear reproaches from all sides.

As for the fact that you think the matter will become more difficult because the most holy Lord Leo the Tenth should order several bishops to this matter, I believe the opposite. For since I have submitted this matter to the judgment of the whole world through the published books, and now undertake to act in Leipzig before so many men, it will not only not be burdensome for me, but also pleasant, if the matter is brought to an end by the decision of many judges.

But if, as you write, you are compelled by the apostolic brevia you have received to come to us for the sake of my hesitation, God grant that you may arrive happily. I am indeed very busy and serve many. I cannot lose so much time and walk in vain without great harm to many. Be well, dear sir. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Jubilate [May 17] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

6) How Cajetan and Miltitz tried to persuade the Elector by empty promises that the golden rose would soon come, that he should deliver Luther to Coblenz, and what answer Chursachsen gave.

303 Cardinal Cajetan's letter to Chursachsen, in which he reports that the golden rose will arrive soon, but at the same time to

The Pope, on the other hand, expects something more detailed from the Elector in Luther's matter. Coblenz, May 5, 1519.

This letter is found in Latin in Seckendorf's Umt. lmtk., lik. I, x. 62 d and from it in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 820. German in Seckendorfs Historie des Lutherthums, p. 165. The date is given by Seckendorf.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Most Serene Prince, Most Reverend Sir! As soon as the venerable Carl von Miltitz, nuncio of our most holy Lord, returned, I immediately sent him back to you, most noble Lord, so that he might bring you the holy gift of the golden rose with the gracious will and favor of his holiness. Let Your Serene Highness see from this how highly our most holy Lord and his holy council, as well as I, His Holiness' servant, think of you. For only the highest princes, who have rendered great service to the Holy Roman Church, are accustomed to be graced with such a great gift. There was also nothing else by which their holiness could have shown a greater love for E. C. F. G., and no prince could have been chosen whom I would rather grant everything of the highest order. It is only left that E.C. F. G. persistently follows the footsteps of her ancestors, who have rendered excellent services to the Pope and the entire Christian religion, as she does, honor the Roman orthodox church, adhere to it lovingly and protect it manfully. If E. C. F. G. will do this, she will certainly not receive less praise and honor from it than her ancestors did until now. But if I can serve E. C. F. G. in anything, I certainly wish to do so with all my heart, and E. C. F. G. be blessed and well. From the city of Coblenz, Trier diocese.

E. C. F. G.

Thomas, Card. St. Sixti, Legat.

304 Miltitzen's letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he apologizes, as he is only waiting for some brevia from Rome and wants to come soon afterwards, but does not spare any words to induce the Elector to deliver Luthern to Trier. Coblenz, May 3, 1519.

This letter has Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 821 reprinted from lob. Iricl. HelLo1iu8 in his Mg.nl

pulus I. epist. sinA., p. 39. Löscher has the wrong date: Sept. 14. Also in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 24.

To the Most Serene Highborn Prince and Lord, Mr. Fredrichen, Hertzog zu Sachsen, of the Holy Roman Empire ErtzMarschalck, Curffürst, Vicario, my most noble Lord. Most Serene Highborn Prince, Most Noble Lord,

My obedient dignity as well as my prosperity for your Curf. and ff. graciousness in all respect, most noble Curf. and Sir, I have, as today of the Holy Cross day, no cobblestones come to the Lord Legate, and his Rev^{ma}

Dominatio has caught me quite happily, and asked sunderly, how it (with) Your Curff. and ff. They also talked to me about Doctor Martin Luther's affairs, in a friendly manner, which they told the Lord Legate and me, which had been going on for three years, and the brevia, or communion, of the Protestant Church had been going on for so long. Concerning Her Martinus things, where I have had an answer from the Cardinal of Rangonibus, that Your Heylikeyt iii. my attack has been handed over to the whole of Her Martinus matter by his Rev^{ma}

Dominatio, and that Bebestliche Heylikeyt has sent my attacks from sthundt ii. Cardinal, as namely Cardinali sanctorum quatuor vnd sancti Eusebii, which sulch brevia wy den seyner Heylikeyt angezeigtget, von sthundt förten, so hat (weder) der Cardinal Legate, nach Ich, bis vff disse sthundt keyn Antwort gehat; Wir seyn aber sulcher brevia vnd commission sampt ander Information alle sthundt warten 2c., so the legate's opinion was that Doctor Martinus was now and to my most noble lord of Trier qveme, that his genad was next to the judge. And the legate has also requested, and ordered me, that your Curff. Genaden, that his Rev^{ma}

Dominatio will not act nor strive against Doctor Martina. What the bishop of Trir does, the legate will not revoke. So I also fear, Most Eminent Curate, and Her, that the matter is not so dear to the Legate, but rather as fihel as I have been able to research in such a short time as it has been for times when there was nothing else to do. So the legate has also ordered me to write to Doctor Martin that he must not worry about where he has shouted against the Rev^{ma} Dominatio. He wants

Jtzund from sthund as fergeben vnd fergessen have, and an 1) all adebithen or Genad seek. And to keep it all like this, his father has written this on his heart, as he did to his master, and he, as Doctor Martinus has always said, when I was in the country with him, that my most noble master of Trir should be his judge, so it is just like that. If his friend had been at Kobelentz, I would have spoken to his friends about it myself, before I had written something about it to your Curff. and the FfG. By sthundt, as I hope. In iiij. Days, that his Genad will not come to Kobelentz, I will talk about it with his Curff. I will talk about it with his graciousness. Your Curf. and your Grace may also write to me what I should say to my Lord of Trir in this matter. Hern von Trir in this matter. I want to tell Ewrnn Curff. I have agreed in all confidentiality that Doctor Martina should not give her life. It would be my advice, since the legate is to be released and the matter is thus carried out, that Doctor Martina's body and spouse are safe with my Lord of Trir. The legate has also told me, as he has replied to your Curf. and ff. graces, that all this has been done in the opinion of your noble Curf. and your grace. I have not wished to keep this from your Curts and ff. graces, but have given it to your Curts and ff. graces to be acknowledged at the end of the year. However, if all this does not please your Curia and your Grace, your Curia and your Grace must wait for an answer from Rome. I search for the answer every hour. From now on, when I receive the answer, I want you to know. Curff. and ff. G. Estens a copy of it. I have sent Ewrnn Curff. and ff. Genaden sihel briff von Vlm aws, forhoff they sint Ewrnn Curff. and ff. Genaden zuekommen. When I have received an answer from your Curf. and ff. G. to know whom I will send to your Curff. Curff. and ff. graces. I therefore humbly submit myself to your Curia and your Grace as my most noble Lord, date Eylent at Kobelentz die Ste Crucis [May 3] 1519.

E. Curff. vnd ff. Gn.

humble and submissive capellan

Carolus von Miltitz, Nuncio Apostolicus and
Canonicus 2c.

?8et. Most gracious Lord, it is my advice that your Curff. and ff. Genad scream to the bishop of Trir that his father be allyn judge sey Dni. Martini, considered, that the Cardinal gives all things to his own city, and that what his own council ends and decides, should be kept. If Dominus Martinus agrees with the Cardinal, the Cardinal is Colericus, and he may be forgiven in words. 2c. If your Curator and the Cardinal do this, I also hope that he will carry the matter forward in a friendly manner. 8er. Eylent etc. Ut supria.

Most Gracious Lord, when I closed this letter. It has been offered to me by faithful ones, etc. as written above.

Miltitzen's letter to Spalatin, with the same content, in which he makes it even more urgent that Luther should come soon. May 3, 1519.

This letter is found in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 120 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 824.

Translated into German.

1. hail! 2c. Excellent and highly learned sir, dearest friend. What happened and was decided between me and the venerable father Martin Luther, when we were with our most illustrious Prince Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, will hopefully already be known to your dignities. I have written to our most holy lord, and again and again repeated, that their holiness would send letters and letters, so that the said D. Martin's matter would be ended happily. But because of other highly important business, with which Her Holiness is burdened in many ways, she has not yet been able to think of it, although she would otherwise have been able to do so. However, I hope hourly for letters from Her Holiness.

I came yesterday to the most dignified Lord Legate, who was delighted with my presence and asked me about our prince and the opinion of the said D. Martin; to whom I answered everything to the best of my ability that seemed to me to be useful for his cause. Among other things, he assured me that he would gladly do everything that was due to a pious father in his love, if he only wanted to improve himself. He also added that everything that the most reverend archbishop in Trier would do and decide in his presence should be agreeable to his most reverend fatherhood. For since also D. Martin

1) "an" (that is: without) put by us instead of "he", after the parallel letter of Miltitzen to Luther, No. 299: absousEtiam Petitions veniae. Löscher offers: "und er alles abebithen, oder Genad suchen (soll)".

then in my presence and afterwards in writing demanded the said Archbishop of Trier to be the unanimous judge, and trusted in his honesty and fidelity, as was variously acted between me and him in Altenburg: I wanted Your Honor to admonish and urge him to come as soon as possible to the most reverend Archbishop of Trier with a letter from our most noble Prince, setting aside all fear, where, since I am present, no injustice shall be done to him, which I promise to his fatherhood, and also the most reverend Cardinal will certainly not impose or do anything on him other than what the said Archbishop will deem good; I too, whom I hope he will consider honest, promise this to his paternity with all fidelity. Therefore, he must come to us in Coblenz as soon as possible, where everything, if God so wills and ordains, shall be directed and settled in the best way for the cause and the trade of his fatherhood. I have also written to our common Lord, the Most Serene Prince, who will hopefully write to his Fatherhood. For if his fatherhood refuses to come there (which God and then also the most noble prince together with your reverence would like to prevent), then perhaps the matter would become more difficult, namely because of the number of judges. For the most reverend Cardinal von Rangs has written to me that the Pope wants to add three other bishops to the Bishop of Freisingen; if he therefore does not accelerate his coming to us to the utmost, I will be forced to go to his fatherhood with the brevens, which I now expect hourly. But according to my advice, he may set out without fear, setting aside all business. For since the most reverend Cardinal voluntarily promises that he will forget everything that his reverence has written against him, I sincerely ask that your reverence help his own affairs and dealings and the common good and honor in this, and I also hope that if his fatherhood follows my advice, he will never regret it. For you know how I have been against his fatherhood up to now and will be all my life from now on. May Your Reverence live happily and long, whom I entrust to your prayers. Given in the city of Coblenz, on the day of the Holy Cross sdm May 3] 1519.

Carl von Miltitz, Commissarius and Apostolic Nuncio,
Canon in Mainz 2c.

D. How Churtrier was finally persuaded to bring Luther to Ehrenbreitstein by petitioning Chursachsen, which, however, Churfürst Friedrich wisely refuses.

306 The Elector of Trier, Richard, requests the Elector of Saxony to put Luthern on trial. Ehrenbreitstein, May 10, 1519.

This letter is found in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. 1, p. 398 and in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 99.

Our most gracious service before, Most Reverend Prince, especially Dear Friend. The Most Exalted in God Father, Hr. Thomas Priest Cardinal T. S. Sixti, Legatus of the Papal Holiness in Germania 2c. is among others involved with us in discussions 1) the ecclesiastical Martin Luther sanct Augustinus Order, in confusions, which have been preserved 2) on account of the same Martinus letter, concerning the indulgence. So the Cardinal let us hear such a thing, and what we will do about it, that he wants to hold by papal grace. So on this day, in the same masses, our dear particular Karolus von Miltitz, Lord of Mainz, Babylonian Nuncio, has also spoken to us about the same things, with the intention of charging us with such matters. Since we, and especially for the honor and the subordinate official pleasure of the Christian Church, would like to see such an error put to rest, to prevent such a witchcraft as may arise from it, and since the aforementioned Martinus may abstain from it under the authority of V. L. 3), we request with all diligence that V. L. may produce the same Martinum for us here. We will diligently look into such a matter, so that it may be completed in the most proper way, and as easily as we can. We also hereby grant the above-mentioned Martin a free and secure sentence, 4) in front of us and all of ours, and whom we are unreservedly entitled to, that he may join us here and, as long as he loves it, remain with us and everywhere in our country.

1) Perhaps: touching [beruren] or concerning sbetrevent?

2) Perhaps: sublime?

3) The "V. L." in this letter will have to be resolved by "Ew. Love".

4) Löscher 1. o. III, 100 remarks: The citation to Luther and the escort letter directed to his person have not yet come to light. Cf. No. 331: Nota: to ask where the escort had remained?

Churfürstenthum syn moege, vnnd Widder von dannen bis an fyne gewarsam. 1) V. L., as a lover of the Friddens, and who has a special affection for godly and merciful things, and of princely grace, also to the Order of St. Augustine, to whom we are pleased with all favor; and that also the same Martinus may come to Friddens, and out of the things concerned, prove himself herewith cheerfully and benevolently. We want to earn all the time for the same V. L., whom we are inclined to produce services, cheerfully. Date Erenbreitstein, on Tuesday after Misericordia Domini [May 10], 2) Anno Domini XV 0. XIX.

Richart von Gottes gnaden Archbishop of Trier 2c. und Churfürst.

307 The Elector Frederick of Saxony's answer to the Elector Richard of Trier to the above request, in which he reports that he has not sent Luther the letter from Trier in which he is required to go to Ehrenbreitstein, because he wants to discuss it first with the Elector at Frankfurt. June 2, 1519.

This letter is found in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. I, p. 401 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 105. In the latter place with the wrong date: "May 9" (1. o. p. 106, note 1).

Our kindest thanks before, most exalted in God especially dear friend. When E. L. wrote to us and acknowledged how the Cardinal Sancti Sixti 2c. and likewise Karlin von Miltitz 2c. had come to E. L. about Doctor Martin Luther of the Augustinian Order, and talked with the same, we together with E. L. heard all the contents, and were willing to consider such E. L. letter to Doctor Martin. However, since we have received such a letter by the way we are now, with God's help, to travel to Franckfurt, as soon as we know, E. L. will also be there, and E. L. Bit, Doctor Martinum, will also be there. L. bit to send Doctor Martinum to Erenbreitstein. So we have omitted to send Doctor Martinum to E. L., but first of all we want to tell E. L., because we hope to be with E. L. in a short time, that we do not want to behave to E. L., who we want to show,

1) Seckendorf misunderstood the following words and referred to the Elector of Trier. Ilist. I, utb., lib. I, p. 62 b.

2) Seckendorf, Ilist. I'utb., lib. I, x. 62 b, has the wrong date: May 3.

Luther's Works, "d. XV.

be fruntlich inclined. Date at Heltburg on Thursday Ascensionis Domini [June 2] 3) anno XV 0. XIX.

Von gots gnaden Friederich 2c.

E. How Miltitz, from received Desehl of Rome, to deliver the golden nose to Chursachsen, the journey of Luther to Coblenz Widerrath, because he himself would come to him, and what Chursachsen, since this Aeberbringung has again delayed, answered to Cajetan.

308 Miltizen's letter to Chursachsen, in which he reports to the Elector that the golden rose has already arrived at Augsburg with the Fuggers, and therefore considers it good that Luther waits until his arrival and does not travel to Coblenz. May 11, 1519.

In Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. I, p. 402 and in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 101.

Sublime Lord Highborn surft gmedigester her mein vndermtige gehorssamme Dinsthe sint Ewrn Curff vnd ff genaden mit sampt mein gebeth zu voran 4) bereyt genedigster Curff vnd Her I hab Ewrn Curff und ff genaden Jtzt ans heyligen Crutz tag [3. May] Eylent von Kobnlentz written to discover what the Lord Legate's meynugk is with Hern Martins Lutther zw handeln och doby Ewr Curff und ff genaden meynn guttduncken nit forhalden, welchs all Ewr Curff vnd ff genaden als ich hoff wirt sorsthandenn habenn so anders als ich nicht zweybel mein Briffe Ew. Curff vnd ff genaden sint zwkommen. V. If my lord has not come from the grave, I have acted in the most faithful way with my own faithfulness between my lordship and his lordship, I have found your lordship's grace to be completely reasonable and willing, and I have offered to help Martinus in his matter 5) with all means and difficulties, who then his Curff genad Ewr

3) Seckendorf, Ilist. I'utb., lib. I, p. 62 b, has the wrong date: June 8. - "Heldburg" is a small town with a castle in Saxe-Meiningen-Hildburghausen.

4) In Cyprian: "meran"; in Löscher: "meren". "voran" put by us. This expression: "zuvoran bereit" is very frequent, e.g. in No. 304: "zu foran"; No. 315: "zuvoran".

5) on == without.

Curff vnn ff genaden has written to me and ordered me to speak to Ewm Curff vnd ff g about these and other matters. Therefore, Most Reverend Judge, and the one who has my authority, do not regard my letter as a nest, concerning the affairs of Martinus, until I have agreed between the Supreme Curate and the Princely Grace. So I wanted to talk to your curate and prince's grace about it, if I had any doubt that the matter should be carried forward according to the will of your curate and prince's grace. I read your. I have been summoned by Rome to submit to the Holy See and to all the bulls of the Holy See and to all the graces of the Holy See for the sake of the Holy State and for the sake of the Holy Spirit, and also for the sake of other matters with the Holy See. I do not know how to deal with the rose and the bulls between me, when your Curia and your Grace know that the rose and the bulls are between Awsburck and the Lord Fuhrer Eden I know Awsburck qveme and thereafter between your Curia and your Grace, If the time is right, I have a meeting with your Curf and your Grace to discuss the matter, which will not be continued, so I am sending your Curf and your Grace a letter to the buyers, asking them to write to your Curf and your Grace to make sure that the matter is answered, where your Curff and ff your Grace will be in charge, I would like to make it clear to your Curff and ff your Grace that I have no objections. If she then comes there, where she will be taken by your Curia and the Holy See, I will then take her to you according to the command of your Curia and the Holy See and do what I am ordered to do by the beastly authority and the Holy See of Rome. I do not now raise any mentz zw faren where I have my pherdt sthen. From now on, as God has helped me to this point, I will submit myself in the most favorable way to Your Curia and Your Grace. In order that the matter may be resolved in a timely manner, I have sent this eloquent offer to your Curate and your Grace, humbly beseeching that your Curate and your Grace will do me the best of their good will, and that life and limb are always for your Curate and your Grace. Herewith I will have myself as your most noble lord before your curvature and your grace in the humble discharge. Datum Coblenz ser Eyilent am Mittwoch nach Misericordias Dom. [11 May] 1519. E Curf. and f g.

Undertheniger Cappellan Carolus
von Miltitz, Nuntius apostolicus thumher zw
mentz.

309 Answer of the Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, to Cajetan, in which he mentions that the rose, which had been on its way for so long, has not yet arrived, but also does not show any strong desire for it. Würzburg, June 8, 1519.

This letter is found in Latin in Cyprian, Nützliche Urkunden, Vol. II, p. 109 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 106.

Translated from Latin.

1 Our cordial greetings! We received the letter of your devotion, venerable Father in Christ, special Lord and friend, dated May 5 at Coblenz, on the 28th of the same month, in which your Reverence informs us that Mr. Carl von Miltitz, the Roman Pontiff Leo X., of our most holy Lord, Nuncio, our dear faithful, was immediately sent back to us to bring us the sacred gift of the golden rose, and that he could not have chosen a prince to whom he would be more grateful for everything of the highest order.

We do not doubt that the papal holiness would be kind to us with paternal benevolence, since we would never willingly give it cause to think otherwise of us than of one who in turn would repay its constant good will toward us with all diligence and love, although there has not been a lack of such people who have dared to blaspheme such things, as with our most holy Lord, so also with us, since we thought of nothing less.

Moreover, Mr. Carl von Miltitz has already let it be known for many days that the golden rose has been sent to us by the pope, out of paternal kindness and clemency, as a gift and for our veneration, although without our merit, but until now it has not yet reached our hands. We do not know for what reasons and through what hindrance the delivery of the golden rose has been delayed.

4. But that your devotion adds in its letter that there is nothing left but that we follow in the footsteps of our forefathers and ancestors, who have rendered excellent service to the popes and the entire Christian religion, and who have held the orthodox Roman Church in honor, clung to it lovingly and protected it manfully, as we would do, by which we would receive as much praise and glory from it as our forefathers had received before: we hope to the Almighty God that He will grant us the grace to be able to conduct ourselves in all right and proper ways.

We are to prove ourselves as an obedient son to papal holiness and the Catholic Church, and to remain in our ancestors' footsteps with such willingness to serve; as you mention in your letter that we have done so up to now, and with God's help are willing to continue to do so in the future. Therefore, since such a duty is due to us as a Christian prince of the Holy Roman Empire, we neither desire nor expect either praise or glory from the

People. We have not wished to do this to your devotion, to which we are prepared to show courtesy. Given in Würzburg, June 8, 1519.

Inscription:

To the Most Reverend in Christ Father, Mr. Thomas, of the Holy Roman Church, of the title of St. Sixti, Cardinal Priest, and of the Holy Apostolic See Legate de Latere, our dear Lord and friend.

Section Six of Chapter Four.

About Miltitzen's return to Saxony and finally the delivery of the golden rose that had been promised for so long, in which Chursachsen proves to be rather cold.

Von Miltitzens Reise zum Churfürsten zu Sachsen, und mit welchen für Cermonien er die golden rose presented.

310 Cardinal Cajetan's instruction to Miltitz when he wanted to travel to the Elector of Saxony again.

This document is found in Cyprian's Urkunden lateinisch und deutsch, vol. II, p. 115; in Löscher, Ref.Acta, vol. III, p. 108 only in Latin. The German version will have been made for the chursächsischen Räte (uüiktri), to whom Miltitz (as Cyprian says) communicated a copy of this memorial.

First of all, to have all lead by the By! Duke of Saxony that credible copies of the New Decrees of the Bulls on Indulgences be publicly proclaimed in the churches, monasteries, congregations or conventicles and common and other ecclesiastical places where the people are accustomed to assemble, and that such proclamation be made in the said places properly.

Item: It is to be stipulated that when the said Duke of Saxony comes to Franckfurt, on account of the election of a new Roman King, and before he comes to Franckfurt, the most venerable legate is to be heard at a place not far from Franckfurt, and to be allowed to come to him.

Item: that the same duke wants to be about it, that the most venerable duke has to be touched by the

orth come safely and againumb travel from then.

Item: that the Sovereign Duke notify the Most Venerable Legate of a convenient time and place for their meeting, so that all matters may take place properly and in due time.

The following article was signed by the legatee with his own hand.

And from the arrival of Martini to us, as we have talked with each other.

From the clock things that the rose has been warped until now, as we have said.

And to command and offer myself to His Most Serene Sovereignty.

311 Papal breve, which the nuncio handed over when the golden rose was handed down, in which only the power and virtue of the consecrated rose is widely emphasized, but nothing is said about the Turk and Luther, of which the other breve 2) is full. Oct. 24, 1518.

This breve is found in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 62 in Latin, and in German, according to Spalatin's translation, p. 66.

Babst Leo the Zcehend.

To the beloved son noble man Fridrich Hertzogen zu Sachßen. of the Hey. Ro. Reichs Churfurstenn.

Beloved son. the blissful and fruitful benediction. The most holy golden roses at the four-

1) In Latin: "üotivs - in a powerful, effective way, that is, with as much fuss as possible.

2) See above the 250th document of the same date.

On the tenth Sunday of Holy Lent, we celebrate the Holy Unction or Chrismation, and sprinkle the fragrant pysem 1) with favors, as is an old custom, and with other sacred ceremonies. And of a great mystery and hidden meaning. And which the most noble Christian conies or princes use to send and give to you every time. What honor we have bestowed on your nobility, thus according to the will of your most illustrious predecessors, the Dukes of Saxony, for our sake and for the sake of the nobility. Which gift we have given to your nobility in the aforementioned manner, with our permission, and for no other reason than that the person who gave it to us has so far refused to send it, and our skilled man has been able to give to your nobility in your duchy. in your duchy of Saxony, or in your sovereignty of Stete, in which, on account of the presence of the foremost German ecclesiastics and seculars, you would be respected by us with greater praise, honor and esteem. And that he who has done so has sufficiently indicated to your nobility our cousinly and immeasurable love for you, and who would be grateful to us and to your nobility, and although we have many other servants to whom we could have given this gift to your nobility, and have indicated the occasion of this time on our behalf. However, when we recognized our beloved son, notary, chamberlain, and honorable servant Charles of Miltitz, Master Cleric, in our service, we joined them together with great frivolity. And just as we have invented the same Charles from apparent and noble lineage, so he is also graced with good sins and mercy. And your nobility and its nobility and excellence in the most favorable way. For this reason, we have given you this most sacred and most precious gift before all others, and we have given you our support with pleasure. Your nobility shall also, of course, from this most holy gift, be entrusted to us with such great devotion and love, that it may be received more often, and God our Savior and us. Also, to give greater thanks to the holy named shrine, and to show our respect or devotion to us and to the same shrine. For we know that no duke of Saxony has ever been able to do this with such gratitude since the time of Pope Sixtus the Fourth.

Your father Ernst, who was in Rome at the time, has been killed. 2)

Accordingly, noble husband and beloved son, with the most joyful confidence, we call upon the Roses for a pledge of our veteran and special loyalty to you. Then this most holy and most delicious gift, as it came forth from God, so the Holy Roman Catholic Church willed that it should be given to you. The Holy Church willed that the same should be handed over by the hands of the Babylonian, to show the joy and the highest freedom, caught from the extinction of the human race. Which our Savior Jesus Christ redeemed with his most pure blood at the sign of the cross, as it was also previously figured and indicated in the old testament by the redemption of the children of Israel. When the all-true body of the Saviour comes to comfort, lift up, and deliver us in the midst of our needs, the roses will not be compared to it in vain. Then the rose is a flower above all flowers, and the most beautiful and beautiful flower that the earth bears. Therefore, dear son, let this godly odor come and go into the most intimate part of the heart of your nobility, so that you may thereby fulfill that which this same Charles will show on account of your nobility. as we then write of your nobility in another book 3). We hope that you will understand this in your good mind and put it into your noble heart, and that you will see and grasp our holy and benevolent faith even more fervently, in accordance with our hope, to your great lie of courage and greatness. Given at Ciuitat vetus [Civita vecchia]. Viterber

Bishopric, under the fisherman's ring, on the fourth and twentieth day of October. In the year after the birth of the Lord. Thousand, five hundred. and in the eighteenth. Our baby's death in the sixth year.

312 The papal breve given to Miltitzen to the bishop, who would read the mass at the presentation of the rose.

Oct. 24, 1518.

This document is found in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 96 and in. Löschers Ref.-Acta, Vol. II. Since the Elector himself was not present at the handing over of the rose, but had it quietly received by his commissioners, whose head was Fabian von Feilitzsch (at Altenburg on Sept. 25, 1519), the breve will not have been handed over to a bishop.

Translated from Latin.

2) Innocens VIII also gave the golden rose to a Saxon prince. Cyprian 1. c. Vol. II, p. 62.

3) Document No. 250.

1) "pysem" - muskrat.

Leo, Pabst the Tenth.

Venerable brother, salvation and apostolic blessing! The Most Holy Golden Rose, blessed and consecrated with our hands on the fourth Sunday of the holy recent Lent, to which great gift we entrust the beloved son, the noble Lord. Frederick, Duke of Saxony, who, after the manner of his illustrious ancestors, has rendered great service to us and the Holy Apostolic See, among other Christian kings and princes, this year, we wish to consecrate through our beloved son, Carl von Miltitz, our Nuncio, Notarius, chamberlain and secret servant, who has proved himself with us and is very dear to us, to the said Duke and have them appropriated and handed over to him by the same Lord Carl, according to the instruction given to him and with the sacred ceremonies which your brotherhood will observe. Accordingly, we admonish your brotherhood in the Lord and, by virtue of holy obedience, emphatically command you to strive to carefully observe these instructions and ceremonies in the Lord; and furthermore, so that not only the Duke himself may recognize our fatherly love for him from this so great gift, but also the believers in Christ may feel a comfort from this spiritual strengthening: we grant, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and by authority of His holy apostles Peter and Paul, to all and every believer in Christ of both sexes, who do true penance and confess their sins, also to attend devoutly the mass which you are to say in the episcopal vestments before Duke Frederick on the day of the presentation of the said rose, or the blessing which you will confer on the congregation when the mass is over, and for our and the Duke's welfare, the welfare of the Holy Roman Church and the spread of Christianity, will pray five Our Fathers and as many Hail Marys with devotion, in virtue of the present, in the usual form of the Church, plenary indulgence and forgiveness of all their sins, regardless of all revocations and annulments of equal or unequal pardons made by us and other decrees contrary thereto. However, after the said mass has been held, the present letter shall not be valid at all, but only the One Time. Given in the old city [*Civita vecchia*] of the

Viterbo diocese under the fisherman's ring, October 24, 1518. Our papacy in its sixth year.

B. How Chursachsen did not receive this papal gift, which is otherwise very highly respected and dedicated only to kings, personally, but only through his ministers.

313 Prince Frederick's power of attorney, which he gave to Fabian von Feilitzsch, Haugold von Einsiedel and Günther von Büнау in their entirety and in particular, that they should accept the holy rose from the nuncio of Pope Leo X, Carl von Miltitz, in his place and in his name. Sept. 16, 1519.

This document can be found in König's genealogical history of the nobility, part I, p. 347 and in Kapp, *Nachlese nützlicher Ref.-Urk.*, part III, p. 238.

By the Grace of God, we Friederich, Duke of Saxony, of the Holy Roman Empire, Elector, and of the same Empire in the lands of the Six Rights, and belonging at the end to our Vicariate, at this time Vicari, Landgrave in Düringen and Margrave of Meissen, declare with this letter of ours that we are all men. After the Most Holy in God Father and Lord, Mr. Leo the Tenth of the Name, of the Holy Christian Churches out of Divine Providence Babst, Vnns out of other paternal love with the Holy Roses, on the fourth Sunday in the Holy Lent, according to the praiseworthy custom of the See of Rome, graciously bestowed upon us, and sent to us this with Her Papal Holiness Nuncio, to be delivered to the Honorable of our other, Mr. Carl von Miltitz. Now we are willing to receive this holy and blessed rose in our own person, with great gratitude and reverence as it is born. But since we, for obvious reasons, as we reported to the said Bishop Holiness Nuncio, he himself also knows that he is prevented from doing so in his own person, but so that we do not fail to accept and receive such a gift and donation as much as possible with reverence and gratitude. Thus, we have given to our nobles and dear faithful Fabian von Feylitzsch, Haugolden von Einsiedel, and Günthern von Büנaw, knights sempiternal and particular, such a command and power for our own sake. Give power and authority to the said noble ranks,

We hereby accept such a holy and blessed rose, from the aforementioned Bishop Holiness Nuncio, on our behalf and in our hearts, with proper remorse and reverence, as such a worthy gift, from the Highest Head of Christendom within the clergy, and to ask the Nuncio to pledge submissive gratitude to His Most Holy Holiness for this gracious achievement and gift, which we recognize undeservedly, and to entrust to His Holiness, as the Obedient Son. In witness whereof we have caused to be printed our Secret zwruk to these vnsern letters, which is given

at Torgaw, on the sixteenth day of the month of September. After the birth of Christ our Lord five hundred and nineteen years.

Luther's report to Staupitz and Lang, how Miltitz had undertaken to perform a magnificent act with the golden rose at Wittenberg, and already boasted that D. Luther was certainly in his hands; but how he finally presented the rose at Altenburg in the absence of the Elector.

See Appendix, No. 35, § 4 and No. 36, § 2.

Section Seven of Chapter Four.

From the colloquium at Liebenwerda, which was requested in writing by Miltitz during his presence in Saxony at that time, and which was approved by both the Elector and Luther.

A. Von Miltitzens Ansuchen Lamm bei dem Churfürsten und Luther.

315 Miltitzen's letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he thanks Luther for the gift of 200 florins, which he received after handing over the rose, but at the same time asks for another 200, and then finally asks for the colloquium with Luther in Liebenwerda. Altenburg, September 26, 1519.

From Cyprian's Urkunden, Vol. I, p. 414 in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 828.

Most illustrious prince, most gracious lord, your princely graces have been informed of my recent service, most gracious lord and lord: I have recently written to your lordship, the bishop of Halle, all the contents of the indulgences which my lord, the bishop of Mentz 2c. has between Halle Eyngefurt vnd Anschlagenn let, och doby angetzeyget, dass siyn gl. nicht legatus Ist der heyligen kirchen 2c. forhoff sulch mein schreyben sey Ewrn Curff. gl. I have come to the north, on the sunny day, as I have come to meet with your Curff. gl. and with the heylige roße zw aldenburg Eyn and that with the breue and the bulls Ewr Curff. gl. Com

2c. on monday thereafter I was delivered by Mr. Fabian vonn Feilsch from your curff. gl. because of this measure, that he promised me to your curff. gl. iii year between the two, after which he has transferred ij hundred gülden to me for a ferment as a temporary deed, in which a Christian ruler burns the small lot of the holy church together with the indulgence bulls, of which I am only thankful to your Curff. Gl. as a gift to my most noble lord, I humbly thank your curate for his kindness and for his kindness in granting me my request. It is almost two and a half years since I received from your Honor a b'ebestliche, genad-breve von Bebestlicher heylikeyt, and that your Honor has made me the Pheffinger dem gad genad, von ewr Curff gl vffs fleyssisthe gedant och angetzeygt, dass ich sult befleyßigen die heylige roßen Ewrn Curffl. gl. 2c. which I have done for almost a year, and all my efforts have not been spared, so that I may have been able to get Erlangen, I hope, to your Curiam, with which cost and effort of time I must have done it, to bring me to your Curiam the holy greatness of Erlangen.

1) Eraser..incorrectly: "iii". Cyprian has our reading. Cf. Seckendorf, Uist. I-utk., Uk. I, x". 61a.

Words. From where your Curff gl. I may be unwilling to do so because of the legate who has carried on the cause of the transfer of the great ones, but your Honor will not let me be paid for it, if I hope that your Honor will always be able to conquer my heart. I have recognized, and for this reason, if God gives me life, I will recognize, Your Curate, that I have, at the request and address of Your Curate, secretary to the Count of Nastaw, given him my privilege and prothonotaryship, as well as to Mr. Eberhart the Archbishop, And willingly so is my humble prayer to your Curia, not that I do not ask enough or that I am not led, more than is fair, by your Curia, if I do not do such a prayer to your Curia, the holy rose together with the bulls from Erlangen for a gift, but that your Curia does. By this, I have been informed of my deepest thoughts and hopes that I will carry between your currencies, and by this, I hope for your most noble lord between Erlangen. Thus, I will inform Your Honor of this virtue, that anyone who is faithful according to his own fidelity, will let Your Honor be harmed. I may tell Your Honor that I owe Your Honor in these lands the ij hundred guilders which Your Honor has left to me, which they have paid to me in order to preserve My lands, If I am now to return to Rome, I do not know how I will be served, if your curate will not be kind to me as his servant, whom I hope to be faithful to, it will be quite distressing to me that I will no longer have your curate's permission. Therefore my humble request to your Curate, as to my most noble Lord, is that your Curate will be so kind to me that I may again come with him, as a skilled worker of the holy church, to the place where I have been appointed to serve your Curate. gn. zu dinst vnd Eren ij hundert gülden ferorden zw geben, so wil ich mich wider beffleißigen sulchs vmb Ewr Curff gl In aller vnderdenikeyt zwferdinen, weys gott, allergenedigster her, so ich itzundt fermocht, wolt ich Ewr Curff gl. I would like to leave you unburdened, because God I cannot do anything else, but all compulsion and consolation is with you. I humbly ask you to accept this kindly from me, and to come to my aid, which I would like to be found worthy of your kindness, as for my most noble Lord. I have also been informed by Mr. Fabian von Feylsch that your Curf. I have heard that he has ordered me to act with excommunication and censures against Doctor Martino. I leave you

Curff Gl. I do not think that I have thought of it, but I may laugh at other words, if the lewth with doctor Martino have made me a fool, and let a word be said about it. Your Curatorship knows that I have acted with doctor Martinus in your Curatorship between Aldenburg, I will abide by this, and if my humble request is that your Curatorship will kindly order that doctor Martinus not come to your Curatorship, then I will have agreed with him on the matter, and after that I will write to your Lordship of Trier. H. H. of Trier, I demand, I want to be a forfuger, the matter will be settled at the end of the day of Doctor Martinus. Your Curate will let me be princely two and a half days before Doctor Martinus arrives in Libenwerd, so that I may be there, and I hereby declare myself to your Curate as my most noble lord, dated between Aldenburg on Monday after Mathew the *Apostle* [26 Sept.] 1) 1519.

E Curff gl
humble and beloved Capellan Carolus von
Miltitz.

316 Miltizen's letter to Luther inviting him to the colloquium in Liebenwerda. Altenburg, 26.²) Sept. 1519.

This letter is found in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 127 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 832.

Translated from Latin into German.

Brother Martin, very special friend!

Hail! I am surprised that so many months have passed and that I have not received a letter from your brotherly love. I pass this over to you, as one of my most valued friends. However, I would like you to request a trip to the city of Liebenwerde as soon as possible and also to indicate the day when you would like to be present there. I will also dispose of myself there, for it will certainly be for your good. Therefore do not delay! For many dangers are threatening, which I hope will be averted by your presence. I hereby entrust myself to your brotherhood, as to my most beloved brother. Go

1) Löscher 1. a. p. 831, note: "Was der 21. Sept.", which Walch reprinted for him.

2) Again, the old edition has Walch's "Sept. 21".

Given at Altenburg, Monday after the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle [Sept. 26] 1519.

Your brother, Carl von Miltitz.
Nuncio and Apostolic Commissary, with his
own hand.

To the venerable father, brother Martin Luther,
professor of sacred theology, my dearest friend
at your own hands.

Luther's report and thoughts on this to D. Staupitz.

See Appendix, No. 36, § 2.

B. Of the Elector's and Luther's willingness to do so.

318: Prince Frederick of Saxony's letter to Spalatin that the colloquium at Liebenwerda has been approved and that D. Luther is to be notified of this. Luthern should be informed of this.

Sept. 30, 1519.

This letter is found in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 129 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p.832. Also in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 160.

By the grace of God, Fridrich Hertzog zu Sachsenn
Churfürst und Vicarius.

Unnsern grus zuvor wirdiger lieber Andechtiger.

We hereby inform you of our noble opinion that today we have received a letter from Karl von Miltitz to Doctor Martinus, which we are sending to you to hand over to Doctor Martinus, and we do not wish 1) to keep to ourselves that he has also written and indicated to us how he intends to send Doctor Martinus to him in love, now we cannot really consider what he may do with him. But we consider that doctor Martinus is neither to refuse nor to refuse to come to him, therefore doctor Martinus, as well as we will consider it good. So we want to tell the doctor that he, Ern Karlhn, when he wants to be at Liebenwerdt, will write a day to him, and send us the letter by this messenger, so we want to send it for Ern Karlhn to the Scharsfensteyn.

Since we also know that Charles has let himself be heard that he wants to be our friend the Archbishop of Trier, and that we are giving him a letter to this friend of ours, he has let Charles of Aldenberg be heard that he will first act with Doctor Martinus and then send our letter to the bishop of Trier with a messenger. Therefore we want to demand our letter 2) again from the von Miltitz, because if doctor Martinus comes to him, then the matters will perhaps gain a different opinion than has been announced and indicated in the writing, we do not want to restrain you, then we are inclined to be gracious to you. Date to the Lochaw on Friday sant hiero- nimus day [30 Sept.] anno dni. XV C. XIX.

Fridericus.

To the future our chaplain and dear andechtigen Mr.
Jörgen Spalatin thumherrn ' zu Altenburg 2c. 2c.

Luther's letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he encloses Miltitzen's above letter and promises that he is ready and willing to appear at Liebenwerda on October 9. Wittenberg, October 1, 1519.

This letter can be found in the original in the Oock. Ootdan. 379, No. 8; printed in Cyprians Urkundm, vol. I, p.419; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p.834; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 28; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 339 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 27. In the latter two editions with the " wrong date: den 30. September". We have added the inscription, which is very defective in the original. We give the text after Cyprian.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick, [Duke] of Saxony, Elector, Archmarshall of the [Holy Roman Empire] and of the same [in the Saxon] right lands Vicario, Count in] Thuringia and Margrave of White my most gracious Lord and Patron 2c.

Jhesus!

Most Illustrious High Porter Prince, Lord Privy Councillor. To Your Electoral Grace I have the honour to know how Mr. Carlus of Miltitz has written to me to give him a day's notice against Libenwerdt, such as

1) "want" is missing in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, but is found in Cyprian.

2) The words: "dem von Trier" 2c. until here are missing in the Erlangen correspondence.

E. C. F. G. may recognize from the synergy of the writings enclosed here. Because I then see myself as more of a friend to Carlo than he might think, I have not wanted to do this to E. C. F. G.'s displeasure," and "attributed to him" on the Sunday of S. Dionysius [Oct. 9], 1) for eight days: I have not been able to find out more. I do not think that there is anything to fear. Even if it were true, it would not be much of a problem. I humbly wish, as it is the pleasure of E. C. F. G., to have my letter sent to him along with E. C. F. G.'s authority. Herewith I bow to E.C.F. G.vntertheniglich. May God keep us blessed for a long time, amen. At Wittenberg on the Sunday after Michaelmas [1 Oct.] 1519.

E. C. F. G.

Augustinian Augustinian chaplain D. Martinus
Luther.

C. From the colloquium itself, which took place in October 1519.

Luther's short report to Spalatin on the Liebenwerd Conference.

10 M Oct. 1519.

The Latin original is in the 60ä. OotU. 379, toi. 4; printed from it in Seckendvrs Hist. I-utk., lib. I, p. 63u; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 835; in Strobel-Ranner, p. 52; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 343 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 187. German in Spalatin's translation in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 140 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 835.

After Spalatin's translation.

JEsus. 2)

First of all, Karl von Miltitz 2c. has ordered my most noble lord, the Elector of Saxony, to give me his permission.

2. secondly, to greet the Spalatinum on his behalf.

1) Löscher and Walch erroneously state October 8; likewise Seckendorf, Ilist. lib. I, p. 63 u.

2) Added by us according to the Latin original. This word proves that we are not dealing with a fragment of a letter, as De Wette 1. e. and Seidemann, Miltitz, p. 17 assume, but that it is a short report, which is perhaps still written in Liebenwerda. The date is Conjecture of the Erlanger Briefwechsel.

Thirdly, Karl von Miltitz asked if I wanted to continue the agreement and negotiation between him and myself at Aldenburg, and if I would like to make my most gracious lord the Archbishop of Trier 2c. a judge. To this I answered: Yes, I would like to suffer my most gracious lord at Trier to judge.

4 Finally, Karl von Miltitz said that he had now delivered the official letter and wanted to take his way against Rome at this time. He also did not want to take his leave, for he had previously negotiated this matter verbally with me. 3)

5 After a brief discussion, we talked about the Babst's power. In which matters Charles and I have agreed that the apostle's power, which he has now, is not of God's right. But the priest shall nevertheless have another commission or another authority, which the other apostles have not had. Then I ask, what is the difference between the painting and the bevel of the bishop? Says Karl von Miltitz, that the painting and the bevel were one thing alone, which they gave to Sant Peter in a special place in the world. And said: O we will soon become one of the things.

D. Von Miltitzens an Chnrtrier und Chursachsen abgestattetem gar unlauterm Bericht von dieser Conferenz.

1. of Miltitzen's false pretense, as if Luther had promised in the Colloquium to travel with him to the Elector at Trier.

321 Miltitzen's letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he claims that Luther has agreed to travel with him to the Elector of Trier. Oct. 10, 1519.

From Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. I, p. 421 in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 836 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 189.

3) Here in the original Latin is the signature: Alartinus l^utUer. The following is a kind of postscript.

Sublime Lord Highborn Prince and Gentleman, my beloved and obedient distincts are yours for the time being, noble Curate and Gentleman. As her Fabian von Feylschz Jungst zw aldenburg by reason of Ewr. Curff. Gn. Doctor Martin's matter, I talked to him, and answered him by writing that I myself would not like to deal with Doctor Martin, and to understand his motives, I let him know, that yesterday I was at his court, and after all necessity I talked with him, and I am free to talk to my most gracious lord of Trier about laying down this inheritance everywhere. I have also written to my lord of Trier. Hern von Trier, dobey synen genaden Ewr. If I receive an answer, I will send it in the most favorable way to your Lordship. With this I wish to humbly and sincerely thank Your Royal Grace, all my most gracious servants, for their kindness. Given between Mülburg on Monday after Dionisi [10 Oct.] 1519.

E. Curff. genaden vndereniger humble
Capellan Carolus von Miltitz.

2. how Luther thoroughly answered to the Elector of Saxony.

322 Luther's quite different report of this to Spalatin, at the same time painting Miltitzen's character....

See Appendix, No. 37, U 1-4.

323 Prince Frederick of Saxony's answer to von Miltitz that Luther's report was quite different and that, according to reports, he had wanted to return to Rome; at the same time, he expressed his displeasure that Miltitz had sent the princely letter, which he should have returned, to Trier against the given order.

Oct. 12, 1519.

Ans Cyprians Urkunden, vol. II, p. 131 reprinted in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 837 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 190 (with the incorrect reference: "Löscher III, 387").

Gott waits.

By the Grace of God Friderich Duke of Saxony and Elector.

Dear devotee and councilor. We have heard your letter on the action you had with doctor Martinus, and as you indicate among other things therein, that the same doctor Martinus is content to tear to our friend from Trier with you 2c. Therefore, we do not wish to restrain you, since Doctor Martinus has reported to us that he has asked you whether he wishes to continue the agreement and negotiation between you and him here at Aldenburg, to remain and to be judge, and to suffer our friend the Archbishop of Trier to be judge: to which he answered yes, he would like to suffer our friend of Trier to be judge. And you should have been denied at last, you have now executed the official request, and want to take your way to Roma at once. You also did not want to take your leave, for you had previously discussed this matter verbally with him 2c. That it was not at our discretion to settle with your petition. But that you indicate that you have sent our letter to Trier, we have not failed to do so, for we have not written to you that if the letter is to be sent by messenger, we ourselves would appoint one for it, and that you should send it back to us. Then we have written to our friend from Trier about the agreement we had at Franckfurt with his dear Doctor Martinus, when an imperial diet is to be held and we are to attend it, that we then bring Doctor Martinus with us. But if we were to attend such a Diet, we would also send Doctor Martin with us. We did not want to do that to you, but we are inclined to be gracious to you. Date to the Lochaw on Wednesday after Sant Dionysia Day [Oct. 42] Anno Domini 1519.

3) Miltitz then objected further against Luther.

324 Miltitzen's further letter to Saxony, in which he does not want to know anything about the fact that he had said to Luther that he had now finished his commission; at the same time, he apologizes very humbly because of the letter sent to Trier by the Elector; but otherwise insists that Luther had promised to travel with him to Trier. Dated Dresden, 14 October 1519.

This letter is printed from Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. I, p. 422 in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 838 and from the latter in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 198 (with Löscher's incorrect reference: "Cyprian II, 422").

Most Illustrious Highborn Prince, Your Royal Grace, my subordinates are all willing to give their consent, Your Grace, and you, I have received a letter from Your Royal Grace on the last week between the Lochau, in which Your Royal Grace has received the letter that I have had with Doctor Martin between Libenwerd, and has given it to you. In view of the meeting I had with Doctor Martin in Libenwerd, and the fact that Doctor Martin did not come to terms with my letter, I have humbly refused to tell Your Honor what Doctor Martin has told Your Honor. otherwise than as I have written to your Curator, he will have been warranted in all that I have given him all the freedom and security, which I will write to your Curator. 1) I have asked Doctor Martinus whether he wants to enter into an agreement between Aldenburg and my Lord of Trevir, and whether he wants to appoint your Curff. I have suffered between a judge, on which he told me that he would gladly do so, on which he would have been out of trouble, but that I should have told Doctor Martino that because I had spoken to him verbally, I had complied with his order, and had not given me any Rome again. 2c. It did not happen from me, most noble curate, and in the war, where I said, if I would not take the trier, between me and my lord the archbishop. I have given my consent to the Archbishop, and I will not make myself a judge again, but if D. Martinus decides otherwise, I must leave it at that. Your Honor shouted to me and asked that I send my Lord of Trier the letter which Fabian von Feilsch had given me between Aldenburgk, his Honor, meanwhile your Honor had told me that your Honor had written to me, if I wanted to send the letter with a messenger, I should send it to your Honor again. If I want to send it back to you with a special offer, I will humbly and explicitly tell your curate that I have not asked for any of your curate's money, I have not received any letter from Aldenburgk, which I have sent to your curate, that I do not have to send the letter to my lord of Trier, which was sent to me by Fabian von Feilsch, my lord of Trier. Hern von trier zwzwschicken vnd ich mich aldo warthe sulchen brieff ober

1) forhilt - behaved.

2) and on the first Monday 3) I have sent no salt from Milberg 4) to Sittich von Berlips, who should then order it for no more money, while I had no knowledge of Erlangen between Mulbergk, to whom I had been entrusted, who would not have wanted to lawffen any money, please most humbly ask Ew. I would like to be excused, because I, as God wants me to be far away, do not like to think that your Curff. gl. was not lyb or frölich. Silence then, that I want to do something, that is against your Curff. Gl, with that I befriend your Curff gl In all demudt vnd untertenikyt, as minn allergenedigsten Hern, Datum, zw Dressen am Freytagk nach Dionis. [Oct. 14, 1519.

E Curff gl vndertheniger humble Capellan Carolus von Miltitz.

Luther's written explanation of the Miltitz letter to the Elector Frederick, how it never occurred to him to travel with him to Coblenz, and how his words and opinion had otherwise been. Wittenberg, October 15, 1519.

The original of this letter is in the Cock. Ootlian.

379, no. 6. Printed in Cyprian's Useful Documents, vol. I, p. 425; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 840; in the Leipzig Supplement, p. 29; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 349 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 28.

To the Most Illustrious, Highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector, Archmarshal of the Holy Ro. Reichs Erzmarschalk and K. Mas. in Sächsischen Ländern fVicario], Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of Meisten, my most gracious Lord and Patron.

Jhesus.

Most Illustrious High Porter Prince Gnedigister Sir. Your Electoral Grace is always pleased to have my poor prayer and service. Most gracious lord. I have understood how my friend and master, Mr. Carol von Miltitz, wrote to E. C. F. G., as if I had undertaken to go with him to Trier. This is almost strange to me

2) "ferrithe" should probably mean: beriethe.

3) October 10.

4) "saltz", that is, Langensalza.

horenn. If I am not otherwise requested by him, then whether I am still willing to ley the Treuirensen Archiepiscopum zunn indicem, as was discussed at Aldenburg. I have said so, and as E. C. F. G. has said with the same high priest 2c. at Franckfort, I have said: And also E. C. F. G. has said and said: As also our prior 2) presently hears, and still says. Then I thought nothing less than to travel to Trier for the Imperial Diet, with yrgend eiuem man! Not a word was thought of it, indeed, Carol said that he now had his commission before the court and wanted to go to Rome in a punitive manner. So I am still willing and ready to go to the Diet according to E. C. F. G.'s advice and promise, and do what I am supposed to do. But now I do not want to pledge, then keep silent, in such a time as the war pestilence and other accidents everywhere. This I have humbly wished to report to E. C. F. G.: so that E. C. F. G. may know in glowing terms what we have done at Libenwerd. Herewith I humbly compliment E. C. F. G.. At Wittenberg on Saturday, vigilia St. Galli [Oct. 15], 1519.

E. F. G.

Sub-subject Capellan" vnnd servant
D. Martin Luther, Auglstinser.

326 Prince Frederick of Saxony's answer to Miltizen's other letter above, in which he sends him Luther's declaration itself enclosed, and again assures him that he has written to him that he would like to send the letter back to Churtrier. Lochau, 17 Oct. 1519.

In Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 133 and printed from it in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 842; from Löscher in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 210, with the incorrect proof: "Cyprian II, 151", which is taken from Löscher, but refers there not to this but to the next following document. The correct proof is in Löscher, vol. III, p. 831, note.

1) In Cyprian: "haldenn"; De Wette: have. Our reading is given by the Erlanger Briefwechsel.

2) Prior Conrad Helt was present at the colloquium.

GOtt walts.

By the Grace of God Fridrich 2c.

Our greetings first, venerable, dear, devout and councilor. We have heard your letter, which you have sent to us now, and the notice we have given you on account of the conversation you had with Doctor Martinus, 3) has come from Martinus' report. We have also not omitted to send copies of your letter to us, which you have done so, to the same D. Martinus, who wrote to us again, as you will see from the copy 4). But concerning the letter to our friend the Archbishop of Trier, we do not know anything else to remember, then we have written to you to send the same letter to us again, because you wanted to order it with a messenger. We may also have suffered that it came to pass, and that it was not sent back and forth in such a way. We will not hold you to that. Then we are inclined to be gracious to you. Date to Lochaw on Monday after Sant Gallus day [17 Oct.] 5) Anno Domini 1519.

327 A letter of insinuation from Elector Frederick to Elector Trier, in which the letter reclaimed from Miltitz and also received back was sent enclosed.

Dat. Lochau, October 25, 1519.

This letter is found in Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. II, p. 51 and in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 842. In Löscher and in Walch with the wrong date: "den 21. October".

GOtt walts.

Vnsere friendly service before.

Heir in God especially dear friend. We freely admit to E. L. that he has let Karl von Miltitz hear us before, that he is willing to come to your love, so we have had the other letter written to E. L., 6) and have given it to him.

3) Added by us, because a predicate is obviously missing.

4) This is the previous letter. Compare No. 48 in the appendix of this volume.

5) In Löscher and in Walch the wrong date is: "the 16th of October".

6) Löscher remarks I. c.: "This letter, which has been commemorated in the letters mentioned so far, has been lost. - The letter had not yet reached its final destination, but had been sent, as we see from No. 324, from Miltitz to Sittig von Berlepsch, Captain at Langensalza, for onward transportation to Coblenz. Therefore, the return was possible.

E. L. He then changed his mind, and wished to send the letter to his beloved by messenger, so we demanded it of him, and send it herewith to E. L., because the matter has come to a head, and ask with pleasure that E. L. let the poor monk, in so far as he has the right, be favoured. He is then willing and willing, if an Imperial Diet is held, to comply with our agreement, and to

in all fairness, in that which he has found to be wrong. Thus, von Miltitz was told that he should act alongside E. L. in the matter, and we did not want anything else, but that the action should be for E. L. alone. We have not wished to restrain E. L. in this way. We are fully willing to provide this service. Dated at Lochaw on the Tuesday after St. XIM June's Day [25 Oct.] Anno Domini 1519.

Section Eight of Chapter Four.

Von Miltitzen's somewhat more serious dealings with the Church of Saxony ministers at Torgau in the matter of Luther.

A. As Miltitz reports to Chursachsen that the papal court is very unwilling about the delay and has sent him stricter orders - therefore he wants to come to the Elector in Torgau.

328 Miltitzen's letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he reports that he has received letters from Rome, that the pope is very angry that nothing serious is being done in this matter, and that Luther is still allowed to preach; how he himself has been blackened at the Roman court, and he worries that the ban will break out and the matter will be given to another nuncio. Dec. 8, 1519.

From Cyprian's Documents, Vol. I, p. 408.

Most Serene High Lord and Prince. Your Curffl. Genaden sint meyne vnderthenige gehorssame Dienste zuvoran bereyt. Your Highness and you. I have been on the way to the Lochaw between your Curators. Your Curffl. Genaden to visit, there beside with Ew. Curffl. Genaden Doctor Martinus sache belangennde zw handeln, die weyl Ich mergk und for awgenn ist, dass sich die sachen von tagk zwagk Ergern vnd die lewthe In weyter beschwerungk Jrer gewyßenn gefürt werden und Ew. Curffl. Genaden sulchs von bebestlicher heylikeyt geschrieben, vnd vetterlich ermant, dass Ew. Curffl. The Holy Roman Catholic Church has been asked by the Holy Roman Catholic Church to establish the Holy Roman Catholic Church in the Holy Roman Catholic Church, and to ensure that the Holy Roman Catholic Church is not destroyed during the time that the Holy Roman Catholic Church is in possession of the Holy

My Lord Exalted. I have recently received a letter from Rome stating that the Holy Trinity greatly desires that this matter be brought to such a lengthy conclusion, and has given me serious instructions to demand that the matter be brought to a conclusion. The Most Reverend Holiness does not want the matter to proceed in any way, so I have taken care, Most Reverend, that some bishops have written to the Most Reverend Holiness, and have made a terrible mess of the matter, and indicated how many people are being misled by Doctor Martin's writings and preaching, and added that His Holiness, as a heir of the Christian Church, has the right not to put the matter to other people who will act more diligently against Doctor Martin than has been done up to now, so that his evil actions will be stopped. May Your Grace notice, if it should be given to another than I fear, if it would be taken longer, I have no doubt, Doctor Martinus will not attain such a direction, as I hope God will attain him. It will not happen before the last great day, and I would like to ask your Curffl. Gn. Landen great irthum fulgen darawß mit interdicten vnd andere geistlichen censuren. Thus, most gracious sir, Georgio Spalatin and Hieronymus Rudolf have met me on the other hand, and have not brought me back again, but Hieronymus has told me that it would be good to indicate by my letter to your Curff. Gn. what I want to do about this matter with your Curffector, whom I have pleased. And give Ewr. Curffl. I humbly acknowledge that I will not do anything else with your Cur. Curffl. I have no other business to do with Your Honor than what I have indicated here to Your Grace, concerning Doctor Martinum,

ferhoff och zw Got, so ich zw Ewr. Curffl. Gn. to consider such ways, that the matter is not only to be dinstlich, but gräßlich zwtrechtilich between the Concordia. If the matter arises in such a way that Doctor Martinus will be able to satisfy your Curffl. I have complied with my order, which I have from the Supreme Holiness in this matter; and if I want to return to Rome, then your Curl. I have been ordered to go to Rome again, so that I can visit your curate. Gn., which I will then, if it pleases Ew. Gn. will keep. Then Ew. Curffl. I will not allow myself to be burdened with goods, so that I can ask your Curl. I will not let myself be burdened with goods. I would not want to be burdened with goods that would burden your honor in some way, or that would be unpleasant, because the time I am alive, your honor should not be burdened with them. Curffl. His Grace will always find me to be a faithful servant, who will always do according to his own wishes what His Grace wishes. Curffl. His Grace's pleasure. I therefore humbly submit to Your Grace with all due respect. Gn. in all humility, as my most gracious lord, datum zw torgaw iin die beatae Mariae virginis [8 Dec.]

1) 1519.

Ew. Curffl. Gn.

humble Capellan
Carolus von Miltitz.

B. What the Elector, who was staying at Lochau at that time, had his ministers negotiate with Miltitz.

329 The Electoral Council's concerns about what should be reported to Miltitzen or written again.

From Spalatin's uuto^{rap}uo in Cyprian's Urkunden, Vol. I, p. 411. - Regarding this and the two following objections, Seidemann, "Miltitz", p. 20, notes that they are to be placed after December 8, which will be correct. For the trial took place, as No. 331 shows, on Dec. 11 at Torgau.

Most Gracious Sir, upon your request, we consider that you may subsequently write the following opinion to Karl von Miltitz, indicate it or have it rewritten.

First of all, that he is determined to ensure that E. C. G. does not have anything to do with Doctor Martinus' affairs. He has also offered to dispense with him beforehand. As well as Doctor Martinus Widerumb to deprive himself of his C. G. land and principality so that no one can be

1) This is Conssptionig of Mary, since Mary was conceived; the day of Mary's birth is September 8.

neth half to. The complaint is granted without reservation. Thereupon he asked C. G. would not let him come away. Then he would like to make the matter more difficult in other places, then under his C.G.'s authority, and on that basis E.C.G., as the obedient official, and the younger ones against official authority. Halden 2) will, so far in no way geliden. Therefore, who the lack of E. C. G. not gewest vnd noch nith were.

Secondly. That Doctor Martinu's matter would become more serious from day to day, and that the people would continue to complain about their consciences. If E. C. G., who has decided on the matter and has nothing to do with it, would make Doctor Martinu's facts, ler and opinion better or better, as it would not be considered a jrthumb, but rather a rightly founded opinion, by many scholars and merciful people. But E. C. G. can suffer, if it were an error, that it would be established, and that these and all things in the whole of Christendom would be correct, unjust and unjustifiable.

Thirdly, the fact that the matter has so far been settled was not lacking in E. C. G., then he knew that our most gracious Lord of Tryer had granted the matter to be heard and settled at the next Imperial Diet, and that it would thus remain unchanged, who was also to blame on E. C. G.

Fourthly, that. Some bishops wrote in Rome and complained about the matter, each one must be allowed to write what he wants. But it was to be expected that many complaints would have been made, if they had not so often complained in various ways to Doctor Martinus.

Fifthly, because E. C. G. has not been able to do anything about the matter, nor has Doctor Martinus been able to respond to his request. The Royal Council hopes that the Royal Council will not burden the country and the principality with interdicts and ecclesiastical censures. In view of the fact that C. C. G. does not want to give the prince any reason to be obedient to his authority.

Sixth, because E. C. G. would like to please Bebstlicher Heyt. and do it for him, she asks. Jr to indicate which form Doctor Martinus should follow E. C. G., so that he may satisfy Bebstlicher Heyt. that E. C. G. wishes to follow. C. G. will gladly indicate to Doctor Martinus, and to please Bebstlicher Heil, and to present to him what is necessary in the matter, as the obedient son, and will not let Doctor Martinus be comfortably unopened.

2) In Cyprian: "half". But, as can be seen from No. 330, "Halden" is to be read.

330 What is to be said on behalf of our most gracious Lord the Elector of Saxony 2c. Vicarii 2c. is to be discussed with Herr Karl von Miltitz.

From Cyprian's Documents, vol. II, p. 142. - In Cyprian's table of contents, sheet b 3^A, this document has the title: "Was mit Herr Karl von Miltitz Doctor Luthers Reise halber gen Trier soll geredet werden. From Spalatini Concept."

Firstly, that our most gracious Lord has received his letter 1) from Torgau and has read his content. And after his C. G. went to the Lochaw because of his death and for the sake that his Curfl. He sent us a letter asking if he would like to make a request for the matter. His Grace then asked to hear the same from him and then to report to his Grace that this letter and submission were quite contrary to his previous action and that it was out of all proportion. Therefore his C. G. im as a countryman, and his father's C. G. has been gracious to him and has therefore also graciously forgiven him for charging himself with this evil matter. Then he wished to remember without doubt what form his C. G. had taken in the past year. G. attributed to the Cardinal Sancti Sixti in the past year, that his C. G. does not want to take anything from doctor Martinus, and wants to abstain from them as much as possible, and that doctor Martinus himself humbly agrees, so that no one may come to trouble and ecclesiastical censures for his sake, to admit to the will of the Almighty, to do from Wittenberg, and to express my most gracious Lord's country and principality. How then all this will be C. G. reported all this to him at Altenburg at his first arrival and insisted that his C. G. wanted to make doctor Martinus' matters necessary, and let him come from his C. G.. Then his C. G. would not like to be other than a Christian prince and obedient son in civil matters. Holiness, and to be found against His Holiness, and not against His Holiness. Holiness. As he asked with all his might, his C. G. will not let doctor Martinus come in any way from then on, but will let him live longer. Then he should come to the other end, the matter may become much more difficult and burdensome, then they were in these lands. And following on your C. G. he-

request doctor Martinus to come and talk to him. Thereupon, they had so much to do with each other, as Charles was pleased to hear, that doctor Martinus agreed to appoint my most gracious Lord of Trier 2c. as a commissioner or judge, and what he would instruct him to do and follow in accordance with the law. Karl von Miltitz then let himself be heard to take his next way to the named Cardinal Sancti Sixti, on his knowledge, will, to do, and if he has nothing to do, and to show the same Cardinal such doctoris Martini's request, and to faithfully prevent it, so that the matter may be settled and executed in a reasonable and faithful manner. So the matter was delayed until between Easter and Pentecost, when he wrote 2) that doctor Martinus should come in haste to Coblenz to have his case heard and discussed by my lord of Trier in the presence of the venerable Cardinal and himself, with the request that he should not encounter any complaint from the Cardinal. Shortly thereafter he wrote 3) that doctor Martinus should not be allowed to come to Coblenz in any way, but that he should see my most gracious lord himself within a few days, and report to his C.G. himself about the circumstances of the case. So on Friday after Vocem Jucunditatis [June 3] he came to my most gracious lord in Weymar and brought his C. G., among other things, a letter from my most gracious lord of Trier, in which my lord of Trier indicated to his C. G. how the matter was to be handled. G. how the said Cardinal and he of Miltitz have sought to demand doctorem Martinum to his C. G., with the request to look into the matter with lead, so that it may be done in the most gentle way, and so that his C. G. may always be able to see it. G. ymmer mögen, nyder gelegt würd 2c. And after the Waltag came in, and this matter thus passed, my most gracious lord of Trier with my most gracious lord the Elector of Saxony 2c. decided in the breaking out of the Waltag at Franckfort that doctor Martinus should be provided for at the next Imperial Diet, that he who is to be murdered for Martin 5) should submit himself to my most gracious lord of Trier to interrogate this matter and to lay it as much as possible. So who it has remained until now. So my most gracious Lord of Trier as the Commissarius has not yet required doctor Martinus, and has not set him any other appointment, regardless of when doctor Martinus of

1) Dec. 8, No. 328.

2) May 3, No. 304.

3) Den II. May, No. 308.

4) The letter of May 10, No. 306.

5) This is Martini, the II. November.

of his C. G. would have shown himself to be fair, and would again have no complaint at his C. G.'s request to appear. But if doctor Martinus has so many judges, and one wants to refer him to the one from Trier, the other to him, and the third perhaps to another, he has to see for himself how it will be. Thus, Karl let himself be consoled at times, that this matter could easily be rejected. Now his C. G. again has nothing to do with doctor Martinus's matters, and will also, as before, express himself about them as much as possible. From all of which it is evident that he alone has caused the matter to be so far torn down, and that doctor Martinus, out of complaisance to his favors, must give himself in reproach to save his Cristl. ere. And because of his C. And because the defect has not existed and still does not exist, he may not judge for what reasons his C. G. lands, as he should have done before, are to be burdened with interdicts and other ecclesiastical censures. However, his C. G., as a Christian prince, has no reason to do so, nor would he like to do so, and his C. G. has always been pleased with the pious wolf way of all Christendom throughout her life, for which reason his C. G. also relies on doctoris Martinis. G. relied on doctoris Martini not to take on any further, but if anything else came of it, no one was to blame. But because he states, among other things, that if doctor Martinus follows his C. G., then he will have his right of counsel. He has done enough in this matter, and will immediately return to Roma 2c. and ask the C. G. to show us how and in what form the C. G. should follow doctor Martinus, so that he may do enough for the C. G.'s sake. Bevel does enough. Then E. C. G. would like to have the matter pointed out to doctor Martino, and what is necessary to help him. Then E. C. G. who has ever been inclined as a Christian Elector and again inclined to His Beatitude and Holiness. He is also inclined to be the obedient son of His Holiness, and to live in fair matters.

Nota in erfahrung zukommen welche Bischöfe die fachen mit ihrem schreib gen Rom beschwert haben 2c. und was sust zu wissen gut wer, und bevor was er für bevel in den jüngsten schrifften aus Rom entfangen hett. Item of the interdict etc. To take care of it.

Martinus halber Sundays after Nicolai sll. Dec.1 at Torgau Anno Domini 1519 is to be traded. From Spalatin! uuto^rupüo." - By mistake, Seidemann, Miltitz, p. 21: "M. in Lochau at the Churfürsten. 8""kenck. I, 63 (Dec. II)." However, Seckendorf also reports that the Elector came to Torgau on Dec. 11.

In this way, and to the benefit of our most noble Lord in this matter, I will allow myself to be led to it:

That silence shall be kept, and Doctor Martinus shall not be given cause to write.

Gein Rome have written, his alone spared from this action.

That Mr. Karl drives the matter, and lets himself be incited. If the matter takes this form, he is warned to let it go. Then a complaint should be made, so it comes out of his cause.

Nota, to ask where the glide remained, of which Tryer wrote. 1)

If Doctor Martinus will not be spared, then he shall be spared from my most gracious lord.

Nota, to ask what Her Karl before Bevelh of Tryer, or Bebstl. Heil. hab.

If D. Martinus comes without being asked, he will not be heard gladly in Trier.

What were the ways to indicate what shape come out of the things.

We will gladly help D. Martinus to come to the interrogation according to his will, but that he will be secured.

Why he does not abolish that Emser does not write those at Jutterbock, and others, and does not give Doctor Martino cause.

The disputation at Leyptzig.

What Doctor Martinus is doing is for the salvation of his people, which he is urged to do. For my most gracious lord has commanded him that he shall not give any cause, or move immanently to unwillingness, and shall not take anything burdensome.

Nothing is to be done until the judge makes a decision on the matter. What is then found, it remains in the name of God, and know his grace but not to be denied.

A messenger at Tryer.

Nota Tryers Letter.

Grace ere and wells erzeugt.

The furstellen so acted in this fact.

Doctor Martinus has offered to be obedient, and still is, if he becomes humble. He alone may have fallen to other people.

Doctor Martinus will complain highly, because

331: What is to be done with Miltitz at Torgau [on Dec. 11].

From Cyprian's Urkunden, Vol. II, p. 148. - In Cyprian's Inhaltsverzeichnis, Bl. b 3^, this document has the title: "Was mit Herr Carl von Miltitz Doctor

the matter is before the commissioner, so that it can be dealt with again.

The matter is before Tryer as before the commissioner, and he shall draw with ban and other complaints.

Do you think, my most gracious lord, that it is done benevolently, and that his C. G. does not deserve this from you. So Doctor Martinus will complain about it. Perhaps one will find pious people who will be sorry for him.

Chapter Four, Section Nine.

How Miltitz held out in Saxony after this until around Fastnacht 1520.

A. Von Miltitzens Correspondence with Chursachsen concerning the Bishop of Merseburg, Prince Adolph of Anhalt.

332 Miltitzen's letter to Chursachsen, in which he informs him that he has been with Bishop Adolph at Merseburg; he wants to give an oral report of his dealings with him upon his return.

Jan. 19, 1520.

From Cyprian's Documents, vol. II, p. 153.

Most Serene Highborn Prince and Gentleman. My humble and humble dignity is ready for Your. Your Royal Graces are ready to accept. Most Reverend Prince and Sir. I give Your. I give Your Royal and Princely Graces the courtesy of informing you that yesterday I had the pleasure of visiting my lord of Mersburg. Lord of Mersburg yesterday, and have come to your Grace with a decision that your Grace, by his own will and suggestion, will give me the right to have the right to the right to the right to the right. Gn. They have shown me and read their recent letter, and have told me about it. I have learned many things that were hidden from me, but where it comes from the army, that his Grace, the Holy Roman Emperor, has told me. Eur. Curfl. Gn. wrote, that everything was long, but not long to write; but if God wrote to me between Ewr. Curfl. If God helps me, I want to discover everything to Your Grace. Grace. I have not found the Provincial between Halle and Leiptzk, so I must go to Krausschwitz 1) to the monastery, where, as I stood, I will find him. And from there I will go back

1) "Cronschwitz", a village with a former Augustinian nunnery in Saxony - Weimar. "Krausschwitz" will be based on a reading. - Regarding the "Provincial" Seidemann remarks: "Ob Rabe?"

alß meinem Genedigsten Herr: Eylent zw Leipzk am Abent Sebastiani sl9. Jan.] l. 5. 20.

Ew. Curfl. Gn. unterteniger Capellan
Carolus von Miltitz, zu Mayntz und Trier
Thumher.

B. Von Miltitzen's correspondence with Chursachsen concerning a life pension.

333 Miltitzen's letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he asks for the continuation of the 100 fl. pension, which he enjoyed in Rome, for life, and at the same time tells how he made fun of the Bishop of Meissen in Stolpe, since Luther's writing against the official had arrived there that very evening. Scharfenvberg, February 19, 1520.

From Cyprian's Documents, Vol. I, p. 427.

Most Illustrious High Lord and Prince. My humble service is appreciated in all respects by Your Most Serene Highness. Most noble prince and master. I merely wish to inform Your Royal Highnesses that I have decided to rise up in a short time. In the meantime, Your Royal Grace, together with Your Royal Grace, has been my brother for three years on behalf of Your Royal Grace and Your Royal Grace. And for these three years I have been promised a hundred gold pieces of rubbish, which I have humbly submitted to your grace and to your grace. My brother, as I wish to thank my noble and honorable lords, but I am completely aware of this day and night. So it is to Your. My sincerely high esteemed

Please, Your Honor. I hope that you will be so kind to me, and that you will give me the money for the rest of my life, so that I may be comforted by what I may have from Your Grace. In the meantime, there is no one on earth to whom I am more inclined than Your Grace and Your Grace's brother. My brother. I hope that I will be able to keep it different, that Ew. I hope that your father and your brother will not take any pleasure in my death, since I know that my parents, your father and your father's father, will be in the hands of your father and your brother. Curffl. gn., so I would not want to be otherwise than a faithful one to your E. Curffl. gn. Be found. Your Grace has humbly requested that I be honored with this money, and that I be given this money for the rest of my life. This I will do in all sincerity for the sake of your curtesy. With this, I hereby submit myself to your honor as my most noble lord, and with all due respect, I will give you a gracious and courteous reply. Date to the scharffenbergk about fastnacht sunday [19. feb.] In XV c. and XX. year.

E. Curffl. gn. vndereniger humble Capellan Carolus von Miltitz.

Follows a postscript.

Most noble Curator and Sir. I have sent you a piece of stone that has grown into a stump, of which I have told you that this piece of stone was cut from a stone that was IX. cubits long. Elen langk were, Saller Ew. Curffl. gn. genugk Erlangen Ew. Curffl. gn. begert, nawe mer 1) zw schreibenn. So I read only to your Curl. gn. 2) know about other people who are going to fastnacht. Most gracious Curffl. and her. I came to the bishop of Meissen on Thursday, and was happy with his grace, and talked with his grace in many ways, including Doctor Martinus, whose friend his grace is not. After the evening meal, we were quite careless in our drinking. The secretary of my noblest Lord of Mentz, Licentiatius Reysch von Pirnen, came to see the new seger. In the night, and has brought my lord Doctoris murtini responsum 3), so has his genad sulchs respons von sthundert gelessenn. In my

vnd des Official keggenwertikeit, welcher her official ganz vbel zw friden was, vnd Je syr 4) der official flucht. The sir I laughed, as my gn. her of white sulchs och wohel zwfiredenn was not. I hope that I will inform you of what my Lord of White Sorrows wants to do, but with the advice of my Lord Hertzogk Georgen. Lord Hertzogk Georgen. Thus my Lord of Meissen has given me the chicklet to hand over to my Lord. I gave it to my lord on the day of my birth, and his ffl. lord read it himself. I have laughed a lot about what I want to say to your Lordship, and have argued with myself that your Lordship's letter was long, but I want to have saved it for your Lordship. I will be on the 2nd day Monday and Thursday between the sixties, which is what my ffl. gn. wanted, not considering that my dearest brother, 5) who is in God's grace, has died for XXI days. What I have done, I do not wish to persist. I hope that your grace will kindly consider my request and give me a kind, consoling and cheerful answer. This I will do in all diligence together with diligent servants for the sake of Your Grace as for the sake of my most noble Lord. date supra.

It let my mother tell your curffl. gl. ir gebeht with all vnderenikeyt.

334 Prince Frederick's answer to this, in which he leaves the decision about the requested service money to his brother's decision, and nevertheless reports other news to Miltitzen. 21 Feb. 1520.

From Cyprian's Documents, vol. II, p. 155.

By the Grace of God Fridrich, Duke of Saxony, Elector and Vicar 2c.

Our greetings beforehand, dear and dear councilor. We have received your letter, and after your request that our brother and we pledge you the dinstgeld for the rest of your life, we want to show such your request to his love, and then give you further answer.

The newspaper you have written to us, we have received from you and have no doubts.

1) This is new fairy tale.

2) In Cyprian "an" instead of: gn.

3) Luther's answer to the note that went out under the official's seal at Stolpen. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 462.

4) "syr", which is vveryer.

5) Seidemann, Miltitz, p. 22: "Miltitzens leiblicher (?) Bruder Sigmund f zu Rabenau."

We will not do anything else that may be required of us, according to our statements.

We also give you for new tzeitung zuerkennen, das vns in kurz geschriben, das sich Ro. Ko. Mail. Commissarii have finally come to an agreement with the pundits about the Wirtenberg land. Thus the royal guard at Dhenemarck has denied the Swedes several thousand men. And the mayor of Prussia shall have wrested from the king of Poland several hundred horses and the great and good city of Elbungen.

And now there shall be a day at Lucerne in the land of Switzerland, also, Most Reverend Holiness, the Ro. The King of France and the Pundits shall have the power to remove from the Wol that one of them take care of the Switzer, and let it be understood that the von Wirtenberg shall also be there in his own person. We have not wished to hold this against you, of your noble opinion, for we know very well that you like to have permission. We are inclined to be gracious to you. Date at Torgaw on the Tuesday after Esto mihi [21 Feb], Anno Domini XV 6. XX.

We have also received from you the sent over stone, and will have it tried, and if it is found to be useful to us, we will have it ordered again. We do not wish to have it shown to you in our opinion. Date vt supra.

335 Miltitz's letter to the Elector of Saxony from Augsburg, dated March 20, 1519, where he had traveled to seek Cardinal Cajetan. In it, he indicates that he had fallen ill at Landshut in Bavaria when he had wanted to go to Linz to see the Cardinal.

From Cyprian's Urkunden, Vol. I, p. 431, who, however, erroneously places this letter in the year 1520. (Tentzel, Historischer Bericht, Vol. I, p. 363, No. XIX.) This letter is the answer to No. 295, dated March 4, 1519. Either this date is erroneous, or Miltitz erred in his statement in our letter: "äatui Quinta Dlart."

Most Serene Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord. My sincere, fully willing, obedient service, along with my commandment, is to Your Lordship. Curffl.

and princely graces with all due respect. Most noble prince and master. I have received a letter from your Curff and your Grace of the date quinta Mart: on which I formally declare that your Curff and your Grace are both my letters 1) are between two grains. But that I Ewer Curff. vnd ff. genad with my schreibenn so lange fortzogen. It has been a great pity for me, and that I have not received an answer from Rome until now, since my most holy father has passed this month, and has been almost weak, which has hindered my expedition a little, and I am grateful to your Curff. I have not been to the legate in person, but I have been in his presence at all times, and so it was necessary for me, because I did not want Linz, when the legate was, I was ill between Landshut, and I was healthy. The legate of Linz did not come to Franckfort. I do not ask for Franckfort, because I will find the legate, as his Highness has written to me, and I hope that I will be able to resolve the matter concerning Doctor Martin. I hope to find a handle, which will be used by my most holy father the Babest to prosecute Doctor Martin's case, and if God will help me, I will write to the President of the Republic and to the Federal Government, and I will inform them of all matters, which are now being dealt with by the legate. I have told my brother, Mr. Pheffinger, what is being said here, but he will not keep it up, I do not want to cry my way back to France, so that I may write the truth of this matter to your Curia and to your ff. gn. Herewith I respectfully submit myself to your curff. and ff. graces. Datum awßburgk am XX. tag Martii 2c. [1519].

E. Curff. vnd ff. gn.

humble capellan

Carolus von Miltitz nuntiu8.

1) Seidemann, Miltitz, p. 10: "The letters are not available". But there is no doubt that one of the two letters is letter No. 294, dated 5 Feb. 1519. Seidemann 1. e. p. 9 overlooked this letter.

2) be entitled to

The tenth section of the fourth chapter.

Von Miltitzen's effort to prevent the publication of the book "An den Adel deutscher Nation. His presence at the Augustinian convent in Eisleben.

A. How Miltitz makes a great complaint about Luther to the Elector and asks him to get Luther to pardon the going out of the book he has under his hands.

336 Miltitzen's letter to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, in which he complains that Luther holds the Roman See in such great contempt and wants to publish a book against it; asks that he be stopped, and promises to attend the Chapter of the Augustinians at Eisleben so that Luther's dispute may be settled. Aug. 19, 1520.

From Cyprian's Documents, Vol. I, p. 433.

Most Sublime Highborn Prince and Lord. My humble servants are at your service. Curffl. genaden in aller vnderthenigkeyt zuuoran bereyt. Most noble Prince and Sir. While I know that all these 1) Your. Curffl. Grace. The time when I would like to take the matter into consideration, the first time, has come, the Most Reverend Prince, Doctor Martinus. and here, Doctor Martinus Lütter, has taken it upon himself to make the Holy Roman Church's reformation first, and to do so in such a way that he will have mercy on me, and as I have far away, between day and hour, will continue to write by his urgent wrath, which grieves me and weighs me down, but I do not see any great reason for this mass of the most solemn sanctity and the stool of Rome to be shouted at, and it is to be feared by the Reverend Curl. And here, as Doctor Martinus continues, with a book which he has under his hand, 2)

1) In Cyprian: allecryt.

2) This is the writing: An dm christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung". Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 266. It appeared in mid-August 1520; by August 18, the mood at court about this writing was already known in Wittenberg. Miltitz had therefore come too late. - The letter to Amsdorf is dated June 23 (not 20), 1520.

I am afraid that God, who is so worthy of such an inheritance, and the Holy See of Rome have brought me into such respect and disobedience that I fear I will not be brought back by my life. For this reason, my humble submission to your Cur. Gn. on the grounds of the sacredness of the Church, and of the Holy See of Rome. Curffl. His Grace wants to receive from the Almighty God the reward, and to see in the matter that Doctor Martinus, with his plea, will have the book completed. I am in doubt as to whether Doctor Martinus will be able to help me. Gn. radt from this jrthum vnd vngengenad, he is looking for beybestlicher heylickeyt, zw helffen. I will now come to the Chapter in Eisleben, act there with the Patre Commissario, together with the other brothers, and think of good means, take Doctor Martini's advice, make an effort and an effort, and turn his letter into another style, which will all be done in the first place by Your Curial Grace. Grace. Intercesfion vnd radt. I want to write from now on according to the chapter between your Cur. Come to your Curl. Gn. what I have obtained from the patribus between them. Bith Ewer Curffl. Gn. for God's sake Ewer Curffl. I hope that I will be able to help Doctor Martini to the best of my ability, that I will apply to him with the best of my ability, and that I will bring him back to grace. For the search is not as black as we monkeys make it. Therefore, I hereby submit myself to Your. Curffl. My Lord, to whom I give all my consolation in the name of God. Datum Eilent zw Halle sonntagk nach Rochi [19 Aug.] 1520.

E. Curffl. Gn.
humble capellan
Carolus von Miltitz.

337 The Elector's answer, in which he says how he does not really know the occasion of things, except that it has just now been reported to him how Luther is supposed to have sent out a booklet.

let, which he would have held up however something, where its letter would have arrived rather.

Aug. 23, 1520.

From Cyprian's Urkunden, vol. I, p. 436. In Walch with the wrong date: Aug. 24.

By the Grace of God, Frederick Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.

Our greetings beforehand. Dear and dear Counselor. We have now received your letter concerning Doctor Martin Luther, together with all its contents. But since we do not really know the occasion and form of this matter: Only that we now report, among others, that a booklet is said to have gone out from the said Doctor Martinus. And if this letter of yours had come to us, and we could have prevented it from being kept for some time, we would gladly have turned the matter over to you. We do not wish to restrain you. Then we are inclined to be gracious to you. Date at Lochaw on Thursday Sanct Bartolmes evening [Aug. 23]. Anno Domini 1520.

B. About the Augustinian convent in Eisleben, and what has been done about Luther's cause in Miltitzen's presence, as well as with Luther himself through deputies sent to him.

338 Luther's report to Spalatin that Staupitz would resign his vicariate at this convention.

See Appendix, No. 38, ? 1.

339 Miltitzen's very polite letter to Luther, which he gave to the deputies sent to him, asking him to obey the deputies; he would have come to him himself if he were not afraid. Dat. Aug. 29, 1520.

The original of this letter is in the 606th Oollmn. .V. 336, No. 14. From it in Cyprian, Urkunden, vol. II, p. 177 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 466.

Translated into German.

Miltitz to Luthern.

My greetings to you, my learned Martine! I have been in the chapter of your order, which is in ice.

I had been kept alive, especially to see you as a friend whom I hold very dear; but since I could not have the honor, I decided to write to your brotherhood. I have spoken to the brothers by force of our most holy Lord, the Pope, in the chapter, which will not be a harm to your brotherhood, but will be very beneficial. Therefore, I exhort your brotherhood not to be repugnant to their brothers who will visit your brotherhood, but to obey them and the whole chapter and to follow their advice, which I hope will never grieve your brotherhood. I would come to your brotherhood myself if friends of your brotherhood did not pursue me and consider me an enemy of your brotherhood. I hope, however, not to leave these regions, for I have spoken to your brotherhood as my dearly beloved friend. Farewell. From the city of Eisleben, Aug. 29, 1520.

Your

Carl von Miltitz,
with his own hand.

To the venerable father and highly learned gentleman,
Brother Martin Luther, the Doctor of Theology 2c.,
his special friend.

340. Miltitz's very strange letter to Chursachsen, in which it is told what the Augustinians, whom Miltitz had sent to Luther, had done, and that he had heard with joy from the new Augustinian vicar that Luther had been willing at their request to write to the pope and to keep himself as an obedient son; as well as that he met Eck on the way to Leipzig with the bull full of defiance and insistence, and of the danger into which Eck had fallen; whereby Miltitz completely disapproved of the publication of Eck's bull and complained greatly about how Eck was slandering him in Rome. He therefore urges the Elector to give the young Cardinals some medals, and also to give him such medals and some money, so that he can keep his patrons in good standing with the Pope. Leipzig, Oct. 3, 1520.

From Cyprian's Documents, Vol. I, p. 438.

Most Illustrious Highborn Prince, Your Eminence, Your Curate, my humble thoughts are in all respect to you, Your Eminence. As your Cur. Grace to

I am informed by Maitzstadt that Wolfs does not come to this Jarmargkt Jtzundt 1). Recently Maitzster 2) has said that he will give money to others in the Jarmargk, but he has not received anything from me that concerns me completely. Which because I hope that Ewr. Curffl. Gn. Jtzundt zw Franckfurt mit Im meinert halben", vnzweifeln geret, vnd Ew. Curffl. Gn. know how all my affairs are, that I have been on the margin of the money great notortig, wy I the Ewer Curffl. I have informed the court of two goths, and I only want to pay the money to the court. Gn. at your behest. Your Cur. They do not want to let me leave, because I cannot return the money. I must confess that I have two gifts to give to my lords, who are my protectors in the best of holiness, whom Echiuss has poured out to me, and has lied to me in a grave manner in the matter of Martinus. Gn. I must be happy. This is my humble and humble request to Your Grace. Curffl. Grace, that because the bull is not against Your Cur. Gn., your. Curffl. Will, with the greatest sanctity, nevertheless write a little, to which I do not wish to receive an answer from Your Grace. I have not received an answer from your Curl, but I have considered that Doctor Martinus is writing to his sainthood, but has not considered the bull. I have also humbled Ew. Curffl. Gn. zw Gothe humbly begged E. Curffl. Gn. that the Young Cardinals 3) ... my companions, Ew. Curffl. gülden müntz ii. oder drey schengken, vnd so fihel der silberne, den sie sint bei meiner seelen selikeyt alleceyt gueth gewest vff Ewer Curffl. gn. seythen. Your grace will only give me the

1) In Cyprian: "come he".

2) In a letter from Miltizen to Perkheimer, Leipzig, Jan. 1, 1521 (Niederer, Nachtr. I, 170), a third spelling of this name is found: "Matzsted" next to Wolf Hofmann.

3) Cyprian notes: "that Miltitz advised to give gifts to the young cardinals comes from the fact that the old ones could not do anything with Leo, since he had to thank his elevation to the young ones".

one that mine 4) has stolen from me. It is also my wish that our court will allow me to enforce the collection of the fine. I humbly request that your grace will not bear any responsibility for my request. I wish to do so for the sake of your I wish to be found guilty of this for the sake of my most noble lord, whom I consider to be the best of all. Therefore, I hereby declare to you that you are my most noble lord, and that all my consolation lies with him on this earth. Date: Wednesday after Michaelmas [3 Oct.] 1520.

E. Curff. genaden humbly Capellan Carolus von Miltitz.

Luther's report to Spalatin, Sept. 1, that Miltitz had given a speech in the assembly and asked the Fathers to give him advice on how to appease Luther, and what they had answered him.

See Appendix, No. 39, §1.

342 Another report of Luther to Spalatin, what had been done because of him from this general chapter.

See Appendix, No. 13, § 1. 2.

343 Another report from Luther to Spalatin, about how the Eisleben deputies had been with him; however, he did not want to write to the pope now that he had heard that Eck had arrived with the bulls.

See Appendix, No. 40, §1.

4) In Cyprian: "me ner". We assume that the i has fallen out.

Section Eleven of Chapter Four.

About Miltitzen's last conversation with Luther at Lichtenburg in October 1520, and how far Luther had given in even then.

Luther's report to Spalatin that he was about to leave for Lichtenburg for another conference with Miltitz.

See Appendix, No. 41, § 4.

Luther's letter to Spalatin, in which he reports to him how he had become one with Miltitz at Lichtenburg, that he wanted to write to the pope again and assure him that he had never wanted to harm him personally, and that all blame should be placed on Eck.

Oct. 12, 1520.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltische Gesamtarchiv. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 230p (classified as if it were dated from the Antoniusstage, and Walch just offers: "Antonii", that is, the 17th of January); by De Wette, vol. I, p. 496 (dated: "On the 12th or 13th of October") and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 494. According to the latter we have translated. The date of the letter is certain from the letter of the preceptor Wolfgang Reißbusch, No. 347: "Volgend ist gestern Doctor Martinus vmb I Vrhe nach mittag weg gefahren."

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the godly and learned man, Georg Spalatin, Duke of Saxony's court preacher, his friend in Christ.

JESus.

Hail! We have met at Lichtenburg 1) my dear Spalatin, Mr. Carl Miltitz and I, and as much as I hear from him, we have determined with great hope that I shall publish a letter to the pope in both languages, which is to be added to some small book.

1) This place is called in the Wittenberg edition (1853), vol. VI, p. 255, "Liechtenberg S. Antonius Ordens"; Miltitz writes in No. 340: "Lichtenburg!"; in Latin: pieptkupoZas Vntonianae and in the editions usually written "Lichtenberg". Seidemann in his "Miltitz" writes correctly "Lichtenburg". This village is about two German miles from Torgau. Cf. Ungewitter, Erdbeschreibung und Staatenkunde, Vol. I, p. 435.

lein should be prefixed, 2) in which I would like to tell my story, and how I never attacked his person, so that I roll the whole burden on Eck.

Since all this is in truth so, I can do it easily, and will, as humbly as I can, offer silence, only that the others also keep quiet, so that one sees that I have omitted nothing that one would wish, which could in any way serve peace from my side. I have always been ready to do this, which you know very well. Therefore, I will do this above all in the next few days. If what we hope will happen, it is good; if it happens otherwise, it will also be good, because it pleases the Lord. Farewell. At Lichtenburg of the Antonian Lords, 1520.
Martin Luther.

346 Luther's very humble letter to Pope Leo X, written after Miltitzen's persuasion in Lichtenburg. After 13 Oct. 1520.

This letter is found as dedicatory writing to the Draetutus de libertutb epristiann Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, toi. I; in the Jena (1579), torn. I, toi. 432p and in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 255 with the wrong date: VI Vprips Vnno LI.O.XX. With correct date, unno ^II)XX, 86xtn Keptkrupris, in De Wette, vol. I, p. 497 and in the Erlanger, opp. vnr. nrZ., tom. IV, x. 210. German, translated by Luther himself, in the Wittenberger (1554), vol. VII, p. 54p; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 352; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 299; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 506 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 41. This letter, although written after 13. This letter, although written after October 13, 1520, was backdated to September 6 at Miltitzen's request in order to give the impression in Rome that it was written within ten days of the General Chapter of the Augustinians at Eisleben.

2) Luther did this in the writing "von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen", Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 986, where in the note also the title and location of the Latin edition is given.

To the Most Holy in GOD Father Leoni, the Tenth,
Pope of Rome, all blessedness in Christ JESU
our Lord, Amen.

Most holy in God, Father! The trade and quarrel, in which I have been involved with some desolate people of this time, now into the third year, forces me to look after you from time to time and to remember you. Yes, since it is considered that you are the main cause of this dispute, I cannot refrain from remembering you without ceasing. For although I have been urged by some of your un-Christian flatterers, who have heated up on me without any cause, 1) to invoke a Christian free concilium from your chair and court in my cause, I have never yet so alienated my courage from you that I have not with all my strength always wished the best for you and your Roman chair, and with diligent, heartfelt prayer, sought as much as I could from God. It is true that I have almost despised and tried to overcome those who have so far endeavored to praise the height and greatness of your name and power. But there is one thing that I must not despise, which is also the reason that I am writing to you again, and that is that I am noting, as I promised, 2) and that I am being accused of not having spared your person.

2) But I will freely and publicly confess that I am not aware of anything else than [that I,] 3) as often as I have thought of your person, have always said the most honest and best of you. And if I had not done so, I could not praise it myself in any way, and would have to confirm my accusers' judgment with full confession, and would not rather sing the contradiction of my iniquity and wickedness than this, and revoke my criminal word. I have called you a Daniel of Babylon, and how I have so diligently protected your innocence against the defiler Sylvestrum, may any who read it understand needlessly.

1) Thus the Wittenbergers. In Latin *snoviontldus*. In the Erlanger: "erhethet".

2) promised - blasphemed.

3) Inserted by us for the sake of easier understanding.

(3) Your reputation and the name of your good life are known throughout the world, and are more glorious and better praised by many scholars than that anyone should touch it with some cunning, however great he may be. I am not so foolish as to attack only the one whom everyone praises; for this I have always had and henceforth will have the wisdom not to touch even those who otherwise have a nasty cry before everyone. I am not comfortable with the arid sin, which I know well, as I also have a beam in my eye [Luc. 6,41.42..], and certainly cannot be the first to throw the first stone at the adulteress [Joh. 8, 7.].

4) I have attacked sharply, but in the common, some unchristian doctrine, and have been nasty to my adversaries, not for their evil life, but for their unchristian doctrine and protection. 4) Which makes me so unrepentant that I have taken it into my mind to remain in such diligence and sharpness, regardless of how some interpret it to me, as I have Christ's example here, who also calls his adversaries by sharp diligence: serpent children [Matth. 23, 33. St. Paul calls Magum a child of the devil and full of wickedness and deceit [Acts 13,10], and some false apostles he calls dogs [Phil. 3, 2], deceivers [Tit. 1, 10] and transgressors of God's word [Gal. 1, 7]. If the soft, tender ears had heard such things, they would have to say that no one is more mordant and impatient than St. Paul. And who is more mordant than the prophets? But in our times our ears have become so tender and soft through the multitude of harmful flatterers that as soon as we are not praised in all things, we cry out that one is mordant; and because we cannot otherwise resist the truth, we still evade it, through fictitious causes of mordancy, impatience and immodesty. But what is the point of salt if it does not bite sharply? What is the edge of the sword for?

4) The words: "and protection", which are not expressed in Latin, will mean: for the sake of the protection given to them in their ungodly doctrine.

if it is not sharp to cut? For the prophet says, "Let the man be reproached who does God's commandment above," and spares too much [Jer. 48:10].

Therefore, I ask you, holy father Leo, to accept this apology of mine, and to consider me as one who has never done anything evil against your person, and who is thus minded, who wishes and wishes you the very best, who also does not want to have any quarrel or quarrel with anyone for the sake of someone's evil life, but only for the sake of the divine word of truth. In all things I will gladly yield to anyone; the word of God I will not, nor may I, forsake nor deny. If anyone has a different idea about me, or understands my writing differently, he is mistaken and has not understood me correctly.

(6) But this is true, I have freshly touched the Roman throne, which is called the Roman court; which also thou thyself, nor any man on earth, must confess otherwise than that it is worse and more shameful than ever Sodoma, Gomorrah, or Babylon. And as far as I can see, his wickedness can neither be advised nor helped from now on. Everything has become exceedingly desperate and groundless. That is why I was displeased that the poor people all over the world were deceived and damaged under your name and the appearance of the Roman church; I have opposed this and will continue to oppose it as long as my Christian spirit lives in me. Not that I measure myself against such impossible things, or hope to do anything in the most abominable Roman Sodoma and Babylonia, because so many angry flatterers oppose me before; but that I recognize myself a guilty servant of all Christian people, therefore it behooves me to advise and warn them, that they may ever be less in number and with less harm corrupted by the Roman destroyers.

(7) For this is not hidden from you, how for many years now nothing but destruction of the body, of souls, of goods, and of all evil things, the most damaging examples have been washed and torn down from Rome into the whole world. All of which is publicly known to everyone today, because the Roman church, which in the past was the most holy church, has been the only church in the world.

Now it has become a murder pit above all murder pits, a jackanapes above all jackanapes, a head and kingdom of all sin, death and damnation; so that it is not easy to think what more wickedness might increase here, if the end Christ himself were to come.

8. but you, holy father Leo, sit like a sheep among wolves [Matth. 10, 16.] and like Daniel among lions [Dan. 6, 16. ff.] and with Ezekiel among scorpions [Ezek. 2, 6.]. What can you do against so many wild wonders? And if already three or four learned, pious cardinals fell to you, what would that be among such a bunch? You must perish by poison before you begin to help the cause. It is over with the Roman See, God's wrath has invaded it without cessation. It is hostile to the common concilii; it does not want to be instructed nor reformed, and yet it cannot prevent its raging unchristian nature; so that it fulfills what was said of its mother, the old Babylon [Jer. 51:9]: "We have healed much in Babylon, but she has not yet been healed; we want to let her go.

9 It should be your and the cardinals' work to prevent this misery, but the disease mocks the medicine, horses and wagons give nothing to the carter. That is the reason why I have always been sorry, you pious Leo, that you have become a pope in this time, who would be worthy to be pope in better times. The Roman chair is not worthy of you and your like, but the evil spirit should be pope, who certainly rules in Babylon more than you.

O! would God that you, having been stripped of honor (as they call it, your most harmful enemies), would hold on to some sinecure or your paternal inheritance! Truly no one should be honored with such honor, except Judas Iscariot and his like, whom God has cast out [John 17:12]. For, tell me, what are you good for in the papacy, but that the more angry and desperate it is, the more and stronger it abuses your power and title, to damage people's property and soul, to increase sin and shame, to dampen faith and truth?

O most blessed Leo! who sits in the 1) most dangerous chair. Verily, I tell you the truth, for I favor you.

(11) If St. Bernard complains about his Pope Eugenius, since the Roman See, even though it was already at the worst at that time, still ruled in good hope of improvement, how much more should we complain about you, because in these three hundred years wickedness and corruption have so irreparably taken over! Is it not true that under the heavenly heavens there is nothing more evil, more poisonous, more hateful than the Roman court? For it far surpasses the Turks in virtue, that it is true that Rome was a gateway to heaven in ancient times, and is now a wide-opened night of hell, and alas, such a night that no one can close by God's wrath; and no counsel is left, for if we would warn and preserve some, they would not be swallowed up by the Roman maw.

12) Behold, my Lord Father, this is the cause and movement why I have pushed so hard against this pestilential chair. For I did not intend to rage against your person at all, that I also hoped I would earn grace and thanks from you, and be recognized for your best 4) if I only attacked such your dungeon, yes, your hell, freshly and sharply. For I respect that it would be good and blessed for you and many others to muster all that all reasonable, learned men are able to muster against the desolate disorders of your unchristian court. They are truly doing a work that you should do, all those who cause such a court all sorrow and all evil; they honor Christ, all those who

1) So the Wittenbergers and in Latin. In De Wette: "des".

2) Walch offers: "seinen Pabst Anastasio klagt", while the other German editions have: "seinen Pabst Eugenium klagt". Of all Latin editions, only the Erlanger, opp. var. urZ., torn. IV, p. 213: suo Vrmstasio oomputitur, while all others read guo LuZonio. The latter will be the correct reading, because to Eugenius III Bernhard addressed his "äo oonsiäorutiono lidd. V", and both died in the same year 1183 in which Anastasius IV became pope. This is confirmed by what is said in § 23, where it says in Latin: soä aomulor 8th Lornäräuru in iidoNo Ennsici. ää Lu^onium.

3) De Wette and the Erlanger: "des".

4) Wittenberger: the best.

to disgrace the court most of all. Recently, they are all good Christians who are evil Roman.

I will speak even further. The same thing would never have come into my heart, that I would have made a fuss against the Roman court or disputed anything about it. For when I saw that he could not be helped, that food and effort were lost, I despised him, gave him a letter of leave, and said: Goodbye, dear Rome, henceforth stink what stinks, and remain unclean for and for what is unclean [Revelation 22:11.] I have therefore gone into the quiet, reprov'd study of the holy Scriptures, that I might be beneficial to those with whom I dwelt. Since I did not act unfruitfully here, the evil spirit opened his eyes and became aware of it; he quickly awakened his servant John Eccium, a particular enemy of Christ and the truth, with a senseless ambition, so that he suddenly dragged me into a disputation, and seized on a word about the Pabstium that had slipped my mind. Then the great, glorious hero threw himself upon me, sputtered and snorted as if he had already caught me; pretended that he wanted to dare and carry out all things in honor of God and praise of the holy Roman Church; puffed himself up and presumed upon your power, which he wanted to use to appoint him the supreme theologian in the world; 6) that he was also sure of, more than of the papacy. He thought that it would be not a little advantageous for him to lead Doctor Luthern in his shield. Now that he has failed, the sophist wants to become nonsensical; for he feels zero, how through his guilt alone the disgrace and dishonor of the Roman See has opened up in me.

Let me here, holy father, also act my cause once before you, and accuse you of your right enemies. You are undoubtedly aware of how Cardinal St. Sixti, your legate, dealt with me at Augsburg; truly immodest and untruthful, yes, even unfaithful, in whose hands I placed all my affairs for your sake, so that he should command peace; I wanted to give the cause of peace to him.

5) that is, calm.

6) summoned == outspoken. - "that he waits", that is, so that he may make himself.

let there be an end and be silent, if my adversaries would also be silent, which he could easily have done with one word. Then the tickle of temporal fame itched him too much, despised my bidding, supported himself to justify my adversaries, to leave them only longer in check, and to command me to recant, of which he had no command. So it has happened by his wanton outrage that the matter has since become 1) much worse, which at the time was in a good place. Therefore, what followed after that is not my fault, but the fault of the same Cardināl, who did not want to grant me that I keep silent, as I asked so highly. What more could I do?

After that, he Carol von Miltitz, also your Holiness' embassy, came, who with much effort, maturing back and forth, and exerting all diligence to bring the matter back to a good place, from which the Cardinal has haughtily and freely repudiated it; finally, through the help of the most illustrious, Highborn Elector, Duke Frederick of Saxony 2c., brought it to be discussed with me several times.

16 Here I have again let myself be instructed, and in honor of your name keep silent, to let the matter be heard by the Archbishop of Trier or the Bishop of Numburg, and to divorce him; which was done and ordered. Since this was done in good hope and peace, your greatest, right enemy Johannes Eccius falls with his disputation in Leipzig, which he has undertaken against Doctor Carlstadt, and with his ranting words he finds a fistful of the papacy, and turns his banners and whole army on me unawares, so that the proposed peace is completely destroyed.

17 He is waiting for Carolus; the disputation has proceeded; judges have been chosen, but nothing has been done. Which does not surprise me. For Eck, with his lies, letters and secret practices, has so embittered, confused and shattered the matter that, if the verdict had fallen on which side, a greater fire would have been lit without doubt, for he sought glory and not the truth. So I have always done what I was asked to do, and I have not left anything undone that I had to do.

was due. I confess that from this cause not a small part of the Roman unchristian nature has come to light; but what is to blame for this is not my fault, but Eccii's, who submitted to a cause of which he was not man enough, seeking by his honor to disgrace the Roman vices throughout the world.

18 This, holy father Leo, is your enemy lind the Roman See. From his example everyone may learn that no enemy is more harmful than a flatterer. What has he done with his flattery, but only such misfortune that no king could have brought about! Now the Roman court's name stinks badly all over the world, the papal guard is weak, the Roman ignorance has a bad cry; which would not have been heard if Eck had not maddened Carol's and my proposal of peace; which he now feels himself, and, however slowly and in vain, is unwilling about my outgoing booklets. He should have considered this before, since he was prancing after glory like a brave, horny horse, 2) and sought nothing more than his own, with your great disadvantage. He thought, the vain man, I would be afraid of your name, give him space and keep silent (for of art and skill, I hold, he did not presume). Now, when he sees that I am still confident and lets me continue to be heard, the late revenge of his sin comes to him and he realizes (if he realizes otherwise) that there is one in heaven who resists the arrogant and humbles the presumptuous spirits.

Since nothing was accomplished by the disputation, but only greater dishonor to the Roman See, he Carolus Miltitz came to the fathers of my order, requested counsel to settle the matter and keep it quiet, as it then stood in the most violent and dangerous way. Some brave men were sent to me by them, because they did not suspect that anything could be done against me by force; they requested that I should honor your person, holy father, and excuse your and my innocence in writing; believing that the matter had not yet been settled.

1) In the old editions: seint.

2) hemerte - neigh.

I am thoroughly lost and in despair, where the present father Leo wanted to lay his hand on it according to his innate, highly praised kindness. But since I have always offered and desired peace, so that I might wait for quiet and better study, this has been a dear, joyful message to me, I have received it with thanks, and have let myself be guided most willingly, and have recognized it as a special grace, if, as we hope, it will happen. For for no other reason have I weaved and rumbled with such strong courage, words and writing, that I laid down and quieted those whom I well saw to be far too small for me.

20 So now I come, dear father Leo, and lying at your feet, ask you, if it is possible, to lay your hands on them, to put a bridle on the flatterers, who are enemies of peace, and yet pretend peace. But if I should revoke my teaching, nothing will come of it; no one may do it to him, for he would drive the matter into a greater tangle. For this I do not like to suffer rule or measure to interpret the Scriptures, because the word of God, which teaches all freedom, should not nor must be imprisoned. If these two things remain for me, nothing else shall be laid upon me that I will not do and suffer with all my will. I am hostile to quarrels, I do not want to excite or irritate anyone; but I also want to be unirkritated. But if I am provoked, I will not be speechless nor without writing, if God wills it. Your Holiness may ever take all this strife to her with light, short words and eradicate it, and enjoin silence and peace, which I have always been eager to hear.

(21) Therefore, my father, do not listen to your sweet ear-singers, who say that you are not a pure man, but mixed with God, who commands and demands all things. It shall not be so; neither shalt thou perform it. You are a servant of all the servants of God, and in a more perilous and wretched condition than any man on earth. Do not be deceived by those who lie and pretend to you that you are the master of the world, who will not let anyone be a Christian unless he is subject to you; who say that you have authority in heaven, hell and purgatory. They are your enemies, and

seek to corrupt your soul. As Isaiah says [Cap. 4,12. 9,16.]: "My dear people, those who praise and exalt you, they deceive you." They are all mistaken who say that thou art over the Concilium and common Christendom. They are mistaken who give you alone authority to interpret the Scriptures; they seek nothing more than how, under your name, they may strengthen their un-Christian pretensions in Christendom; as the evil spirit, alas, has done through many of your ancestors. Finally, believe no one who exalts you, but only those who humble you. This is God's judgment, as it is written: "He has deposed the mighty from their seats, and exalted the lowly" [Luc. 1, 52].

(22) Behold, how unequal are Christ and his governors, when they all desire to be his governors; and I verily fear that they are too truly his governors. For a governor is a governor in the absence of his lord. If then a pope rules in the absence of Christ, who does not dwell in his heart, is he not all too truly Christ's governor? But what then is such a multitude, but a gathering without Christ? What can such a pope be but a final Christian and an idol? How much better did the apostles do, who only called themselves servants of Christ dwelling in them, not governors of the absent one, and let themselves be called.

I am perhaps insolent that I am considered to teach such a great height, from which everyone should be taught, and how some of your venomous flatterers accuse you, that all kings and judges received judgment from you. But in this I follow St. Bernard in his book 1) to the pope Eugenius, which all popes should know by heart. I do it not because I think I am teaching you, but out of pure, faithful concern and duty, which compels everyone to take care of our neighbors, even in matters that are safe, and does not make us pay attention to dignity or undignity, as it diligently perceives the neighbor's fate and misfortune. Because I know how your holiness] weaves and floats.

1) with the title: <ts oonsiclsrutiois, that is, what a pope should have in mind.

In Rome, that is, on the highest sea, raging with innumerable dangers in all places, and living and working in such misery that you are in need of the least Christian's help, I have not considered it unskilful that I forget your majesty until I fulfill my duty of brotherly love. I do not like to flatter in such a serious, dangerous matter, in which, if some do not want to understand me as I am your friend, and more than subject, he will be found who understands it.

24 In the end, so that I do not come empty before your grace, I bring with me a little book, which went out under your name, for a good wish and the beginning of peace and good hope, from which your grace may taste what business I would like to do and also deal with fruitfully, if it were possible for me before your unchristian flatterers. It is a small booklet, if the paper is considered; but nevertheless the whole sum of a Christian life is comprehended in it, if the meaning is understood. I am poor, having nothing else to show my service; so you must not be improved more than with spiritual goods. That I may commend myself to thy holiness, which keep him eternally JEsus Christ, Amen. At Wittenberg, September 6, 1520.

347 Letter from Wolfgang Reibenbusch, the prelate at Lichtenburg, to Fabian von Feilitzsch, in which he tells how the colloquium between Miltitz and Luther went in his absence; he also apologizes for not being able to be there and reports that he had them well entertained by his procurator. October 13, 1520.

From Cyprian's Documents, Vol. I, p. 444.

Great Her and Patron. Heint In the night when it struck X, my procurator of Lichtenberg has written to me how Doctor Martinus arrived on Thursday at iij. vrh after noon, and has had Philippum Melanchthon, a brother of his order, a nobleman vnd four travelers with him. My servant reports to me that there were XXX horses not far from there. According to VI.

He Karol also came with two horses. In sum, they have been on good terms and have been completely happy with each other, and I have ordered that they be given good execution and enough money. But what they are supposed to have done with each other, he will report to Karol in his letter, and I will have it turned over to him. Yesterday Doctor Martinus left at noon, and Carol gave him the money, but he thought that Carol had been attacked by a horse. Report to me that he stayed in Lichtenberg yesterday, which I am glad of. Dear sir, if I am honorable, I will not take 100 fl. that I have remained at home. And as I have found myself, so I have found myself. Karol would like to bring me, a poor fool, into the game, so that Doctor Luther would not be reckoned with, and that this would soon pass me by. But that this was Carol's opinion you will find in my procurator's letter, which is also presented here, and almost in the beginning of the same. He has requested me with a Roman mandate, and requisitioned, and thus brought me into the pepper. 1) Dear sir, God will not have mercy on me, since it was against me for some other reason that this day was set in Lichtenberg. Because the fire shuns the fire, he Karol was initially a cause that the Roman boys have brought me more than a hundred fl. For this reason, I have given them a fair deal. This is the reason why I have paid them. This is the reason why I should not deny myself to poor deaf people. Since I have so little need of the bishop and the priest than of each other, I will also act more disgracefully in this matter; but whoever comes into these hands may be much more liberally under the doors. All of which I have hereby willingly informed Your Lordship of, and Your Lordship can certainly not do anything else to me than that I do everything that is lib and dinst to your eyes. And I ask you to be very diligent when he comes here: You will not fail to visit me as a friend and stay with me. This will give me great pleasure, for I will be able to

1) From this it is evident that neither the Elector nor Reibenbusch fully trusted Carl von Miltitz. In addition to the four horsemen who accompanied him, the Elector gave Luthern another thirty horsemen, who (hidden from Miltitz) were waiting not far from Lichtenburg. Reibenbusch feared, and believes to be able to prove this by the letter of his procurator, that Miltitz, if he had been present, might have demanded Luther's capture on the basis of a Roman mandate.

I would like it to happen one day that I could show myself to E. G. in such a way that I would like to serve you according to my abilities. I hereby present myself to Your Lordship as my favorable master.

I request that the second letter be returned to me, which I have sent to your Lord in confidence. I also ask not to be informed about them at all. Date In eyl zw ... Saturday after Dionysius [13th Det.] anno XV C.XX..

To my most gracious lord and patron Ern Fabian von Feilitzsch Churfl. ratt 2c. 1)

348 Miltitzen's letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he asks him to write to the Pope, to present Luther's peaceableness, his opponents' hardness, his (Miltitzen's) peaceful efforts 2c. so that the arrived bull of condemnation would be limited or cancelled. Oct. 14, 1520.

From Cyprian's Documents, Vol. I, p. 449.

Most Serene Highborn Prince Most Noble Lord. To Your Electoral Grace my most humble thoughts are, in all sincerity, previously reported. Most Reverend Prince and Sir, as I have recently written to your Electoral Grace, I would like to personally address Doctor Martinum, which, praise be to God, will be done in all freedom, and will take place on the day of Maximiliani Martyris, which is the xii. day of October. There we discussed the matter in detail according to all necessity and found that God still wants to give his grace that the matter will reach a good end, even though the Tewfel has gladly prevented the game by unrepentant people, yet Doctor Martinus, through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, has not accepted it, nor assumed it, they cry or publicize bulls as they wish, and is in obedience to the will of the Holy Spirit. In all humility, write in Latin and German, dedicate a booklet to him, and in the beginning write an epistle on the inside.

1) Cyprian 4,6. p. 447 notes the following on this: Of this Wolfgang Reißbusch we still remember this, that he was already in 1507 Baccalaureus of theology at Wittenberg. In 1511 he was Rector of the University of Wittenberg. At that time, the monastery at Lichtenburg was owned by the Antonian lords, but a few years ago it was made a princely dower seat. The head or preceptor of the monastery was initially always the chancellor of the University of Wittenberg.

His Majesty shall indicate what has been caused in two writings and where it has come from, and who has demanded and supported such a crime, and who has so diligently preached, disputed and written to the detriment of the Holy Church, and what has been done by me in vain 2c. so that His Majesty may preside over the cause of the matter, and for this purpose release His Majesty from all suspicion, so that perhaps by some of His Majesty's people he may be able to prevent it from happening again. The booklet will go out in xii. days and will have the *date*, on September vj. immediately ten days after [the Chapter at] 2) Eisleben, because he has been requested by [the Order's deputies] 2) to write to Bebst. hey. With all due respect that he did so as an obedient one, so that no one may say that Eckius with his hand forced him to write such a letter to Bebst. hey. with his bull, which bull was published on the twentieth of September. The dispute at Leipzig and my noble lord of Merßburgh's promise to prevent it will also indicate with a beautiful narrative the comforting praise of Babst for his person. I have not wished to tell your Lordship, as my most noble lord, because I know that your Lordship sees the matter of the Holy Roman Council as a comfort and a pleasure, and that Doctor Mar. is also silent, and so are others. He wants to be in discord with the grave monks 3) and not to answer his narrative any further, Doctor Mar. has also written our action and decision in part to Dno Spalatin, which letter I have sent to E. Churfl. gn. Therefore, I humbly request that Your Grace write to the Council for God's sake, thanking them for the roses and bulls, 4) and indicating that Doc. Mar. has long liked to have had it so 5) forbidden to him and the others of your chief or magistrates, had 6) also long written to his court as he had been requested by Imandt to do when he was in power, and that E. Churfl. gn. thereafter set such request before

2) Here are gaps in Cyprian, which would like to be supplemented approximately in the indicated way. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, introduction, p. 46.

3) This is: Alveld.

4) This is for the bull that accompanied the golden rose, No. 311.

5) "it", that is, writing and continuing the dispute.

6) "hätt" put by us instead of: has.

my his hey. further instruction. So we want to meet the Eckio and his annex to the extent that they had not thought of it, then Bebst. hey. will certainly be of two minds, a cause for having limited the ban, together with the bull, considered that Doctor Martinus has humbled himself and is writing to his hey. and whoever has become aware of this to his hey. We want to find a cause for the matter soon, before a hundred and xx days pass, I will, if God wills, have another decree made out, to a prelate who shall cancel or moderate such bulla, which E. The Holy Father will inform me by his letter, but the Holy Father shall not complain, to send to the Cardinal St. Sixti . . . a copy for fifty or . . . [1] I have sent the Cardinal on my ... Doctor Mar. letter so it shall if God wills right ... is otherwise at all times good before E. Churfl. gn. 2) . . . and do not worry it will be for the best and write as little as E. Churfl gn. wants, so I am well to be pleased, Doct. Mart. is good thing eight dy bulla nothing. He with his appendix as namely Doctor Carlstadt. Doctor Johannes Doltzkg of Velt-

kirchen, Magister Egra, 3) Bernhardin von Adelmanshaußen thwmher zw Augspurgk, Wilibald Berckinger, Johann Spengler, Secretarius der von Nornbergk, all of whom Eckius has ordered to be struck together with Martino zw Meysen, and with D. Mart. In the same punishment 2c. Our churfl. gn. want to send me this letter as soon as possible, so that I may rise up to Rome to refute 4) the error, then such a bulla will go into effect, so certainly a great cism, for I will, if God wills, with the help of pious gentlemen, as much as I can strive for it; your curfl. gn. will not hesitate to give me the order to pay the money which I have laid out for your Lordship, but which I cannot pay to Rome, therefore I have asked your Lordship for the most humble of requests, Eckius has ended up at Leiptzick in the night on Freibvrgk zw, and the city servants of Leiptzick are riding with the bulls in the country. With this I dedicate myself to my Lordship as my most noble lord, before whom I place all my comfort after God. Datum eylend zw Eyllenbergk Sonntag nach Maximiliani [14. Oct.] 1520. Ewer Churfl. gn. wolle nicht vorgeffen den juncen Cardinalen ewer Churfl. gn. angesicht zw schicken, wie Ich dann E. Churfl. gn. kürzlich zw Gotha und durch mein Schreiben bitten.

Ew. Curfl. gl.
humble Capellan
Carolus von Miltitz.

3) Miltitz is not very precise with the names. Here Egranus is meant; immediately following: Bernhard Adelmann or von Adelmansfelden; then: Wilibald Pirkheimer.

4) Maybe: niederlegung?

1) Supplemented by Seidemann.

2) As subject to this sentence Seidemann assumes the Cardinal St. Sixti. But it seems to us rather to be the pope. The whole passage would like to be completed like this: To send the Cardinal St. Sixti [their coin] a head for fifty or [one hundred] florins. If I have the Cardinal on my [side and] Doctor Martinus writing, then, if God wills, it shall [become right. His Holiness] has otherwise always been well spoken of to Ew. Gn., she be confident) and let herself be 2c.

Section Twelve of Chapter Four.

Von Miltitzens letzter Correspondenz mit dem Churfürsten Friedrich zu Sachsen.

349 Miltitzen's letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he reports that Luther's cause in Rome is now better than one would think, and asks that the Elector write to the Pope or to a cardinal, at the same time asking for the pension promised to him. Aug. 10, 5) 1521.

From Cyprian's Documents, Vol. I, p. 522.

Most Serene Highborn Prince, my humble servants are ready beforehand for Your Royal Grace. Your Eminence, when I recently departed from your Highness at Wittenberg, your Highness gave me the order, if I should obtain anything new from Rome concerning my affairs or person, to send it to your Highness. I humbly wish to inform the Holy Father that I have received news from Rome, and that I am grateful and thankful to the Almighty God for this,

5) Walch: "10 May 1521."

and so that E. Curfl. gn. may believe me, I have sent the same letters to Hersfeld for the attention of E. Curfl. gn. I have sent the same documents to your honorable court for your approval, and from them your honorable court may indicate to you the kindness of your church, and that Doctor Martin's cause has not been so completely lost in your church as some of the cases that I have received little or no thanks from good friends. I have written and indicated the beginning of this matter until the hour when I am to be held by Saltza Jtzund in the Pentecost, as I have passed it, and there with I have quite faithfully and graciously addressed E. Curfl. gn. I have been asked by doctor Martinum to talk and trade with him according to all my wishes, and I am sure that he has been pleased with it, which I have sought myself through my good lords and friends, whom I am not allowed to write to, so I have consoling hopes that I will be able to give more things to your Curl. gn. more things by virtue of his heylikeyt than before, because his heylikeyt is formerck the E. Curfl. gn. fihel zw milde, 1) and with ferschweygungk der warheyt getragen an seyn heylikeyt. Therefore, my humble request is that E. Curfl. gn. will consider it kindly and give me between freedom and peace to the babest my lord or a Cardinal as Cardinali Compejo who has written to E. Curfl. gn. two times that it will not repent if God wills it to E. Curfl. gn. Most noble Prince and Lord in my name from E. Curfl. gn.

I have recently petitioned and reminded E. Curfl. gn. undertheniglich, of the gracious promise made to me by E. Curfl. gn. and by E. Curfl. gn. Hern bruder zw gotha. I have received a gracious reply from E. Curfl. gn. that E. Curfl. gn. has such a request as E. Curfl. gn. has made in the summer of this year. Hern hertzog hannssen zwkonfft warthen, so sult ich an E. Curfl. gn. och an mein genedigen Hern herzogk hannssen anregungk thuen, durch ein supplication so suld mir genedige Antwort werden, so bin ich genedigster her am sanct Donatus tag [V. Aug.] bei m. gn. Hern hertzogk hannssen, his fl. gn. personally for Sulch's request, has given me his fl. gn. this noble answer. There should be no lack of his fl. gn., but only the matter with your curfl. gn. between request me between good, so is my humble request, your curfl. gn. will only as I comforting hope Erceygen and me poor on such ceyt zw helffe come, dy because I have between no one so great comfort as zw zw E. I would like to be found worthy of this for the sake of Your Honor, as I am alive, with humble and submissive thoughts, and I hereby give my respects to Your Honor, as my most noble Lord. Date at [Scharfenberg] 2) in the Laurentii [Aug. 10] 1521.

E. Curfl. gen.
humble capellan
Carolus von Miltitz.

2) Supplemented according to Seidemann's assumption. "Miltitz, p. 32.

1) "Mild" here has an evil meaning.

The fifth chapter.

Of the very famous disputation held in Leipzig in June 1519 between D. Eck on the one hand, and D. Carlstadt and D. Luther on the other. Luther on the other hand at Leipzig.

First section.

From the next inducement to this disputation.

What gave the first cause for this, and how D. Eck first got into a dispute with Carlstadt because of Luther.

1. Eck broke the good friendship in which he had stood with Luther by the insidious scattering of his obelisks, under the pretext that it was done at the request of the bishop of Eichstädt, where Eck was canon.

350 Luther's complaint that D. Eck had attacked him against the law of friendship without warning by publishing his so-called obelisks.

See Appendix, No. 42, U 2-4.

2 Since D. Eck realized that he had been hasty in this lache, and he had heard that D. Carlstadt would have something printed against him, he apologized to him in writing, but too late.

351 D. Carlstadt's letter to Spalatin, with which he sends him his theses published against D. Eck. May 14, Anno 1518.

From Joh. Gottfr. Olearius sorin. anti^uar., p. 26. Translated into German by Joh. Frick.

To the excellent Georg Spalatin, master of the liberal arts and canon of Altenburg, my very valuable patron.

Hail! The short time I have left for writing letters does not allow, my erudite Spala

I hope that I will answer everything you ask in your letter. Know, however, that I have recovered so far, except that I am still burdened with a headache. Nevertheless, I will read, as before, to a larger number of listeners, should their diligence and desire also suck the marrow out of my legs 2c. Soon I will send a part of my conclusions to your glory, because not all of them are ready for printing. With divine help, you shall see what Eck will oppose them with, and believe that I do not fear him at all, nor others whom I will refute by name. I have the Wittenberg Bible to myself; the preachers fall in with me. Brother Johann Tetzel in his conclusions, I do not want to say us, but even our most gracious prince. I have teased a little about his conclusions; but if it continues like this, I will engage in a scholarly battle. Finally, I ask you to recommend me to our Most Reverend Prince, as well as to Herr Pfeffinger and Hirsfeld, so that they may promote the realization of my humble request and support me. No less recommend me also to von Taubenheim, Hieronymo and all others, and write to me again. Given in the greatest haste at Wittenberg, the Friday after Ascension Day (May 14), Anno 18. I want to become all sorts of things to all of you.

Your glory

Andreas Carlstadt.

As I wrote this, I sent to our printer so that the boy would deliver two copies, one to the knight, Mr. Pfeffinger, the other to your Lordship as a gift; but he only brought one, and the messenger would not hold out. Therefore, I am sending only one copy of today's disputation to your lordship at present; the whole thing, however, shall follow with the future mail.

**352 D. Eck's letter to D. Carlstadt, in which he seeks to apologize for his obelisks published out of haste against Luther and offers peace again on the outside.
May 28, 1518.**

From Joh. Gottfr. Olearius serin. antiuar., p. 29 reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 64.

Translated into German.

To the venerable Mr. Andreas Carlstadt, Doctor well deserving of the liberal arts and divine learning, Archidiaconus at Wittenberg, his, where I may call him otherwise, immense friend, his to him completely devoted (Tuissimus) Eck wishes good health.

Esteemed Andrew, I have learned that you and your Wittenbergers are very angry with me because I have written some things against the teachings of Martin Luther, our common friend, to my bishop privately, thinking that these trifles would never be presented to the scholars for evaluation. But how these writings came from my bishop's hands into yours, of that I have conjecture, but no certainty. If I had known this, I would not have written them as unprepared as they came into my head, without looking them up in books, and would not have poured them out so hastily. For, as you know, we all take more liberty in private writing than when we put a piece of writing into the light. Therefore, I am very surprised that you are so angry with Eck, who is completely devoted to you. I am told that you accuse me of flattery, but you do not know that I am a man who cannot flatter at all. Ask all those who know me, they will have to admit that Eck cannot fob anyone off with empty words. And even if I could, I would not do it, least of all before such a bishop, with whom the indulgence (as far as I can guess) seemed to have little power for some accidental reason. By the way, they say you are getting ready for a scholarly duel against me, which I can hardly believe. If you are of this intention, I am astonished that you do not rather take up the cause of the neighboring Frankfurters and the inquisitor of heretical malice, who claim in their printed and published papers that Martin has been absent a hundred times; at times he is mad, furious and nonsensical. But if you want to do me the right of the recently established friendship, I will consider it done in love, and ask you that what you have in mind against the innocent Eck may not be done against him.

may not be carried out. My intention was not at all to injure Martinus; but if you do not care about my friendship and believe that I have done too much, I cannot and will not impose a law on you, but nevertheless it would have been your duty, if you wanted to issue something against me, to make this known to me at the earliest. If I am convinced that I have erred, I will gladly confess my errors and not be ashamed of them; if, on the other hand, I see that you are writing in an overly heated or biting manner, I will, with the help of faithful teachers and friends, seek to defend myself in the more famous universities of Christendom, as far as truth requires, but I would rather be spared this trouble. However, you will have to consider what needs to be done, and when you have considered everything well, you will start the deal. Be well, whose welfare I sincerely desire and wish. From Ingolstadt in a great hurry, May 28, 1518.

I apologize for my cursory and poor writing due to the quick departure of the messenger.

**353 D. Carlstadt's answer to D. Eck, in which he strongly reminds him of his immodesty against Luther as a good friend, and admonishes him to think better of it.
Wittenberg, June 11, 1518.**

From the Olearius serin.

p. 29.

Translated into German by Johann Frick.

To the venerable and excellent D. Johann Eck, Doctor of Holy Scripture, Ordinary and Pro-Chancellor of Ingolstadt, Canon of Eichstädt, my very dear friend and patron.

Your most devoted Andreas Carlstadt, good health! Esteemed Eck, your beautiful letter has been well delivered to me. Now, to answer it recently, I cannot refrain from telling Your Glory that the injustice done to the fundamentalist scholar Martin Luther was most displeasing to me. You accused the man of great and grave crimes, as if he had even offended the majesty, spread heretical teachings and caused division in the church. You have described the rebellious Bohemian, and you have imprinted these accusations. Does not a writing, according to your Scotus' opinion, by its nature make things common, known and obvious? You have done so and thereby not only caused a contradiction of others.

but even forced you to do so. Therefore, I have published a polemic or responsibility against some of your sentences, which was printed in Wittenberg and is now available for sale here and there. I am quite distressed about this, for the sake of your arrogance, that you have forced us to attack you. If things that have happened were to be changed, I would rather have endured the injustice with patience than to have settled it by arguing and disputing. But that I have chosen you in particular before others, and not the unlearned inquisitor or another of his like as an opponent, I have done not out of envy, not out of anger and heat, but for the sake of your beautiful eloquence, diligence, astuteness, but especially for your and the whole common welfare. I do hope that you will fall in with my opinion, and that a Saul will become a Paul. Nor did I want to engage in battle with a famous Leone and eloquent Marco rather than with a stupid ass, and I thought it would do me no harm if I were to lean more on eloquence in your example. If I have offended you, I ask you to forgive me; but if you continue to offend me, the offended part, even more, you may do so, if you can, and want to be regarded as the one who wants to mistreat a person in a hostile manner or even overturn the holy scripture. I have resolved to tolerate war and tyrannical fits much rather than to keep a completely wrong peace to the detriment and harm of the divine word; it may go for me as it may. But I would not like to lose your friendship, if you would grant me the same. I love you dearly. I want to be lost if I wish you death or the slightest misfortune. I am making a masterly effort so that God's word, which lies blissfully under the bench at our sad time, may soon become lovelier and brighter, yes, may rise as clear as day. Long live our Martinus, who has given us the opportunity to proclaim the law of the Lord in its power. Yes, long live Eck, our friend. But if he is an enemy to us, let him become a lover of the truth. This is what I have opened to you in haste, and at the same time I have wished you all the best. Farewell. Given hastily at Wittenberg, Friday, June 11, 1518.

My dear corner, forgive, because I have wanted to forgive you. Forgive, if you think that I have brought up empty gossip. But I wish that you do not concede the slightest thing to falsehood, but rather that it be completely eradicated, banished and annihilated.

354 D. Carlstadt's letter to Spalatin, with which he sends the above letter from D. Eck together with his reply. June 14, 1518.

From the Olearius serin. anti^uar., x. 28.

Translated into German by Joh. Frick.

To the highly learned Georg Spalatin, master of the liberal arts and canon of Altenburg, his very worthy patron.

Here you have, my highly learned Mr. Georg, the copy of the letters, which Eck wrote much more politely than you would have thought, sent to me, together with my answer. I do not know what will come of it; I am not interested in what he may have in mind and what he may undertake. In addition, I am sending you the four sheets which, according to the report, you lacked, and I most earnestly request that you entrust the highly deserving and righteous official, Mr. Pfeffingern, with the care of my cause and the promotion of the same; that your lordship also do the same, and that you consider drawing all good friends who approve of my resolution to my side, especially Mr. Hirsfeld, Mr. Taubenheim and Jerome. Because I am now so poor that I cannot let my enemies know, and I will not experience such a lack as long as I am a doctor, I will not keep it from you, but in such a way that the others shall not hear of it. I can neither buy books nor the food that is useful for my health. The diligence of my listeners is my only consolation. But it makes me uneasy that many have to stay away because of lack of copies, and where our most noble prince will not provide advice, some will probably even leave out of displeasure. They approach me daily and get empty hope. Greetings to all my lords. Farewell and write to me again. I have hardly been able to gain time to write to you. For I am now working under divine help on the notes on the book of the spirit and the letter. Farewell. Given at Wittenberg, Monday, June 14, 1518, Andreas Carlstadt.

Two letters are sent to Mag. Georg Spalatinum, Capellan of Her Serene Highness Prince Frederick.

3. of D. Carlstadt's carriage figures published against Eck and what has happened because of it.

355. description of the figure published by D. Carlstadt in woodcut of two carriage-

the first of which is the right way to heaven, but the other is the wrong way of the scholastic
The teacher and the fallacy of free will are to be presented.

From Löscher's Ref.Acta, Vol. II, p. 104. Löscher says: Carlstadt had published two figures in woodcut in the form of two carriages in 1518 and had the interpretation of the figures of the carriage printed in 1519. Jäger "Carlstadt" says p. 17: that this satirical little writing of the "two carriages" appeared towards the end of the year 1518. And p. 24: Carlstadt published this satyr again with explanations on April 18, 1) in defiance of the Leipzigers. The title reads: "Auslegung vnnnd Lewterung etzlicher heyligen geschriffen. So dem Menschen dienstlich vnd erschießlich seindt zu Christlichem leben. The book is a short description of the figures and writings of the chariots, especially of the creed. The dedication bears the date: Monday after Palmarum [April 18] 1519. Is it this new edition that Luther sends to his friend Johann Lang already on April 13, 1519? (De Wette, Vol. I, p. 255.)

On the first stood a crucifix, at the head of which: God
 does not love for reward,
 Rejoice in faith and hope.

By the hands of the protected party:
 Hendel of the night: that is hypocrisy in diligence and
 diligently avoided:
 The arrows fleeing by day: that is, publicly suffering
 storm, persecution and grief willingly.

Long of the Creutz:
 Dem Teufel und Welt wiederstee
 Beware of yourself, so you stay on wee, Always
 urteyl your affliction and life, So you may give God
 guilty sooner.

Under the Creuz:
 From the will of God, the righteous D. Stercken, man
 grows with his creed and work.

Christ's image has in one hand the words:
 Love own will all yours and you,

In the left corner:
 Take your creutz and follow me.

Furthermore, on the car:
 From me furent me, So mich anseh,
 erschreck ich, Wie gern wär ich mir from,
 Wenn mich selbstbest erkon, Brengt mich
 von meinem Koth, Ich drieff aus grosser
 Noth,

1) Hunter has wrong "the 17th of April".

And much more like that. The other wagon was full of false sayings from the school teachers, such as:

Govern yourself according to your highest, and
 you will come to the best.
 He has a sure courage that does so much.
 Than he can do himself. Then God must give
 him help 2c.

356. as II. Eck complains in a letter to the Elector of Saxony about these carriage images.

See below the 413th Document, § 5.

In a letter to the Elector of Saxony, Carlstadt answers for this figure.

See below the 416th Document, § 7.

In another letter to the Elector of Saxony, D. Eck again makes a counter-recollection of Carlstadt's responsibility.

See below the 419th Document, § 4.

B. How D. Eck, according to the agreement made at Augsburg in the fall of 1518, did not want to debate with D. Carlstadt alone at Leipzig, which was the place Eck had chosen, but also wanted to have Luthern there by force, and since Luthern refused in every way, demanded that he do so by means of a printed note.

Luther's letter to D. Eck, in which he reports to him that D. Carlstadt wants to discuss with him in Leipzig or Erfurt. Carlstadt, according to the agreement made in Augsburg, wants to debate with him in Leipzig or Erfurt and leaves him the choice of selecting one of the two places.

Nov. 15, 1518.

This letter is found in Latin in the German Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 84; in the German Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 164 k; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 292; in the Leipzig edition (Latin and German), vol. XVII, p. 271; in Löscher, Ref.Acta, vol. III, p. 203 with the wrong date: Nov. 12; likewise in Ströbel - Ranner, p. 47 and in Walch; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 171 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 280.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the excellent theologian and philosopher
Johann Eck, Vice-Chancellor of the University
of Ingolstadt, his Lord to be revered in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! My dear Eck, Mr. Andreas is satisfied that we agreed in Augsburg that you should meet either in Leipzig or in Erfurt and honestly discuss the truth with each other, so that the quarreling and writing of books will come to an end. Therefore, he asks that you yourself determine the day on which they must meet; at the same time also the place, which of the two it should be. For he would have determined it for you, but he thought that he would have to put it in your home, because of the difficulty of your further journey and your perhaps more varied business. Therefore arrange it in such a way that I have not brought the man to his decision in vain; indeed, that the adversaries hope in vain that the theologians will always quarrel among themselves and never compare. Farewell. In the shortest time and among many transactions. On the Monday after Martinmas [Nov. 15] 1518.

Your
Martin Luther.

360 Luther's thoughts to Johann Egranus, as well as to D. Lang, about Eck's public challenge, from which it is clear that Luther should not have and wanted to dispute with D. Eck at all, but only Carlstadt, and thus Luther was forced to do so.

See Appendix, No. 30, U 5. 6 and No. 43, § 2.

Luther's response to Eck's edited disputation note, in the form of a letter addressed to D. Carlstadt. Late January or early February 1519.

Eck had a disputation note printed on December 29 at Augsburg before his departure for his homeland with the title: In studio Inpssusi cksiputadit Dekans propositionss inkra notatas ooutru D. Locksustsin Earlsctackimn ^rsNidiasonnrm st, ckostorsin VuittöndurAsn., to which he enclosed a letter to Matthäus (Lang), Cardinal of the title St. Angeli, Coadjutor zu Salzburg, dated 29 Dec. and printed in

Adam Petri's laicnidrationura park una. Lasilsas 1520 msuks 4Mio, p. 286 Because Luther's doctrine was attacked in the theses, which Eck wanted to drag into the dispute, Luther responded by our letter to Carlstadt, which he prefixed to his twelve counter-theses against Eck, which is to be shredded either at the end of January or the beginning of February, because already on February 7 Luther sent a printed copy of it to Spalatin (De Wette, Vol. I, p. 222). This letter appeared several times in 1519 in a single print (to which Eck's disputation note with the letter to Matth. Lang is also attached) under the title: "Disputatio domini Johannis Eccij et Pa. Martini Luther in studio Lipsensi futura." In collections: in Adam Petri's l^ucmdrationum park UUA, p. 288; in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 158; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 206; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 249; in the Erlanger, opp. var. ars., tow. IV, p. 73 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 401. De Wette places this letter "at the end of March or beginning of April," but Seidemann has improved De Wette, vol. VI, p. 486 this and dated it "at the end of January." We have translated from the Erlangen correspondence.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Martin Luther, Augustinian, wishes the highly learned and excellent gentleman, Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, highly respected advocate of pure theology, archdeacon at Wittenberg, his teacher and superior in Christ,

Hail! Our corner, dear sir, has issued a disputation note 1) in which he makes a noise with splendid, pompous words (but this is the manner of this man) that he will dispute against you in Leipzig, and I had negotiated this with him in Augsburg on your behalf, whether in some way your dispute might be settled personally and in a friendly and intimate meeting, which you also, as befits your dignity, did not refuse. But behold! the man, who remembers his word so beautifully and always remains the same, finally, after having reviled you shamefully, promises an attack against you, but turns it against me; I do not know whether with his frogs or with his gnats.

2. I had hoped that your extremely important matters would be discussed, and of the grace of God, of human misery, and mainly of the matter in dispute between you; but meanwhile my corner is clamoring against my pettiness.

1) Eck himself had sent this note to Luther, as we can see from the following document.

or rather plays his game with carnival larvae 1) in the manner of these days. In short, he almost brings the foolish questions about indulgences out of the underworld. He treats your things as secondary and hardly touches them with the tip of his finger (as they say). Perhaps the Holy Spirit, foreseeing this playfulness and washiness of this man, told the excellent doctors of the University of Leipzig that they would refuse you to make this deal with them.

But I also do not want, my dear Andrew, that you allow yourselves to become involved in this unworthy and masked disputation, both because this splendid and red-cheeked and white-armed 2) larva attacks mine and me, and also because your gifts and your disputation stand too high that they should lower themselves to these petty things of the sophist and mine, namely to the indulgence or more correctly and in truth indulgence 3). Since all teachers, even the scholastics, the unfortunate teachers of Eck, themselves confess, first, that it [indulgences] is not necessary for a Christian, then, if there were none, it would be better, and for that reason it fits the Scriptures and a theological trade like a donkey fits a harp, and even I would never have considered him worthy of my disputation, if it had not been necessary, for the sake of Christ's people, to put an end to the seducers, the useless talkers, the self-seekers, the shameful profit-seekers [Tit. 1, 10. 7.]: nevertheless, these great and noble theologians are so miserably concerned about these trifling and trivial things, striving to protect them with even anxious concern.

1) This word has been interpreted to the Fastnacht time and therefore often our letter has been set in too late time. In 1519, Shrove Tuesday fell on March 8. But this assumption is already excluded by the date of Eck's dedication letter to Matth. Lang (Dec. 29, 1518). Probably the saying is to be referred to the writings of Silvester Prierias (as the Erlangen correspondence assumes), because almost around the time of our letter Luther had his replica printed. Compare Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 413, note 1.

2) ^a^tⁱ-^ä^s^c compiled from
Iliuä. I, 145 and 596 (Erl. Briefw.).

3) The play on words in Latin: inäulMutias- nsZliAsntikrs
^aNachlässigkeit in guten Werken! cannot be rendered quite accordingly in German.

The first thing is that the theologians are so puffed up that it is seen that they have placed in it the highest adornment of their name and their office, while in the meantime the right task of theology and that which serves the cause is completely neglected and put to rest, - of course not out of a desire for profit or honor, except incidentally, accidentally, and that it can happen in the process, 4) only that it is not too far away.

Since I am not allowed to live in a more dignified position, because God wills it so, than that I spend my life with the wash-hastened and vain sophists, with the harmful flatterers of the Roman pope and the Romanizing tyrants, I happily and gladly put aside my serious matters for the play of these people.

Therefore, dear Eck, I do not accuse you of the vainest honor that you published this disputation before you were sure what the Leipzigers would do in this matter, yes, after you had learned from me that they would reject it altogether, 6) because you certainly hoped to gain honor from a blue gloom and a disputation that was never to take place. I do not blame you for deceitfully and not at all friendly, let alone theologically, opposing Doctor Carlstadt's foreign theses. Since you could hope that he would by no means acknowledge them as his own, you could again triumph from a blue gloom over such a great man.

(6) I do not complain that you have turned to the most shameful flattery against the pope and have again made a fairy tale of me, and have laid on me new errors invented by you, and yet you pretend to do nothing less than that. We tolerate that this

4) Here are several difficult to translate scholastic expressions:
nist minus prineipulitr psr ueeiclsns 6t in pot6ntia.

5) komanantinm formed according to the analogy of
papenzen, judenzen 2c.

6) On Dec. 4, 1518, Eck approached the university and Duke George about the organization of the disputation (Seidemann, Leipziger Disputation, p. III f.). He received the negative answer only on February 4. Luther's letter of Jan. 7, 1519, from Leipzig, in which he informed him of the Leipzigers' negative answer to Carlstadt (this letter is lost), was received by Eck, as he says in the following document, only on Feb. 8, 1519.

by a theologian; we only want to show that we certainly understand your wretchedly clever tricks and your images formed from nothing, and to remind you amicably that henceforth, for the sake of your honor, you may be inferior to our nose, yes, to our heel, with a little finer cunning. This your rustic and sleepy cleverness you may play off against your fellow sophists.

In the meantime, be a brave man and "gird your sword at your side, O hero" [Ps. 45:4]. For after I have not been acceptable to you as a mediator to your peace, perhaps I will be welcome to you as a fighter. Not that I have set myself to conquer, but that, after your victories in Austria, in Lombardy and in Bavaria 1) (if we can believe you), I may become an opportunity for you to gain the name with which you will be greeted as *eiu Triumphator* in Saxony and Meissen, and, if you will, as the all-time ruler of the empire for eternity, and thus, after you have gained such everlasting, exceedingly great fame, you may rest, according to the words of your master: When there is full skill in a thing, the movement ceases. 2) But I would rather that you finally give birth to the miraculous animal, which you have been feeding me for a long time, and expose the disgusting things, by which your stomach is in danger, to the public, and put an end to your magnificent and glorious threats.

8) But, my dear Andreas, I return to you and ask that you write with me to the most noble prince, Duke Georg, and also to the wise council in Leipzig, 3) whether they would deign to give us even one secular house for this trade.

1) In Vienna, Bologna and Landshut. Wiedemann, Eck, pp. 63 and 53.

2) The old translator has rendered the words: *Ilabitudis oxistontibns in matoria, oessat motus* thus: "If the acquired skills stick in the matter, the movement stops." But to us, according to the context, this seems to be the meaning: When someone has reached the highest degree of skill, he must stand still.

3) Luther did both on February 19. Seidemann, *Leipziger Disputation*, p. 33, notes that Luther's letters to the university and the theological faculty of Leipzig are missing.

to make them available. For I do not want the excellent doctors of the university to be burdened with the danger of the office of judge, which they have also very wisely refused.

9 Yes, we want to do this: after two notaries have been called in, both Eck and Luther, and if others want to do the same, may dictate their reasons and answers to the notaries. I do this with the intention that we too will not be subjected to the shameful glorification and futile effort that one sees in Eck's Vienna disputation; 4) and also so that the clamor and the impetuous gestures with which the disputators of our time are wont to rage and to corrupt the truth may be subdued, while everything may be expressed in writing with the greatest possible modesty, and this, thus written, may be presented to the apostolic see, to the bishops, and to the judgment of the whole Christian world.

362 Eck's so-called Disputation and Apology against Luther's Accusations (*Disputatio et Excusatioiv Domini Johannis Eccii adversus criminationes F. Martini Lutter, ordinis Eremitarum*) in response to Luther's open letter to Carlstadt. March 14, 1519.

This document is the reply to Eck's thirteen theses Against Luther and Carlstadt, which he sent out on March 14, 1519, on a disputation slip. The first part of this note is this letter addressed to Gaspar (not Caspar), Abbot of Wessobrunn and the Provost Johan" of Polling, the second part is the theses themselves (St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 712). In the three existing editions, the names of these addressees are incorrect. Walch offers, "Herr Caspar, Abbot of Soissons and Herr Johann Polling, Provost," 2c. Löscher, vol. III, p. 559 and the Erlanger, opp. var. ar^u, tom. III, p. 4: Domino Oaspari, Vdkuti kontis Kuossoms, et Domino 3oUunni DoUinZi, pmeposito. The Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 405 names the former in note 2: Oa.8par, Dontis KnoSSIONIS, and even Eck's biographer, Wiedemann, offers p. 494: "The translator M. A. Tütel gives sbei Walch) 'kortis ssio Kuossonis' smo) with Soisson ssio) and gives the pope ssio) Johann the spelling name 'Polling'." The title we put over this writing is not found on the original disputirzettel, and will probably have been added only to the editions published in quarto in 1519. The original

4) Eck's boastful letter to Bishop Gabriel von Eyb zu Eichstädt is printed in Wiedemann, Eck, pp. 63-75.

begins with these words: Ooo amuntiss. prelati O. Oaspari addati kontis Vu6880ni8 et ck. Ioanni?ollin^ae praeposito patronis suis odsorvantiss. LeLiu8 in äornino ^WII, dene aZere. The original, which is in our hands, we have already described in the 18th volume of our edition, Col. 712, note, where Eck's thirteen theses are printed.

. Newly translated from the Latin.

To the God-loving prelate, Mr. Gaspar, Abbot of Wessobrunn, and Johann, Provost of Polling, his highly venerable patrons, Eck wishes well-being in the Lord Jesus.

Since, venerable fathers, the new teaching of M. Luther, 1) Augustine, seemed to me to deviate in many ways from the path of truth, it is by no means unknown to you what I have done from the beginning, 2) and what has followed with Andreas Bodenstein. But since I have always hated the kind of writing that has to do with violent attacks, I have decided to make an attempt on my opinion before the most learned people, in whose judgment 3) I would like to capture my mind and make it serviceable, since I know that holding oneself (φιλαυρία) is a mother of errors, and that standing alone leads to traps, as Bernhard says, and, if one does not want to believe wiser people, is foolishness, as Boethius testifies. Although the possibility of coming together was cut off for a long time by the adversary (con- traversarium = adversarium), we finally agreed on the University of Leipzig, whereupon, following Aurelius 4) Augustine's prescription, I had the brief epitome of the future disputation written down in a note 5) even in great haste, so much so that I omitted the article that should not have been omitted, 6) on free will and faith.

unnoticed. But 7) since this note had been sent by me to brother Martin Luther, he immediately, as he is a hero in biting, spread a letter 8) addressed to his advocate among the people. Whether this [letter] corresponds to Eck's modesty, I leave to the reader's judgment. But because such a kind of people, as St. Gregory assures, loves only 9) those who are silent, I am not moved nor offended by his biting letter. Would God that I were considered worthy, as the apostles boasted, to suffer shame for the truth and the Lord Jesus. But I see that I must take care that the weak are not annoyed, who would easily applaud the one who belittles me, if they did not receive an apology from me. 10) I am not a man of the Lord.

Luther is unhappy about the fact 11) that, while I had promised to dispute against D. Bodenstein in Leipzig, I had directed the attack against him, and as he is completely an Olibrius 12), he adds: he does not know whether with frogs or with mosquitoes; meanwhile, I had ranted against his trifles (*nugas*==pranks) about indulgences, treated D. Bodenstein's sayings as secondary things and, as they say, hardly touched them with the tip of my finger. But how impudently he interprets this does not escape the reader's judgment. For since Bodenstein is Luther's advocate and did not reject my three comments on Luther's disputation on indulgences, which I had made privately for my reverend Bishop of Eichstädt, both in an erudite manner and biting, and promised the same for the others, I did not touch the matter of indulgences in three 13) theses without reason. This matter Luther calls, as if it were something contemptible, his antics (*nugas*), in which so many heroes have labored. I know that Jerome says that antics in the mouth of a priest are blasphemy. But I did not think that these people had to be separated in the disputation, who fought tooth and nail for one and the same opinion. Therefore, since the most illustrious prince, Duke George

7) Original: tn, which will have to be resolved by camouflaging; eraser: turn.

8) The previous document, which together with the counter-theses against Eck was written for printing.

9) Original: solum; Löscher: solns; Erlanger: solos.

10) Original: äetradenti; eraser: äetrationäi.

11) ^e^re kört appears in the original like this: LZrekert.

12) Original: Olibrius; eraser: olidrins; the old translator: "a whimsical head". Olibrius was a Roman consul who was the subject of mocking songs.

13) tridus is missing in Löscher.

1) Instead of: Ueverendi patres, Untteri etc., Löscher has: Leverenäi katris moi Iuttieri etc.. The Erlangen edition follows Löscher, so we need not consider it.

2) Original: eZerirn; eraser: eZerirnus.

3) Eraser: sontontias instead of: sententinna and immediately following: Bervitut68 instead of: servitutum.

4) In the original; Löscher: et.

5) Original: exarari; eraser: exarare.

6) Original: non penitenckurn; Löscher: non poenitencknni. Because we have not been able to make sense of these words, nor can the old translation: "so that I do not forget the important article of free will and faith," satisfy, we have assumed praotornnittonäurn. For Eck did not have this in his first series of theses of Dec. 29, 1518, but inserted the thesis of free will and faith as the seventh in the series of theses before which our writing is placed.

of Saxony, my most gracious lord, and the joint council of the noble University of Leipzig and the theological faculty had admitted our disputation (since that spirit of Luther refrained from giving them the heart to reject this deal), 1) so in my letter I also challenged Luther as the one who is the first in this matter (*principalem*), that he would either defend his own or reject ours. I have also indicated this to the theological faculty at Leipzig. But, 2) that Luther tries to secretly lead Andreas Bodenstein away from the battlefield, 3) I will not suffer that, since he is so brave in writing invective and sang the victory song long before the victory. He refused to go to Rome, to Paris or Cologne, claiming the costs and the long journey. And since I followed him to the door of his fatherland, did he want to refuse the fight and retreat to the fortifications? That would be the behavior of a degenerate and cowardly soldier! But if he had now become more learned and made a recantation of his errors by following the Roman church, then I wanted to kiss the man warmly as a friend and almost as my other self. However, I have laid the axe to the root, since I have put forward six theses against D. Bodenstein and sent the seventh in writing, in which I believe I have summarized the entire essence of our letter. Therefore, I have not touched on this as an incidental matter, nor have I been deceitful, but have held these theses against Bodenstein in theological simplicity. However, I did not impose them on you, Luther, nor did I falsely impose them on you, 4) rather, I could point out to you with my finger where you have brought forward these monstrosities. Would God that I had not found them in you.

But that he further accuses me of the vainest honor, that I published the disputation note before I was sure of the consent of the gentlemen at Leipzig: that I admit; and what blame can this lay upon me? Yes, he says: "After you had learned from me that they reject it altogether." 5) Of course, this is a twisted lie. My note was printed in Augsburg before the month of January, while I was traveling from there to my fatherland. The letter

Luther's letter, which I have in my possession, is dated Leipzig, January 7; I received it on February 8. Behold, Reverend Fathers, that my disputation note was printed sooner than Luther wrote the letter to me. I am silent about the fact that the letter was delivered to me somewhat slowly because of the long distance between the places. I believe that you now understand what is meant by the "wretchedly clever tricks", the "images formed from nothing", the "subtle cunning" and the "sleepy cleverness" 6).

By the way, that he jokes and mocks at me, that I bear and suffer; far be it from me that I boast; if I have disputed as a young man at some universities of Germany or Italy, then I have done this to exercise my intellect. May I still be a sophistical quibbler for Luther and Bodenstein, a bad theologian, a sophist, an arch-aristotelian, a scholastic, 7) a disputator, may I know nothing, they may know everything; I know that I have little stock (*quod mihi sit curta supellex*). I may be a flea, the other 9) a Goliath, the other a Hercules; they may be my unfortunate teachers according to their opinion, which I consider happy, they may strive to dishonor me in every respect, I will suffer if they only let me be a believer and a Christian. If I have done all that the LORD has commanded me, I know that I am a useless servant; how much more am I, since I realize that I have not done it, quite useless. But all that I have received through God's gift, I will gladly do to protect the truth of the faith and the Catholic Church, and, as much as God gives me, I will fight against errors and eradicate them. For Gregory says that no invectives need induce us to deviate from the right way and from the certain rule. However, Luther pretends that my friendship toward him is a feigned one. I confess that I made friendship with him because of the sciences and studies, since I had not yet seen him (as I am wont to do with learned people), but only because he was recommended to me by our common friend, the highly learned Christoph Scheurl, 10) a very honest jurist. But believes

1) No. 361, ? 2.

2) Original: *At*; Eraser: *et*.

3) Original: *subducere*; eraser: *sudvertere*.

4) Compare Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII,

5) No. 361, § 5.

6) No. 361, § 6.

7) In the original: *†ristoteloatatos, soöloinstious*; in Löscher without the comma.

8) Original: *x8Mus*; Eraser: *pusillns*.

9) Original: *ills*; eraser: *illi*.

10) Original: *8eU6iirHn*; eraser: *8eU6nrUno*.

Can I be a friend of the one who is fighting against the unity of the Church? St. Jerome says that he was eager for the enemies of the Church to become his enemies as well. I love man; I hate error with Augustine. Does that mean to cherish something monstrous (*monstrum alere*), if one protects the truth and the pope and seeks one's neighbor's return from error? For I have seen and read with great sorrow the presumptuous writing of his actions at the Legate of the Apostolic See 1) and the Appeal to a future Concilium, and have taken out some sentences not without sighing. I would have expected that under the black robe there would be more sobriety and patience. Would that God had followed, or was still following, the modesty taught by the martyr St. Cyprian [in the letters] to Rogatianus and Cornelius, who testifies to Pupianus that heresies arose from contempt of the clergy. And in another place he says: "These are the beginnings of heretics and the origin and effort of evil-thinking schismatics, that they please themselves, that they despise the superior with proud pomposity. Thus one departs from the church, thus an unholy altar is erected outside, thus one stirs up sedition against the peace of Christ and the order and unity of God. For not from anywhere else (he says to Pope Cornelius) have heresies arisen or divisions arisen other than by disobeying the priest of God. How well Luther would be advised to accept what St. Bernard advised the Pisans with regard to Pope Honorius: Honor your father and the father of the whole world (*universitatis*). But Luther sets the old ashes on fire again, and brings forth the new weeds of the old harvest, 2) to use the words of Ambrose. The Almighty God, who took it upon Himself to remain with the Church until the end of the world, enlighten the hearts of the faithful and give us His peace. By the way, as I have offered myself, I will argue against both of them for the truth of the faith and for the protection of the apostolic see, with Christ's help; not in a worldly house and in corners, but in the school of Leipzig, which is in the highest bloom, before the highly learned fathers.

of this university, with due modesty, so that the truth may be preserved, not ruined. It pleases me, however, that all of this should be marked by reliable notaries in the manner of Augustine and Jerome, and should be fully known to the city [of Rome] and to the whole world. This I have wished to indicate to you, most worthy patrons, and through you to the whole Christian world, since you hold sacred truth very high, and venerate the head of the Church, Christ's governor, the pope, and pray unceasingly with your brethren for the welfare of the Church and the See of Peter. And this cause of truth, for Christ and Peter, be at ease with me. Fare well, God-loving prelates. From Ingolstadt in Bavaria, March 14, in the year after the birth of the Virgin 1519.

After this letter follow in the original the **"thirteen theses of Eck against Luther and Carlstadt"**, which we have already communicated, likewise newly translated from the original, in the 18th volume of our edition, Col. 712.

363 "Brother Martin Luther's Disputation and Apology against the Accusations of D. Johann Eck," as Luther's response to the previous writing. May 16, 1519.

In the 18th volume of our edition, Col. 718, we have already described the original and the individual editions of "Luther's Thirteen Theses against Eck", to which our writing forms the preface, and also indicated the location in the collections. The time given above results from the fact that Luther sent a copy of our writing to Johann Lang on this day. We translate according to the Weimar edition, Vol. II, p. 158.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Brother Martin Luther wishes the worthy reader salvation!

My corner is angry, dear reader, and he has consecrated to the apostolic chair another disputation note, which is full of his anger and accusations against me, and he has added to the previous theses One that is very angry, that is, if I did not fear that there would be an obstacle to the future disputation, a fine opportunity to respond to his vituperations once and for all. But everything has its time. That may now be enough.

1) Original: apud 8tzä. ap. Eraser: apuck 86, ap. l6Mtnm; Erlanger: axuä 86, axnä i,6Zatum. The old translator has ignored this.

2) Original: ui688i8 and xrot6rt; eraser: iu688i and pra6t6rt.

That he accuses me of being an enemy of the Church by citing the sayings of some holy father 1), understand it this way, dear reader: by "Church" he means his opinions and those of his "heroes who have labored in the cause of indulgences". For he is an ordainer (consecrator) of the apostolic see, and speaks after the manner of his supposed heroes, who use the words of Scripture and the Fathers, like Auaxagoras 2) the elements, so that, having consecrated the same to the apostolic see, the words, immediately transformed (trans- substantiata) at their pleasure, (wonderful to say) from anything to anything popular, are also apt to signify what they either dream in a fever or deliriously put forward in the incapacity of feminine spitefulness; nay, their knowledge is of so little use to them, that even what they have learned that is good, they never rightly understand, and as the apostle says [1 Tim. 1, 7], they do not understand what they say or what they put, that is, they have not learned to put the predicate together with the subject, nor the subject with the predicate, in a categorical sentence. We hope that in the future disputation he will present us with other testimonies with equal skill, so that there will be no lack of them, so that the children may also laugh. I had hoped that Eck would have learned from the letter of Erasmus, 3) the master in the sciences, then from the insurmountable "Vertheidigung D. Carlstadt" 4) the limitations of his head; but Eck's patience overcomes everything; it is enough when he displeases everyone else that he pleases only himself and his heroes.

But that he puts the ungodly vice on me, that I am a heretic and a Bohemian, by saying, "I set the old ashes on fire again," 2c., he does according to his modesty or according to his office of consecration, through which

[Consecrate] everything he consecrates, using no anointing oil other than the poison of his tongue.

But you (so that I do not acknowledge this evil name [which he gives me]) should know, my dear reader, that I do not despise the venerable agreement of so many believers in Italy, Germany, France, Spain, England and other countries for the sake of the sole rule (monarchia) of the Roman pope. I ask only one thing of the Lord, that he never let me speak or say (sentire) anything that would please the corner as it is now, so that I do not make a mockery of Christ, the Son of God, because of my free will, and deny him for the sake of the Roman Church, that Christ lives and reigns in India and in the Orient, or, so that I also speak something in riddles for this fine riddle-maker, so that I do not open the Constantinopolitan 5) Cloaca anew with Eck and, because of the old murderous deeds of Africa, cause new martyrdom of the church. So that you are not hurt by the annoyance of his poisonous rhetoric, you should know, dear reader, that among the articles of John Hell some also include this one, that he said that the papal supremacy of the Roman bishop comes from the emperor, which Platina also writes clearly. But I have stated that this supremacy is not proved by imperial, but by papal decrees. Thus the Lateran Church 6) in Rome itself sings about the circumference of its brow that it is at the same time by papal and imperial decree (dogmate) the mother of the churches 2c. The verses are known. 7) How now? It is

1) In Eck's original disputed note, each time the name of a holy father appears in the text, this name is fully expressed in the left margin.

2) a Greek philosopher who used such arguments: the snow is water, the water is black, therefore the snow is black.

3) Letter from Erasmus to Eck, May 15, 1518 (Weim. ed.).

4) Carlstadt's defense against Eck's Monomachy, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 632.

5) In the Weimar: Constantinopolitanain, the other editions offer: Constantinopolitanain. The reading of the Weimarschen is correct. The opinion is: the Cloaca of the city of Constance, that is, the Concl there, which burned Hus 2c.

6) The oldest church in Rome and the episcopal church of the pope.

7) "Since the verses to which Luther refers form an important point in his rebuttal and are not likely to be as well known as they were in the Reformer's time, they may follow here. Oo^mate kapali äatur 6t simul Imperiali tzuoa kirm eunetatum Mater, Oapnt Heelesiarum. Urne Kalvatoris Eoelestia üeZna äatoris Homilie "anxerunt, eum euneta peraeta knerurt. 8ro iros ex tote eorrversi auppliee voto Xostra Huouü iiaee Deckes, tidi Ekriste sit inelvtä NeUes" (Weim. ed.). ^To German: Durch pabstliche und zu-.

It is necessary that Eck himself is a Hussite and sets the ashes on fire again. Then, because she sings like this by order of the pope with the approval of the cardinals, the whole of Rome and the general church, it is not surprising if Eck is tired of the old ashes and, after his office of consecration, eagerly seeks to consecrate a new burnt offering to the apostolic see, and at once wants to turn the pope, the cardinals and even the Lateran church into new ashes. Thank God that at least one corner is left who is Catholic-minded, the loneliest persecutor of "standing alone", since all others are corrupted by the poison of Bohemia. But what is it to wonder that the sophists do not know such histories, since they do not understand even their categorical propositions? Of course, I have never dealt with this subject, nor have I thought of disputing it. But Eck, who has long been embittered against me by the most severe hatred, and knows that these propositions are detestable, has hoped, since he despaired of victory in other matters, to bring about indignation against me at least in this, since he has learned (how to speak) to strike the young lion before the lion's eyes, and to make a tragedy of hatred out of a disputation about truth.

But they may consecrate innocent as much as they want, they may consecrate their flatteries to the apostolic chair, they may consecrate to the bench and the stool, yes, they may also consecrate to the apostolic money box (since this belongs to the matter of indulgence and to the supremacy most of all), they may limp around the altar of their Baal, they may call out loudly (for he is a god, he poems, or has to create, or is about field, or perhaps sleeps) that he wakes up [1 Kings. 18, 26. f.]. It is enough for me that the apostolic see neither wants nor is able to do anything against Christ. In this matter I will also fear neither the pope nor the name of the pope, much less these

Little feathers and little dolls. 1) I have only one thing in mind, that the robbery of my Christian name is not to the detriment of the completely pure teaching of Christ. For here I do not want anyone to expect "patience" from me, I do not want Eck to seek modesty, neither under the black nor under the white robe. Cursed be the glory of that godless laxity in which Ahab let Benhadad, the enemy of Israel, go [1 Kings 20:34]. For here I would like to be not only "a hero in biting" (which hurts the corner), but also unconquerable in devouring, so that I could devour the Silvesters and the Civesters and the Cajetans and the corner and the rest of the false brothers (fratros), who fight Christian grace, in one mouthful (to speak with Isaias [Cap. 9, 12.]). They may frighten another with their flatteries and consecrations; Martin despises the priests and consecrators of the apostolic see. The other in the disputation and after the disputation. But also D. Andreas Carlstadt, who is already a victor over Eck's error, will come, not as a fugitive soldier, but he will confidently receive this dead lion thrown down by him. But in the meantime we allow the wretched conscience to rejoice in the feigned hope of triumph and the vain boast of threats. Therefore, I also add to my theses a thirteenth one, which is opposed to the wrath of Eck. God will have to bring something good out of the disputation, which Eck stains with so much evil, with spitefulness and dishonor.

Farewell, dear reader.

364 D. Carlstadt's sharp letter to D. Eck, as a response to D. Eck's twofold challenge. April 26, 1519.

This letter forms the preface to "Carlstadt's 17 Theses against Eck for the Disputation at Leipzig," which we have included in our edition, Vol. XVIII, Col. 714. In Latin they have the title: Oonoln8101168 6arol8taäii kontra IOUNN61N I'kkiuw Hp8ius 27. Innii tiiknūa". This letter sammt den Thesen is found in Löscher, Res.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 284 Latin.

Translated into German.

1) In Latin, a play on words: xaxain- xaxpoa - PNPPU8.

immediately by imperial appointment I am given to be the mother of all, the head of the churches. Therefore, they have sanctified me with the name of the Savior, the Giver of the Kingdom of Heaven, since all things were accomplished. So we ask with all our heart with fervent petition: that this our house may be a famous seat to you, Christ).

To the excellent D. Johann Eck, the metaphysical theology advocate and *Magistr noster*, Andreas Carlstadt wishes salvation and a better mind in the Lord!

If I did not love, venerate and honor the most holy in Christ Father and Lord, Mr. Leo, by divine providence the tenth pope of that name, and the holy church of Christ, I, my unconquerable disputator, would not appreciate your somewhat coarse and boorish insolence of this answer. Therefore, I will answer only insofar as you know that I am, as I hope, an obedient member of the papal name, as well as of the body of the Lord, which was redeemed with the precious blood of Jesus.

2nd But you argue against it: that you also took the defense upon yourself, and therefore Cyprian's, Jerome's, Augustine's, Ambrose's and Gregory's proofs thundered as a terrible barking. But I see your grips and secret plots quite clearly. Against the Wittenbergers, you shoot your light arrows from afar, but in doing so, you also wound Christ's teaching and, under our name, pervert the holy Scriptures, tear them apart, yes, overthrow them, since in many ways you always seek to draw heavenly wisdom to your false conclusions and sayings of the pagans, so that the simple, who cannot examine learned things so carefully, are infected by your poison. For you lead the church scribes who are not so perceptive that they can see what is to be proved or not, and who think it is enough to gather testimonies from everywhere, but do not consider what probative force they have, or whether they are suitable to lift the scruples or to untie the knots of doubt, so that many can be caught.

Therefore, my reader, remembering the judgment seat of God and His judgment, do not fall to me or to the adversary, and do not look at the persons who dispute, but at the cause and testimonies, so that we may prepare ourselves. Yes, I want to have reminded you, my reader, that as I speak with fear and timidity before God, so also you should hear me, D. Eck does not lead the ecclesiastical writers honestly, and is not without gall, but lays ropes and traps among them. He draws on the testimonies of Cyprian, Augustine, and others, the deceitful hypocrite; but is the good also true? the true also good? Is it mostly in the right place? Rarely. Does he always present true things? No!

often not. Good things, but they are not suitable for the matter. With one ointment he wants to cure all eye pains on everyone. His cunning way is suspicious. For the propositions he proves are beyond doubt for both, since I as well as he base ourselves on them. But by such art he blinds the eyes of those who do not understand, and makes them think as if we disagreed on a matter quite known and undisputed. But there, where the main thing sits, everything is weak with him, and easily broken through. The fencer who is addicted to fame desires nothing more than to gain a little fame among the semi-scholars or unscholars, because he strives for fame in such a way that he is not ashamed to seize it by force and childish antics. In the case of those in Vienna, the bawler has miserably drawn the short straw; his heart is still weak and sore from the stabs with which his opponents pierced it; but he has hissed at the victors with a tongue that concealed the wounds. As soon as he picked himself up from the muck of the battle and left, he made up a praise and comforted himself with the victory he never received, and made the praise known to those who were many miles away from the battle. Various people who heard him throwing around metaphysical crickets in Vienna testify to this.

Now the fox can leave the skin, but not the species; for the loose scabies artist still itches, he is looking for someone on whom he can rub himself, whom he can harm and pin the disease on him; but one should, as it seems to me, not scratch this disease with healthy strength, but with juniper thorns. Nowhere in my writings, which I have published against this fox, will one find that I have ever fled the judgment of the Roman university or other scholars. And yet Eck treacherously takes the liberty of blaspheming me, as if I did not want to suffer the judgment of the church and were a rebel. I have submitted to the judgment of everyone who examines the church teachers a little more diligently and more closely; what the first page 2) of our defense shows; and yet the malicious chatterer must not be ashamed when he pretends that I have eluded the judgment of many. I do not deny that such unfruitful and vain bickering, which Paul also forbids, displeases me in a fair and natural way, because one does not seek the truth in such a fight, but each one only makes a noise and wants to gain signs of victory, that he also with painted

1) Instead of Alorlosam, Zloriolaru will be read. (Walch.)

2) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 632.

The bullet is victorious, be it rightly or wrongly. In the past, I also thought, like my little enemy (*inimicu-lus*), that it would be a disgrace for me to remain silent as a conquered man when the truth wins. But nowadays I think it is shameful and pernicious not to agree with the truth right away. The exceedingly impious woman Calphurnia, by an impudent complaint and disturbance of the authorities, brought it about that an order went out not to complain impudently to the praetor, but that honor and decency should be considered; but my impudent striker and his like screamers raise a feminine din and disturb everyone, and do not even respect the theologians' office, so that they do not consider any decency. I give way to wordy quibbles, however, with contempt and contradiction: But small negotiations, which fit the Scriptures, by which the fruitful truth is explored and finally the hidden understanding is brought to light, I gladly accept so, if it is written out. For if the matter is not 1) put on paper, the adversaries shamefully depart from one another. For the impudent are thereby put a bit in the mouth that they cannot lie so easily.

5 I am surprised that D. John has collected so many laws and canons because of his oath, by which for his side lumpinesses are highly exalted, with omission of the best ones, and has not opposed the collector, that the holy fathers have decreed that one should act important things in writing before judges, so that one does not give room to the wickedness of men. Secular and minor matters of bodily things are set forth in a written complaint, disputed with objections and counter-arguments, with double and triple objections and counter-arguments, yes, even further legal remedies, according to opportunity, driven and explained, so that, after the matter has been set forth completely from the bottom up, and the mystery of the matter has been removed, finally, by judicial pronouncement, the disputes are ended at once. But you, D. Johann, in a holy, spiritual and quite glorious matter, in which the salvation of souls is at stake, and which concerns the majesty of God, would very much like to have only arbitrators with ears, not also perceptive ones, or only those who see above and rush the matter, or who at least do not investigate anything properly; who, if they have not yet recognized the beginning properly, and what is doubtful has not yet been proven, nor has the dark been explained,

1) "not" set by us.

I know for certain that our matters will not stand up to the metaphysical bad theologians, because, even if they are Christians, they only hear with pagan ears and thus do not even let in anything but the divine wisdom in my name. I know for certain that our matters will not suit the metaphysical bad theologians, because they, even if they are Christians, only hear with pagan ears, and thus do not even let in anything but what they mix with their slobber. They may, however, pause with their judgment and wait until the end of our questions, lest pure and honest theologians complain that they had rather washed something away in a drunken sleep or in ignorance or out of hastiness than judged. The excellent teachers of Leipzig University, my superiors, whom I always seek to honor, I desire to be listeners to our struggle, but in such a way that the matter remains undirected until we look at the matter more closely and more deeply and bring the hidden meaning of Scripture to light. For we shall have to seek the examination of our struggle a little further, since I see that you have taught heretical things, namely those that are manifestly contrary to the holy Scriptures.

(6) But what was the use of going through and insulting me as a fugitive soldier before the whole world, and dressing up your lies so covertly? It is a disgrace that you so rudely engage in your antics and lie figuratively. But if I had been willing to evade the sophistical tapping and to remain within the walls, would I then have to be called a despondent and cowardly soldier? Is then one who stays within the walls and contemptuously looks at the enemy's noise, and also only rejects it by taking good care, a cowardly 2) and despondent soldier? A brave man does not make a big show of himself, conducts himself quietly and demurely, does not play any unrighteous and dishonorable game, does not boast about his things, but either overcomes the evil of war or tolerates it; on the other hand, it is the sign of the most timid mind to be frightened by threats and all shadows of a racket. But what is more despondent and cowardly than, when one has an entirely just cause, to pale before the words of a wretched windmaker and shouter? It is said in war: "Those who attack the enemy in a just cause fight with double might. Therefore I do not surrender to the enemy, neither do I brave my bow, but the arm of the Lord, who alone is a righteous man."

2) Instead of *intraetus*, *krnetns* will be read.

gives comfort to the heart. Since I have been so violently and strongly provoked, I will come and attack Goliath (that I may become all things to all men), and I will lay hard at the corrupter of the Scriptures. You may consider what difference there is between the armor of an invited guest and that of one who comes by himself.

At last the pointed head writes: he wants to argue for the Holy See after the manner of the wasps. But ask him, dear reader, how I have ever had, or could have had, anything against the apostolic chair? Where it is not called insulting the church, if one holds the commandment of the church in honor; or, where it is not called insulting the church, if one raises all the things that the church needs, if it wants to serve and sacrifice God holy; or, where it is not called insulting the church, if one investigates the purity of the scriptures and the church teachers' honesty or truth, fights about it and rightly condemns it. Eck is such a hero who has the church standing beside him and throws himself out to protect it; who pretends to defend it and yet shows no authority to do so. O wretched state of the church, which does not even have a protector who constantly stands on its cause! O a dangerous case of the lamb being helped by the wolf! This is the cunning protector who, under the sheepskin, deceives the sheep and seeks his own. O terrible insolence of man, who forces himself upon the quiet church for protection! Who has defended the church so far? And who will defend it when you are dead? What hardly any emperor of the world dares to do, the bold emperor of the theologians presumes to do.

My dear John, if you can persuade me that you can dispel error with the lighter of invective and the plaster of error, I believe you will destroy error. I, however, will venerate the Roman pope, to whom I am especially attached, and the holy church with words and deeds, and will eliminate what I can of the Eckish laundry; even though the mischievous man has gone over the top, and has made statements against me, of which he knows well that I do not doubt them. I, however, from my defense against D. Johann, have carried such here added conclusions to choose at will, which we both take in different ways. As judges, I desire neither friends who call injustice right, nor enemies who seek a knot in the rush. You, however, may diligently consult the church teachers - and be well. Given in Wittenberg, the third Easter holiday [April 26] 1519.

6. how Luther was urged by these and other circumstances to get involved with D. Eck, and both to answer Eck's writings by means of counter-writings, and to decide to engage in disputation with him.

Luther's letter to Spalatin, in which he discovered to him as a secret what he had put in his counter-theses to D. Eck for the future disputation for hidden nets. After February 24, 1519.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltische GefammtArchiv in Zerbst. Printed by Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 165; by Löscher, Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 972; by De Wette, Vol. I, p.261 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 3. We have taken the latter (after Kolde, Martin Luther, Vol. I, p.382 uck p.197), which is based on the fact that the letter that Carlstadt addressed to Spalatin (whose answer is mentioned at the beginning of our letter) is dated February 24. The other prints place our letter in May, Löscher even at the end of May. The next number belongs to the same time, is probably the "previous letter" mentioned here at the beginning, and may have been written on the same day as ours (but before it). Our translation is according to the Erlangen correspondence, which brings the original.

Newly translated from Latin.

To his beloved Georg Spalatin, canon of Altenburg, his best friend.

JEsus.

Hail! After I had closed the previous letter, dear Spalatin, D. Andreas [Carlstadt] sent me the letter you wrote to him, which is full of the same complaints, so that I too was almost moved to indignation. You insist that I reveal my plan to you. Not as if I did not want you to know what I have in mind, but [I do not like to reveal it] because I know that revealing the counsels is the same as nullifying the counsels, especially if they are from God, who suffers it only with the utmost impatience that His counsels be revealed before they are fulfilled, as He speaks through Isaiah: "Afterward you will know what He has in mind." Therefore, I will destroy this advice of mine, which is admittedly very dear to me, for your sake.

1) Rather Jeremiah [23:20].

will, so that you will not be tormented by restlessness.

You know that I have to deal with a deceitful, hopeful, mischievous, shouting sophist, then that he has only this in mind, that he pulls me through before the people and makes me a victim to the pope with all terrible imprecations. For you will recognize these completely ungodly wiles of his when you read his twelfth thesis. That is why I have also placed the twelfth counter-thesis 1) against these tricks of his, in order to fell him with his own tricks, in such a way that he will certainly be under the illusion that he has triumphed, and while he will sing a song of victory with joy, he will have to laugh at himself in front of everyone, if God wills it.

For I know that he will break in from the side by shouting and making gestures that I cannot prove it, nor that I have not kept the calculation of the years correctly (as you also think), because long four hundred years ago, yes, even a thousand years ago, the Roman Church issued decrees, especially Julius I, who was very close to the Concilium at Nicaea: that the Roman Church is higher than all, and that without it no Concilium may be proclaimed. For he relies on this for certain, and will also (I hope) laugh at my incredible foolishness and sacrilege.

4th Then I will say that those Decretals have never been accepted, but that if 2) Gregory IX, who is the first collector of the Decretals, who under Frederick the Second, after St. Franciscus, Dominicus, 3) also canonized our St. Elizabeth, 4) that is, who is not yet 400 years dead; if Bonifacius VIII, the author

of the sixth! Book of the Decretals, if Clement V, the originator of the Clementines, 5) had not collected the Decretals in books, no doubt Germany would not know them either. Therefore, it is due to these three popes that the decrees of the Roman popes have been made known and the Roman tyranny fortified.

(5) But what has this to do with my thesis? I deny that the Roman church is higher than all churches, I do not deny that it (as it now rules) is higher than ours. For when will Eck prove that Constantinople or any church of Greece, when that those at Antioch, those at Alexandria, those in Africa, those in Egypt have been under the Roman or have received bishops confirmed by it? I will prove that the great Gregory I was confirmed by the Greek emperor Mauritius, and that Sylverius was deposed by the Patrician Belisar on the orders of the Greek empress, and many other things. Yes, are the Christians, who are still under the Turk, under the kings of the Persians, the Indians, the Scythians, subjected to Rome? Will Eck deny in such a way the present histories, which he cannot escape?

(6) If I had put the thesis that the Roman church has not been higher than all the churches until today, and that the history of the church has been against Eck until our days, I would have told the truth, but too clearly and without ambush. Now I have put a rope on him quite hidden, but it is now invalid because it has been revealed to you, which I fear GÖtze will not like.

I pass over the fact that the martyr Cyprianus called the churches of Africa to a council, always without first consulting the Roman pope, while he belonged to the Latin church and adhered to the Roman church. Some bishops of Africa did the same in Augustine's time. The extremely well attested writings of both bishops are available. Will Eck or the Roman pope be able to deny this?

5) "Bonifacius VIII publicirte 1298 den lider soxtus, Clement V 1313 die Clementinen." (Erl. Briefw.)

1) That both for Eck and for Luther the thesis about the primacy of the pope and the Roman church is called the twelfth, not the thirteenth, as in the second editions of the series of theses, also proves the correctness of our time determination. Compare the note, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 712.

2) It seems to us that instead of 6tsi, which all editions offer, ut, si should be read, which the old translator already assumed.

3) Here qui seems too much to us in the original.

4) "Gregory IX had the five books of the Decretals collected by Raymundus de Pennaforte and published in 1234, canonized St. Franciscus in 1228, Dominicus in 1233, and Elizabeth in 1235." (Erlanger Briefw.)

8 Only we Germans, after we had received the Empire, fortified the Roman popes as much as we could. Therefore, as punishment, we have had to suffer them again, the torturers and tormentors with terrible curses and now the suckers of the palliæ and the bishoprics.

9 But that I have called the decrees "quite cold", I have done so for the sake of dragging the scriptural passages to this matter, which speak nothing of supremacy, but only of pasture and faith. 1) But allow, I beg of you, that we dispute, and do not belong to that class of men who, if they do not know the counsels of God (as it should be), immediately despair, because they do not see that it can be led out by their counsel, and allow it henceforth. In these same theses of mine are other ambushes, by which, if Christ gives grace, I will so ensnare man that no one shall be found who has blasphemed the pope more shamefully than that greatest flatterer of the pope, Eck. I do not want this matter to be conducted according to our advice, or I would rather abstain. Therefore, ask me no more, lest I reveal, that is, spoil, the whole thing; rather, pray that Christ may let us seek his glory. I count the papal power among the things that are means (neutrals), such as wealth, health and other temporal things. Therefore, it displeases me greatly that temporal things are drawn into such great controversy, and that one still seeks to assert them above all by the word of God (which always teaches that one should despise them). How can I accept this completely wrong interpretation of the

1) The meaning of this passage is undoubtedly this: the decrees twist the scriptural passages like Joh. 21,15. ff. to the effect that Peter is supposed to have the supremacy, while it only speaks of the feeding [with the word and of faith]. This passage, because *io^uentks* was not referred to *scripturas*, has been misunderstood several times, not only by the old translator, but even by the Erlangen correspondence. There we read: "Lücke in Schwarz, theol. Jahrb., Augustheft 1826, suggests to read here instead of *pastu*: *justltiu*. But apart from the fact that the original has *pastu*, this expression, taken in the bad sense (cf. also No. 135, line 33), is quite correct as a contrast to *cte uaouar* "Uiu. That, by the way, the *xastu* was already used earlier, is shown by the reading of the 60ä. Isn.: *xaoto*."

How can I tolerate the power of the Roman church, however it is obtained, however it may be? Farewell.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

Another letter from Luther on this matter to Spalatin. After February 24, 1519.

This letter is printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 168; in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 975; in Seckendorf, Rist, *Autü*, Ud. I, § 52, x. 70 with omission of penultimate paragraph; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 206 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 1. German in Seckendorf's *Historie des Lutherthums* translated by Elias Frick and in Walch, vol. XV, 988. (The false proof. Walch, XV, 982 has been reprinted by the Erlanger Briefwechsel from De Wette. Because of the time determination, we refer to what was said in the previous number. We translate according to De Wette.

Translated from Latin nm.

To the dear and learned man, Georg Spalatin,
ducal librarian, his friend in the Lord

Jesus.

Hail! I beg you, dear Spalatin, do not fear too much and do not let human thoughts take away your courage. You know that if Christ had not led me and my cause, I would have brought ruin upon myself long ago through my first disputation on indulgences, then through my German sermon, 2) finally through my explanations 3) and my answer to Silvester, 4) and most recently through my "actions" [at Augsburg], 5) most of all through the journey to Augsburg. For what man would not have feared or expected every one of these things to bring me ruin? Yes, the other day Olsnitzer wrote from Rome to the chancellor

2) "A Sermon on Indulgences and Grace," Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 270.

3) "Explanations on the Disputation on the Power of Indulgences," *ibid*, Col. 100.

4) "Luther's Response to the Dialogue of Silvester Prierias," *ibid*, col. 344.

5) The *Xctu ^uZustÄNu*, in this volume No. 176. 177. 200. 224. 225. 226.

of our Duke full of Pomerania/) that I have caused such ill consternation to all of Rome by my "Explanations" and the "Dialogue" that they do not know how to dampen it. But their intention is to attack me not by knowledge of the law, but with Italian intrigues (for these [Italicis subtilitatibus] are his words); but by this I mean poison or assassination.

I suppress and withhold much for the sake of the prince and our university, which, if I were elsewhere, I would pour out against the destroyer of Scripture and the church, Rome, or rather Babel. It cannot be dealt with, my dear Spalatin, the truth of Scripture and the Church, unless one enrages this beast [Revelation Cap. 13]. Therefore, do not expect me to be calm and unharmed, if you do not want me to leave theology altogether. Therefore let the friends think that I am nonsensical. This thing (if it is of God) will not come to an end unless, like Christ's disciples and acquaintances, all my friends abandon me, and the truth is not to be found.

1) "The young Duke Barnim of Pomerania, who visited the University of Wittenberg in 1518 in the company of his court master, the Marschalk Ewald Massow, who is probably meant here by the 'Chancellor', and Jakob Wobesser, who is inscribed as UaeänAOAus kirrwipis on Sept. 15." (Erl. Brfw.)

be alone who saves herself with her right hand, not by mine, not by yours, not by any man's; and this hour I have had in view from the beginning.

3 Although this twelfth thesis was forced from me by Eck, then because the pope will have his patrons in the future disputation, I do not think that it [this thesis] must appear so offensive, unless they were not mindful of the freedom of disputation. In short, if I go to ruin, nothing will be lost from the world. The Wittenbergers have already come so far by God's grace that they do not need me. What do you want? I, a wretched man, fear that I may not be worthy to suffer and be killed for such a cause. This happiness will be granted to better people, not to such a shameful sinner.

I have always told you that I would be ready to leave this place if I seemed to bring danger to the most noble prince by staying here. Finally, I must surely die, although I flatter the Roman church and the pope enough by a German protective pamphlet 2) published by Scholl, if it might help a little or please your taste. Farewell. In a very great hurry. Martin Luther, Augustinian.

2) "Luthers Unterricht auf etliche Artikel" 2c., in this volume No. 281.

The second section of the fifth chapter.

Of the serious preparations made by both parties for the disputation.

Of Duke George's and the University of Leipzig's partly doubtful, partly even dismissive answer to D. Eck's and Luther's request to be allowed to debate in public.

367 Letter to Luther reprimanding the University of Leipzig. Feb. 19, 1519.

This letter is found in Latin in the Jena edition (1579), toID. I, col. 364; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 282; in the Erlanger, oxx. var. arg., tova. IV,

p. 72 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 426; German m Hofmanns Ref.-Hist. der Stadt und Universität Leipzig, p' 03-.
Translated from Latin.

We Rector, 3) Magistri and Doctoren of the high University of Leipzig, offer our greetings to D. Martin Luther.

In the days that have recently passed, Doctor, as we celebrate the birthday of our most Holy Redeemer, Christianity, the

3) Rector at that time was D-angM ", nrt. lib.
(Erl. Briefw.). He is from Lemberg, and, as Löscher (Vol. III, p. 579) notes, gave the final speech at the end of the Leipzig disputation.

The excellent Doctor of Holy Scripture, Johann Eck, has written to the most noble Prince, Duke George, this university and the doctors of theology, 1) and has chosen the theological faculty as a lesbian guide to judge his dispute, asking most diligently that we allow him to dispute with D. Carlstadt in our highly famous university. Since through this examination, by means of disputation, the truth can be defended against the slanderers and, as it were, brought out of the deep pit of democritus 2) into the light of day, we have granted him his request as far as possible and granted him a place to disputation. 3) On this good will of ours, D. Eck has relied on this good will of ours; and after he wants to engage in a school fight here with D. Carlstadt, so that he may leave the camp of Pallas with a flying ensign and deliver a public battle to your champion (as he says), he has issued a note of his disputation, like a banner, by which, as you think, he has announced the fight to your sentences. Since you do not intend to give way to him, you have again challenged him to the dispute of the disputation by means of a printed document. In this, we are highly astonished at you that you write against our decision, which was made in truth, 4) that we had refused or refused him the disputation; but we are much more astonished that you have pretended that such a disputation would be held in our university in Leipzig, since nothing of this is known to us, nor have you obtained such from us, nor even from the most illustrious prince, the gracious Mäcenas of our university. Therefore, since this is similar to a presumption of which you are believed to be disgusted, we most earnestly request that you do not burden us, who know nothing about it, either, if it is not repugnant to you, revoke it, or

1) Thus, Eck's letters, dated Dec. 4, 1518, did not reach their addressees until Christmas. On Dec. 26, the theological faculty forwarded Eck's letter to He'og Georg (cf. Seidemann, Leipz. Disp., pp. 25 and 113, supplement 7). The letters are reprinted in Seidemann, p. III f., supplement 6 (Erl. Briefw.).

2) Democritus says: In truth we are nothing, because the truth is in the depth ('Urch "üöcr- cv H ä'jcrä).

3) "After the theological faculty had at first refused the disputation in response to Eck's letter of Dec. 4 (Seidemann, Leipz. Disp., p. 25), it subsequently approved the same on Feb. 1 by express order of Duke Georg (Seidem. idick., pp. 30,124)." (Erl. Briefw.)

4) In Luther's open letter to Carlstadt, No. 361.

at least of your struggle, in a letter of reply, which we earnestly desire from you, to withdraw until you have obtained permission from us to dispute. With this little, you are commanded by God. Given at Leipzig, under our Rectorate's seal, February 19, in the year of the salvation of mankind, 1519. 5)

Luther's report to Lang on how the Leipzig theologians, along with the bishop of Merseburg, tried to prevent the disputation.

See Annex, No. 44, U 5.6, N6. 34, § 2, No. 45, § 2. See also No. 31, § 5.

Luther's report to Spalatin and Lang of Duke George's doubtful and conclusive answer.

See Appendix, No. 33, § 2 and No. 34, § 2.

B. Of the permission granted by Duke Georg himself and subsequently also by the University of Leipzig to Disputation to happen.

370 Excerpt from a very emphatic letter from Duke George to the Bishop of Merseburg, Prince Adolph of Anhalt, who was the Chancellor of the University of Leipzig and who was strongly opposed to the Leipzig disputation, asking him not to hinder the disputation any further.

This letter is found in Latin from the Zacharias Schneider titironie. lüps., lid. IV, p. 168 reprinted in Seckendorf's nist. l'ntsi., lid. I, p. 80, § 57; in Fabricius, OriA. 8uxon., lid. VII, p. 861 in other words, but in the same sense. German in Frick's translation of Seckendorf, p. 187 and in Hofmann's Ref.-Hist. der Stadt Leipzig, p. 68. - Seckendorf reports (l. e. p. 81) that in spite of this serious letter, the Bishop of Merseburg, during the entry of the Wittenbergers on June 24 (Seckendorf wrong: 17. ^unü), had a ban posted on the church doors in Leipzig not to hold the disputation. But the council, by order of the duke, not only had the notice torn down, but also had the one who had posted it thrown into prison. Cf. Document No. 393, § 4.

Translated from Latin.

5) The letter was signed by: D. Matthias Henning, M. Nicolaus Apel of Königshöfen im Grabfelde sBayern], Düngersheim, Matthias Frauendienst of Schweidnitz, D. Paul Schwoffheim of Görlitz, Martin Meenborn of Hirschberg and Lungenschneider. (Seidemann, 1. 6. p. 32.)

J.F.D. is not a little surprised that the bishop would be disgusted with the old custom used by the noble ancestors and holy church fathers to investigate the truth in disputed religious matters, and brought upon them, their descendants. It would be useful and necessary for the recently raised question to be considered carefully, for both sides to hear the reasons for the evidence, and for the truth to be investigated: whether, when the money deposited for the indulgence rings in the basin, the souls of the deceased, delivered from purgatory, will lead to heaven, and whether the silly, simple-minded rabble would not be cheated out of money in this way. It seemed as if the bishop wanted to speak the word of some unworthy, but pompous people (who were like the fearful soldiers, who boasted of great manliness apart from the fight, but, as soon as noise was blown, sought to flee). It would be an old custom to hold disputations in such disputes, to hear the parties against each other, and to let each defend his opinion to the best of his ability and answer the other's objections. If the theologians should not be able to maintain their opinions, which would be wrong, it would neither be detrimental to the pope nor to the church if they were to be instructed better; on the other hand, even if they were to be driven in a just and good cause by the opposite, it would neither be detrimental to them nor to the cause, because they, surpassed by the sophists in a good cause through speed of dispute, could easily appeal to the pope. Nor would this public discussion be annoying to those who were properly instructed and walked in the light, nor would it be disagreeable and repugnant to the pope at Rome and his cardinals, because the common man would thereby be properly instructed in the things that belong to all men's blessedness. It would be in the interest of all Christendom that, if something in doctrine had been falsified through error and ignorance on the part of the teachers, it should be made known to everyone. The theologians who refuse to debate would be acting against their profession and against the high privilege they enjoy above all other teachers, both in other assemblies and in the public courts of the university; But if they should not be able to defend and uphold their office and title of honor, old women or young children could be fed at little expense and with more benefit, who in time would be more useful to the common people and much more obedient to the authorities than such theologians.

The bishop hoped that the bishop's enlightened mind would consider what use a dog could be to the sheep, a dog that could neither bark nor attack wolves. He wished that the bishop would consider, according to his enlightened mind, what use a dog that could neither bark nor attack wolves would be to the sheep. He asked the bishop not to defend the lazy clergy, but rather to impose on these night birds, who shun the light, that they take up this fight, which their profession and office demanded, because it was not forbidden by the pope to fight bravely and fearlessly against heresies for the Christian truth. If they would bravely defend the truth, neither the church nor the university would be endangered; thus the outcome of this disputation could not be detrimental to him, as a Christian prince. In the contrary case, if neither the bishop's reputation nor his, the sovereign's, well-meant and faithful admonition should catch on with these theologians, this obstinacy would be an indication from which he and all reasonable people could conclude that they were not theologians, but such people who dealt only with how they would like to deceive the common man, but in doing so neither reveal their opinions nor know how to refute and overturn the errors of the heretics and newcomers. If, however, they were to seek evasion, he wanted to testify in a public patent before God and all the world that he had no other intention, nor would he have had, than that by such means the dispute that had been raised might be rightly recognized and the truth brought to light; but the theologians, because of their clumsiness and ignorance, would not only have rejected such disputation, but would also have worked tooth and nail against it, so that it could not gain its continuance. The bishop should well consider for himself how fine this would be for the church, how praiseworthy it would be for the clergy, and what reputation and praise it would win among the descendants. Finally, he asks and admonishes him: that he would prove himself manly in such a high and important matter, and as a bishop in work and in deed.

371 Letter from Bishop Adolph of Merseburg to the theologians of Leipzig, in which he informs them that the disputation is now not to take place.

and promises to see to it that the university is not harmed in any way. Jan. 31, 1519.

From Hofmann's Ref.-Gesch. der Stadt Leipzig, p. 72.

By the Grace of God Adolph, Bishop of Merseburg,
Prince of Anhalt.

Our greetings and favorable will beforehand, worthy and highly learned, dear devotees! We have received your letter, with avoidance, as that the illustrious Highborn Prince, Lord George of Saxony, our dear lord and uncle, Doctor Andreas and Eck 1) in his dear University of Leipzig to disputiren attributed, and you, to him such to favor, ordered, which you were not able to resist, therefore asking, not to heed to ungraciousness, also, according to our promise, to be helpful to get the lost Canonikat, and further content, read; and what we wrote to you before, on account of the disputation that Eck intends to do at the university in question, not to permit it, we did 2) out of special concern, and also because we were moved to do so; but that our lord and uncle should procure otherwise with you, we leave to his discretion. Furthermore, when you wrote to us on account of the canonry that you had been at our will with it, the university of our oversight has not progressed to any harm or disadvantage, and we have spoken with Ern Sebastian, Noble of Plote, our cathedral provost at Merseburg, if he has recently been here, and if he intends to come to us again in a short time, we want to take further action with him on account of the prebend, and talk to him; We will let you know in the best possible way what we achieve and obtain from him. We are inclined to show you favorable will. Given at Merseburg, Monday after Conversionis St. Pauli [Jan. 31] Anno 1519.

To the worthy and highly learned, Rector, Magistris and Doctors of the Leipzig High School, our dear devotees.

372 D. Eck's letter to Luther, in which he informs him of the permission he has received from Duke George and the university for the disputation and invites him again to Leipzig. Ingolstadt, 19 Feb. 1519.

1) So set by us instead of: "Andrea Eckio" in our template.

2) Here we have deleted "not" in our template, because it seems to us Wider den Zusammenhang zu sein.

This letter is found in Latin in the Jena edition (1579), tona. I, toi. 365 d; in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 283; in Seidemann, Leipziger Disputation, p. 127, supplement 19, after the original; in the Erlanger, opp. vur. urZ., tom. IV, p. 77 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 428. Latin and German in Hofmann's Ref.-Gesch. der Stadt Leipzig, p. 74.

Translated from Latin.

To the eminent theologian and philosopher Martin Luther, the famous man, full professor at Wittenberg, the Lord and Superior Ecks, Augustinian 3) at Wittenberg.

Hail in the Lord, and in Jesus' right mind! That the highly learned men of the University of Leipzig had refused the complaint to hear us, such was vehemently repugnant to me, and I did not know at all how I should advise the matter. But then Mr. Georg, Duke of Saxony 2c, my most gracious prince, at my request, acted with his university and brought it about that they finally consented; as I have received letters today, both from the most noble prince as well as from the university and faculty. I have therefore fixed the 27th day of June, 4) on which we will begin with the disputation, but on the preceding 26th day we want to compare notes in the theological faculty as to who is to be the opponent in the first battle. Since Carlstadt is your champion, but you are the most prominent, who, according to my small and poor understanding, has spread this false and erroneous doctrine throughout all of Germany, therefore it is fitting that you come there yourselves, and either defend your opinion, or overturn mine. But how I would like you to change your mind and obey the apostolic see in all things, to listen to Leo the Tenth as Christ's governor, and not to seek singularity, but to submit to the general opinion of the teachers, and to be sure that Christ would not have left his church in such error for 400 years (as you suppose). For you see from the disputation note that I have not set my propositions against Bodenstein as well as against your teachings. God be with you, dear Martin, and let us both pray that God may enlighten us. Given at Ingolstadt, February 19, in the 1519th year after the birth of the Virgin. Your most devoted corner. 5)

3) Instead of ".4.", we have indicated A. (JangeAugustinianus). taken. - Only Seidemann has this address.

4) in the letter to the faculty of February 19, which is found in Seidemann, I. 6. p. 127.

5) Luther sent this letter to Spalatin on March 13.

373 Luther's thoughts about this disputation, which was now to take place, opened to Joh.

See Appendix, No. 44, § 3.4.

Luther's report to Lang about what Tetzel is supposed to have said when he heard that the Leipzig disputation was to take place.

See Annex, No. 44, § 6.

The letter of Mosellanus to Erasmus of Rotterdam, in which he informs him of the upcoming disputation. January 6, 1519.

From Ildr. VI 6p!8t. LrMrni, p. 140, translated from the Basel edition in Frick's German Seckendorf, p. 201.

Translated by E. F.

Johann Eck, the most distinguished among the pen fencers and grand speakers, who, like that Socrates in Aristophanes, despises the gods themselves,

will engage in a disputation with Andreas Carlstadt, Archidiaconus in Wittenberg, for his life, that is, his Corollaria. The place of battle will be the theological auditorium; our mataeologi 1) have been appointed as arbiters; the day, however, has not yet been named. Both sides are making great preparations for this battle. One will bring the Augustinians; the other the Dominicans, who are always present when their interest is in need. People will flock from all places to witness this rare quarrel. It is a fine pair of Scotists who will fight. Shall I tell you beforehand how it will go? The affair will end with great clamor in a quarrel that is likely to be bloodier than the one so artfully described by the gentleman in his Esesino and Pacidiano. This will be the outcome. For I know well the heat of both. Ten democriti will get enough to laugh. I will report the course of events when it is otherwise deserved. In the meantime, I want to blow the whistle on these duelists with these words: Be wise, and remember the weapons of your knighthood. Jan. 6, 1519.

1) "Matäologi", useless chatterers, mockingly put instead of: Theologi.

The third section of the fifth chapter.

From the very solennen Actus of this world-famous Leipzig Disputation itself.

A. From the public speech given at the beginning of the same.

376 Speech by Petrus Mosellanus at the castle, on the proper way to debate theological matters, with which he opens the act, exhorting the disputants to modesty, love of truth, and respect for the Holy Scriptures, and that the convinced party should gladly recognize its error. June 27, 1519.

This speech has been specially printed by Melchior Lotther in Leipzig under the title: 1)6 rution6 di8putuudi, prue86rtim in rs ?6lri ND86Huni krot6MN8i8 orutio, Huurn illu8tri88ilni (lkorM, 8axonio.6 duem, prineixM 8ui, nornin6 in 1r6<in6Nti88imo illn8triurn aliquot 6t dooti88imorum koininuin oon

V6ntu d. 27. Innii anno 1519. dixit. Iüp8iu6 1519 in 4. Attached are two letters of Erasmus, one to Mosellanus, the other to Luther. Reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. ill, p. 567.

Translated from Latin.

From the way of disputing, especially in theological matters, of P. Mosellanus, Protegenfls, speech, which he held in the name of the most illustrious Duke George of Saxony in a large assembly of distinguished and learned people.

I. I do not wish at all, most noble princes and you other excellent men, however many and of what rank may be assembled here, that they should cheer me, one who is despondent at the beginning of this speech, by their benevolence, or listen to the speech of a young person with amazement (for I did not appear in such

This young person 1) quietly and attentively heard the most illustrious and most wise Prince George, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, speak, this our famous university all-mildest Mäcenas and protector, a hero who deserves an eternal memory; whose principality, armed with weapons and crew, endowed with all excellent arts and adorned with Christian manners, in short, in every respect in the highest flourish, may be preserved and protected until the end of this world, which will perish, by the prince of all princes, God, who alone is kind and wise, who alone is in truth the Most High, from whom all power comes, whether in heaven, where there is constant harmony without any tumult of war, or in this world, which, because it is in trouble, often deviates from its first image, the heavenly community, and thus plunges the human race into great misfortune. Our dearest father and prince tries to avert this evil from us and from our civil as well as our scholarly community to the best of his ability, and therefore does everything, tries everything, and makes it his utmost concern. And since he is interested in knowing what is going on publicly and particularly in his lands, and how it is due, he has instructed me that in the name of his Serene Highness I should not, of course, instruct you who have come together for this public doctrinal battle (since you are highly learned yourselves), but only remind you; not what reasons you should use against your adversaries, but how great modesty respectable theologians have to show in the holy business, who in a foreign country, under another prince, from the meek doctrine of JEsu Christ, the patient Lamb, in the intention to investigate the truth, raise a public dispute, and that not without great spite even of the great ones. But even though my age is still weak, my teaching somewhat young, and my eloquence not so ready that I can properly represent the person of such a great hero, I do not hope that my simple speech will take away anything, even the least, from the reputation of such a wise prince. For the simpler and more unaffected the speech is, the more clearly it reveals the prince's opinion.

and come closest to the truth. For, to my mind, Polinices says much more correctly and truthfully in the tragic poet: the speech of truth is simple and simple, that it would not be necessary for the interpreter to make many a circumlocution, as Hecuba, in another fable by the same poet, pompously says: that the reputation of the person also makes an unjust speech credible or valid. Yes, with common listeners who do not look at the reason as well as at the sound of pompous words, and who look more than is fair at the great being made in the trade than at the thing, what Hecuba says here may be true. But the prudent, on the other hand, looks not at who says something, but at what is said, and does not take the well-known word for an empty saying: Often also a lowly man (*olitor* == cabbage gardener) has spoken very well to the matter.

(2) But what is the use of using much worldly evidence in a holy matter? Since in the Gospel, the one who wants to come to the kingdom of heaven, that is, to Christianity, as the true theology, is absolutely denied all access, who does not become a child again, and shows this age, manner and manners in all simplicity. Samuel not only walks as a child in the house of the Lord, but is also chosen by divine call to be a prophet. And we young men, if we are born, not of the blood and will of a man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God and His promise, should be denied to do great things and (to speak so) to do things belonging to the ancients? Yes, Christ himself (which comes to my mind in passing, but at the right time), who wanted his whole life to serve as an example for us, did not spend this age in childish things, as usually happens, but, since he was barely twelve years old, out of eagerness for heavenly wisdom, He sat there quietly and calmly among the public teachers of wisdom, sometimes asking some of them meekly, sometimes answering others who asked him honestly. In this way, of course, he wanted to show by deed that no age of a truly Christian man is excluded from dealing with theology, indeed, that the Holy Spirit, as the only teacher of true wisdom, is nowhere more dear or his presence more visible than in the minds of simple-minded people who have not taken up wrong opinions and doctrines and whom no impurity of sin stains. For God, the Giver

1) In the preface to the above-mentioned single edition of this speech, which is addressed to Otto von Pack, it is reported that Mosellanus wrote out this speech by order of Duke George, which was to be delivered by a boy. Because it was very long, however, Otto von Pack was supposed to memorize and recite it. He became ill two days before the disputation, and so Mosellanus had to deliver it himself (Löscher, Vol. III, p. 579).

He does not count the years, but looks at the hearts. For he respects not gray hairs, but purity of soul. But if someone is so foolish that he only looks for eloquence, and expects painted words and artificial flowers from a simple young man who speaks of the most simple kind of teaching in the most respectable assembly of people, he would be just as foolish as if he asked for roses in the extreme winter cold and snow in the greatest summer heat. I think that I must also speak of the most simple teaching or wisdom of Christ in a simple way. For he is the best speaker among Christians who speaks only purely and without error, and seeks the greatest virtue of speech in the greatest clarity. Let us leave the rest to those who, with I know not what arts and wiles of words, impudently boast of making a great man who has nothing good to say, and of making a man who has better things to say the lesser. But where do I end up? My intention was to give you the order of the most illustrious prince. But I have forgotten myself and have spent a good part of the time talking about myself, so that one can see from this that what Aristotle said about the easy forgetfulness of children also applies to young men, so that one does not think that they have nothing blameworthy about them. If I have made a mistake in this, let it be attributed to my age. Having been instructed by this mistake, I will continue to follow my orders all the more carefully.

First of all, I ask you, you famous men and leaders of the cause on both sides, to consider to what extent you have grown from a small beginning, from what angle (that I say so) you have stepped into such a large arena, and what spark has ignited this great flame of disagreement. For the sharpness of your spirit, since it still rages with full force, will not converge to a doubtful outcome of the dispute, but since it has already been at each other from afar several times through the pen, as a shot arrow, and tested what could be promised, will now, as it were, bring everything to a main meeting in the vicinity, 1) and either defend the boundaries of their confession and faith with proper reasons from Scripture, or give up the field to the victorious enemy and, citing Scripture, make a retraction. One

first attacked the matter with mere short conclusions, which in a short time were miraculously spread throughout Germany, indeed, almost the whole of Christendom. Soon they began to trade in attack and protection writings. Since this was of no avail except that the booksellers benefited from it, one finally resorted to the weapons of a public disputation after both sides had agreed to it. This famous seat of studies seemed to be very suitable for the dispute of a final disputation to take place on it, as on a public battlefield. The parties turned to our most noble Prince George and asked him not to deny the place to a matter that aimed at common harmony. The most gracious prince gladly granted it. This day has been set aside for the dispute. There are here two universities, as they are called, namely the Ingolstadt and Wittenberg universities, almost the most distinguished lights, Johann Eck and Andreas Carlstadt, the field heirs of this war; 2) people who are highly famous because of their reputation and scholarship, each with his men of war. Here is the most illustrious prince of Pomerania, Barnim, at the time Rector of the Wittenberg School; probably quite Magnificus. There are high officials of our ducal court here, people who are both great by noble origin and outstanding by exceptional wisdom, who represent our absent most illustrious Prince George by their presence. Here is also the highly respectable Rector of this famous university of ours. You also see the high-born Prince George of Anhalt, a pupil of this school of ours, who is particularly distinguished. There are also at present the fathers of the University of Erfurt; people who are not only adorned with holy life and reputation, but have also attained the fame of a special scholarship. Yes, there are also other very learned people from elsewhere, each of whom has a famous name, all of whom have been lured from afar by such a rare battle. Our whole school is also present: theologians who, in addition to their great erudition, are also of great age. Jurists of special wisdom; physicians of deep insight and experience; philosophers who study nature with all diligence. There is a large number of studi-

2) Luther is not named here, for he came to Leipzig only "under the wing of Carlstadt," whose escort letter included those he would bring with him.

1) Instead of: äeeretabunt at Löscher will read äsesrtabnnt.

the youth are present, as well as the honorable council of this city. In short, all eyes are on you; everyone is sitting full of expectation as to how the dispute will proceed. To fulfill the expectations of these great princes, of so many noblemen, gentlemen and scholars, of so many old and young, this simple way is open, namely, that you, as the importance of the matter demands and as befits your own decency, treat the matter that has been started.

This will be done if you consider carefully, first, what it is that the common people call disputing; second, what it is in theological matters, that is, disputing about God and divine things, and to what extent such disputing is advisable and permissible both according to respectability and according to the most holy examples of men. For this is not right disputing, as those who are a rabble of disputants think, when one, just to show one's wit, seizes every occasion for false accusations, shouts loudly when one misleads the poor adversary with contrived conclusions; when one stamps with anger, when one absolutely wants to be right, and shows that one is full of hatred toward one another (which, God grant it, should not take place at all in the schools of Christians), but when, out of mere eagerness to learn, one considers one's own with others, and does not trust one's wit to everything, but rather wants to listen to another's opinion gently and calmly, and takes it as it should be taken, even if one has taken it rightly, accepts it with pleasure if it is halfway tolerable and good, and rejoices, as it were, in the gain, and would rather recognize that one is a little late in arriving at the truth than that one always wants to err. If, however, it is too clumsy to be accepted as true in view of the circumstances, it must be refuted with clear causes and the error denounced, and all this without anger, without boasting or reviling in a spiteful way; so that one need not give a suspicion anywhere as if one wanted to revile, but show everywhere that one holds Christian love in honor on both sides. He who does not go thus to dispute is not a philosopher, but a philonicos or rightist; not a disputant, but a brawler; not an investigator of truth, but a teacher of error and discord. If we also praise this modest and friendly way of disputing in the pagans, since some of them have given a good example in it, it would be not only shameful but also dangerous for you, men of high value, to use the same in the Christian world.

It is not possible to lack the kind of humility that stands at the bottom of modesty, as it were, and rises through all the levels of virtue to the summit of cordial love between one another. Among the rabble, which tends to be very far from perfection, such quarrelsomeness would not bring so much common harm; but that such evil should be seen tearing at the noblest leaders of the Christian community, the theologians, is almost unforgivable. If the salt becomes tasteless, with what will we wretches be folded against the rottenness of vice? When our light becomes dim, who will illuminate us who stumble around in this darkness of the world?

God's nature, with which the whole of theology has to do, has so contracted into its widest confines, and has so departed from the light of human understanding into quiet and dark solitude, that even no angelic understanding can see through it as it is now, with all its sharpness, that therefore he who has rightly been called a theologian has rightly said: no one can express God and God's nature rightly, let alone reach them with his thoughts or words. Paul, the prince among the apostles, whom Christ chose as his instrument, and who was worthy to be admitted to the mysteries of the third heaven, when he stalled over the explanation of the mysteries, did not so quickly blurt out what occurred to him, but recognized the human weakness and the inexpressible difficulty of the matter, and exclaimed [Rom. 11:33, 34]: "O what a depth of riches, both of wisdom and of knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are his judgments and his ways inscrutable! For who hath discerned the mind of the LORD, or who hath been his counselor?" And we poor people, who are not worthy to untie the apostle's laces, are subject to all things, decide everything brazenly, and would rather let go of a paternal inheritance, even of life, than of our preconceived opinion.

But someone might say: Moses talked with God face to face. I admit that; but he alone, and only on the seventh day, after he had purified himself for a whole six days and then rested from this work of his. And yet it would not have happened, whether he had purified himself for so many days, if God had not lowered himself from the invisible tent of his glory, which he had prepared for himself on high, to the mountain of human reason, which is still nebulous. But what use has such a conversation been to him?

brought? Certainly this one, that he boasts to have seen only God's back [Ex. 33, 23. He is sure of this, that he boasts to have seen only God's back [Exodus 33:23], namely the most glorious glory of God, as it shines forth in the marvelous construction of this world, while Aaron, although high priest, and other chosen elders of the people, heard the sound of God's voice only from afar, and the people, who had not yet given up the dominion of the emotions, were kept far down from the mountain, that is, from touching the heavenly wisdom. For (so Gregorius says) not everyone can attain exact knowledge of God (*φιλοσοφείν*). It is not such a small thing that she let herself be acted upon by those who crawl on the earth and obey the belly like cattle. She kisses only those with her kiss, lets only those into her closed garden, this queen of all sciences, theology, the quite beautiful virgin, who is not sullied with any stain of human error, who is chosen among many thousands, like that spiritual bridegroom, who, like that spiritual bridegroom, has previously washed the feet of her body, which always resists the spirit, from all filthiness of vicious inclinations with the milk of purity and simplicity, and whose head has been moistened with the dew of heavenly grace at night through the silence of the soul. If Paul, such an excellent apostle, if Moses, the leader of the faithful people, with the highest peace of mind, was allowed to worship more than to look at, to admire more than to expound traces of divine wisdom, how can we think that the right understanding of the Scriptures will not be lost from us, if we on both sides, with bitter tempers and mad cries, confuse everything and argue as if it concerned life and limb? No sensible and intelligent man will like to be at a 'gasterei, where one with the cups dedicated to joy (as Flaccus says), like the Thracians, drives at each other to wounds and blows. And do we think that the peaceable spirit of Jesus Christ will come to such a disputation, which shoots the arrows of sophistical intrigues full of deadly poison against each other?

(7) But let no one think that for this reason I entirely reject ordinary disputation, which is generally accepted, or that one cannot sometimes usefully dispute even in theological matters; but let us remember that when similar disputes arise out of human frailty, one must in such cases be careful.

The first is that we must always keep things in moderation, and that there are certain limits beyond which we cannot go without violating theological decency. For if we believe Paul [1 Cor. 11:19], there must always be divisions in Christendom, either because each has his own opinion, or so that from such a comparison it will be clearer which opinion comes closest to the same life-giving spirit. For we must indeed debate, but to the end that, when we act as Christians with Christians, the ineffable Trinity and the main articles of faith, as the foundation of the theological confession, are not called into doubt and publicly put at stake. But when we are dealing with people who do not accept Christ's teaching, everything must be done in such a way that it does not seem as if we want to win more with deceitful eloquence and fancy words than with the example of a good life and glorious miracles.

(8) Since we have many examples of both kinds, let us leave it at this time to pick out a few special ones from the colorful meadow of Scripture. The apostle Paul (that I speak of the last part first) attacked the Gentiles at Corinth, who were armed with the weapons of Greek worldly wisdom, not with words of human wisdom and eloquence, but with proof of the Spirit and the power of God, that the building of the Christian faith was not based on human wisdom, but on God's power [1 Cor. 2:4, 5]. With these final speeches, which are not taken from Aristotle's *Organon*, the teacher of the pagans refuted barbaric superstitions of so many pagans, yes, Athens itself, the inventor of such sciences, and brought them to the faith of Christ. These are the weapons of our knighthood, not carnal, but mighty before God, by which one can disturb the counsels of the ungodly, and all fortifications that rise up against the knowledge of God, and take captive to the obedience of Christ all reasoning of the adversaries [2 Cor. 10, 4, 5.] For all Scripture, inspired by God, is useful for teaching, for punishment, for correction, for chastening, so that the man of God may be sent to all divine work [2 Tim. 3, 16, 17.]. For I have never been satisfied with those who hold that to refute the errors of unbelievers, the futile subtleties of the worldly wise do more than the powerful simplicity of evangelical doctrine, since (apart from the prophetic spirit threatening to destroy the wisdom of the

1) This non, which is missing in Löscher, has already been suitably added by the *Alte* translator.

(In the same way, nothing can be asserted by human reasons that cannot also be overturned by the same reasons. But who will dare to brazenly resist the sayings of eternal wisdom, if there is holy life in it? Shall I make this clearer with an image from ancient theology? The Israelite people fought against seven vicious nations, namely the Cananites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Gergesites, Hivites and Jebusites; but who was their commander? A Pharaoh, a prince of Egyptian wisdom? Not at all. Who then? Moses, that is, the almighty God's law. And yet, even so, it would not have triumphed if he had not prayed for and obtained the assistance of the clear mind with raised hands from God. And when he lowered his hands, Israel was overcome [Ex. 17:11]. For the mind of the secret Scripture must not be twisted according to human desires, but must be solicited from the fountain of all good, the Holy Spirit, with godly supplication. David also fought as a boy against a stranger, namely Goliath, who defied human strength, but after he had first thrown away the proud Saul's weapons, which he had made man's art, with which he had clothed himself before in vain and had felt more burden than benefit from it. Afterwards he looked for five stones from the brook of secret writing, with which he finally knocked down the enemy, after he had hit him violently on the forehead [1 Sam. 17, 38. ff].

9 And would God that we would be moved by such examples to trust only in the weapons of divine wisdom today, and not prefer them to most of the reasons of human worldly wisdom, or not use them so excessively in theological matters! because many, and perhaps even rightly, think that from such presumption, as from a seed, arise all questions and disputes about words, about which the red spirits are quite mad, and which Paul so often commanded to avoid.

(10) But how? (one will say) are not the pagans also to be refuted by pagan reasons and to be beaten as it were with their own sword? Did not Basil also read pagan writers and command others to read them? Answer: He certainly did; but he also attributes the cruel destruction of the Arian heresies to the teachings that come from outside. Jerome also placed almost too much emphasis on pagan writings.

and allows others to read them in a letter to Magnus the orator. Nevertheless, he also testifies that the philosophers were rightly called patriarchs of heretics, and that the Pelagian heresy came entirely from them; that therefore one can see from these various judgments how dangerous it is if one does not keep moderation in the application of the external sciences. It seems to me that after Paul, whom we must regard as the best model in all theology, the Greeks are the most thoughtful and careful in this, especially Origen, Basil, Gregory, Athanasius and Chrysostom. For the Latins, especially the newer ones, do not keep their beloved captive [maid or slave] so pure, and do not cut her nails so precisely, that she cannot be recognized as a stranger among the maids of the queen, Wisdom. And if it is to be provided on one side, then I would rather be satisfied with the evangelical doctrine of simplicity, and dispense with the external sciences, than go too far over the mark, and almost be suspected of paganism.

(11) In any case, from what we have said, it will be sufficiently seen how Christians must deal with unbelievers. Now we must likewise show by some examples how Christians are to proceed in their disputes. First of all, Peter and Paul, the princes of one and the same religion, had different opinions, but only in observance of the ceremonies; yet so modestly and amiably that after the free punishment with which Paul, as he testifies, resisted Peter to his face [Gal. 2:11.], nevertheless no enmity grew out of it, and no tragedy, because of the error committed, was offered by a public spectacle. Therefore Augustine also took occasion to think differently of it than Jerome. But how they were not at all angry against each other because of this or how they went out (although both of them had a very hot spirit, the one because of fresh youth, which also included the episcopal reputation; the other because of his natural fire and good conscience), is shown by their mutual letters, which are full of love and reverence for each other. And since they got to know each other on this occasion (for they never saw each other with their eyes), they subsequently helped to promote the common good of the church unanimously and diligently, setting aside all differences.

12) So also among the Greeks, Gregory and Basil, two lights of the Oriental world

The two brothers and sisters of the Church, although they sometimes, though very seldom, had different opinions, nevertheless cultivated their friendship, which was finally interrupted by the death of one of them, with great zeal. How gently, and even how lovingly, they try to completely dissuade the highly restless defenders of the Arian heresy from their harmful error, since they soon call them brothers, soon honestly show how they have gradually, as it were step by step, fallen into such an abyss of error through foreign philosophy, and how they could much more easily return to the confession of truth!

And lest it appear that I do not gratefully recognize the blessedness of these times, the great prince of learning Erasmus and Jakob Faber, *Stapulensis*, disagreed so much in the interpretation of the Psalms that one attacked the other by name. But how Christian Erasmus answered to this, all know, who have read his beautiful responsibility writing. For since the honest man was so cornered that he either had to be called ungodly or had to quarrel publicly with a great, famous friend, he preferred to answer the reproached than to give many thousands of people cause to think ill of him. To think evil of him. However, he acts so wisely and conscientiously that, since he partly refutes the accusation, partly excuses it, and in turn also forcedly punishes one and the other in the adversary, he still does not injure his honor with a single word, or forgets brotherly love. Therefore, Faber would not be praiseworthy if he did not acknowledge such kindness and started the quarrel again. We do not believe that he would be guilty of such a learned and godly man.

Let such examples serve as a model for you. Let your fight be arranged in such a way that you look at them. Take great care not to overpower the other with quarrelsome shouting, to make him laugh as an ignorant man, so that he only wins and is praised by the mob for it, so that he returns to his own with honor, but that he presents his reasons from the holy scriptures with all composure. He should present his reasons, which he puts forward from the sanctity of Scripture, with all composure and allow them to be judged, so that one seeks to preserve the other's honest name and finally either saves the adversary from his error through obvious truth, or willingly surrenders to the truth shown to him and allows himself to be guided. Otherwise, if you only quarrel, what is the big difference between a

and a blood-shedding swordsman? There is no difference, except that in the case of the former it is a matter of life, but the latter fights for the most vain glory of the name with even more vain clamor. Yes, we hear that some are even so daring that they also pride themselves on defending their antics so stiff-necked that they even want to take a chance on whether they should also burn over it; while no prudent man will praise such an example. At least neither the princes of the theologians, the apostles, prescribed this, nor did the highest teachers of ancient theology among the Greeks and Latins hold it so. For the fact that very many of them gave their necks into the ungodly hands of the executioners for Christ and for the faith of the Gospel, I do not believe that it would be interpreted as these pompous battles of conflicting Christians.

What else can we expect from our doctrinal battles, if they are healthy, than that we help each other according to the rule of love? In this kind of struggle, what is to be victorious but to bring back a brother from the error that often settles in us under the pretense of truth? and not to put the lamp of the mind lit by God under a bushel, but on the lampstand, so that it may shine for all in the house of God? But what does it mean to be overcome, but to come out of the error into which human infirmity has led us, back onto the path of truth, and to be brought back into the fold of the eternal Shepherd as a lost sheep that has been snatched from the jaws of the wolf? so that one should almost rather desire to be overcome than to overcome, because the one who overcomes does not share his but God's gift with others (for what do we have that we have not received?), whereas the one who is overcome receives the light of truth, which enlightens all men who come into this world, and thus becomes better than he was. It is more praiseworthy to teach others, but to be taught is more useful.

(16) No one should be ashamed to confess his error, but the wise should confess that a good part of wisdom lies in it. For what is it to know oneself (which word is said to have come from heaven, as the ancients believed) but to take one's frailty to heart, and to recognize that good and evil are mixed together among men? especially since all men are like that. Yes, the more a man imagines himself to know, the more he knows.

He is subject to greater and more serious errors. "For we all err manifoldly," says Jacobus [Cap. 3, 2.], "He that lacketh in no word is a perfect man." GOD alone is truthful, but all men are liars. The pagan Socrates is praised by Plato for preferring to be overcome in debate rather than to overcome others. And we Christians, confessors of holy humility, should think that we would lose our name and honor if we let ourselves be led to the truth by others from time to time? On the other hand, the books of Chrysippus, because they contained so much sophist wit and boasting, were burned by public order of the Athenians. And yet, does anyone prefer to imitate the pile-driving of this man rather than the praised humility of Socrates?

Therefore, dear theologians, in theological matters also act theologically! Deal with holy things in a holy way. Think that you are stepping onto the battlefield before the all-seeing eyes of God, and that the whole heavenly host is watching this battle. Think in what a place, before what judges and witnesses, and with what expectation of the whole Christendom you are going to this battle. Everything requires the highest modesty: the high command of our most handsome prince, the reverence owed to these princes here, so many great ones from the court, so many university teachers, so many old and young, in short, the judgment of the whole world. Nothing can be more pleasing to all of them than that Christian peace and harmony should grow out of this quarrel, and nothing more repugnant than that your quarrel should, through obstinacy, seem to have become a drinking bout of drunken men. If I have spoken a bit seriously in some parts, I ask you not to take it amiss. For I have not spoken what seemed good to me, but to my most gracious prince.

B. The actual act of the disputation that took place.

The acts transcribed during the disputation itself and published soon after with a preface, which are reprinted here in their entirety because of their importance. Probably published in December 1519.

Eck arrived there for the disputation in Leipzig on June 22, the Wittenbergers on June 24. On Sunday, June 26, Eck and Carlstadt agreed on the rules according to which the fight should be conducted:

"Namely, that Doctor Eck shall first oppose the Conclusions Doctoris Carlstadt, as much as he will ascribe to him the evening before, then Doctor Carlstadt shall respond, and the following day Doctor Carlstadt shall oppose Doctoris Eck's Conclusions, as he will also ascribe to him the evening before, then Doctor Eck shall respond, and thus continue to proceed one day after the other until the end of the disputation." Furthermore, it was decided that the mutual arguments and solutions be transcribed by four notaries and compared at the end of the disputation. Also, a copy was to be given to each party, but with the condition that the acts should not be published before the judge's decision was received. Luther could not take part in the disputation without the permission of Duke George. Eck, who was burning with desire to compete with Luther, provided him with this permission. Therefore, Luther did not sign the agreement between Eck and Carlstadt until July 4, with the reservation that his appeal to a council would remain justified and that the Curia would not have to pronounce judgment on the disputation. The disputation lasted from June 27 to July 15, with the disputation between Eck and Luther lasting from July 4 to 14. Already on July 14 they united about the arbitration court. For Carlstadt and Eck the University of Erfurt was chosen, for Luther and Eck the Universities of Paris and Erfurt. The latter refused the arbitral office, Paris made its judgement only later.

Before a verdict had been pronounced, the acts of the Leipzig disputation appeared in December 1519 under the title: "Disputatio excellentium .D. doctoru Iohannis Eccij & Andreae Carolostadij q cepta est Lipsiae XXVII. Iulij. An. M.D.XIX Disputatio secunda .D. Doctoru Iohannis Eccij & Andreae Carolostadij q cepit XV. [sic] Iulij. Disputatio eiusdem .D. Iohannis Eccij & D. Martini Lutheri Augustiniani q cepit .IIII. Iulij. Without place and time. 62 leaves in quarto. In his "Leipzig Disputation" p. 74, Seidemann referred to Luther's words in his letter to Johann Lang in Erfurt: "See to it that we get the printed disputations as soon as possible" to the above-mentioned printing, and also expressed the assumption that the acts were printed in Erfurt. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Luther's friend Lang, who was present at the disputation, would also have been the editor, who describes himself in the preface as a listener. Lang could easily obtain a copy of the copy sent there through his connection with the university. He was also not bound by any promise that would have prevented him from publishing it. In October 1519, Duke George sent a certified copy of the notaries' notes to Paris, and around the same time one will have reached Erfurt.

These acts are printed in their entirety only in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 292, with the use of a manuscript which had been made available to him "from the Freybergische LidliotlieeÄ xudliou", of which he assumes that it "was produced at the Acta Disputationik itself". However, according to the exact correspondence with the above print, it can be assumed that it is also based on the notarial transcripts. Walch says, without further proof, that "such manuscripts can also be found in other libraries," to which the Weimar edition remarks: "We have not come across any such manuscripts. In the complete editions of Luther's works, the ver-

Acts between Eck and Carlstadt omitted; those between Eck and Luther are found in the Latin Wittenberger (1550), torn. I, fol. 242d; in the Jena (1579), tom. I, fol. 228; in the Erlanger, opx. var. arZ., tom. III, p. 23, "everywhere full of errors" (says the Weim. Ausgabe, which Löscher noted before it about the two old editions), and in the Weimar edition, vol. II, p. 250. The latter also brings only the disputation between Eck and Luther, but has printed the editor's preface in the introduction, p. 252, and Carlstadt's and Eck's protestations as a note, p. 254. German only in Walch, and that according to Löscher. We have revised the disputations between Eck and Carlstadt according to Löscher; the disputation between Eck and Luther has been retranslated according to Weimar. The correct chronological order of the disputations, which was altered in the original print, has been restored by Löscher according to his manuscript; we have followed him in this, as has Walch.

Translated into German.

The disputation of the excellent Doctors Eck and Andreas Carlstadt, which took place on June 27, 1519.

To the reader.

You have here, dear reader, whoever you are, the famous disputation which we saw and heard in Leipzig, held between the excellent men, D. Johann Eck, Andreas Carlstadt and Martin Luther. Some will perhaps be reluctant to see it published; others, however, will even condemn it for being printed, because both parties are said to have expressly agreed that such disputations would not be disseminated in any way. But do not turn to such speeches, my reader! For if they had really wanted this sea and this immense heap of words to be kept secret, they would not have allowed anyone to catch and copy it at will before everyone's eyes. 1) For since more than thirty copies have been copied there and distributed everywhere among half the world, it is clear enough that they wanted to let it all come to the people; unless they only wanted to bind copies of the notaries (who were specially appointed for this) to these laws. We have seen to it that we would also like to create some benefit for the godly reader. There is much in it that we did not know before, or did not dare to know. If this turns out well, then those who are concerned with the matter may look on,

1) Löscher reports that apart from the notaries "otherwise probably thirty private persons have copied for themselves". The following is correct; perhaps Löscher has taken it from it.

what truth will come out of it. At least one hopes that some freedom will grow out of it, so that one will speak and hear about church matters and Christianity more confidently and joyfully. Although there is much in this great heap that does not rhyme with the matter, we have not done anything about it, but have wanted to tell everything completely according to the bare truth, as it has been spoken and has happened. Furthermore, since we know and think well what we have to do here, we cannot give or take anything away from either part, nor can we get involved in a judgment that will engage or avert the reader's mind. We therefore leave everything to the judgment of each. Since this will undoubtedly be various, we wish that the best may apply, for the praise of God and the common benefit of Christianity. Fare well, godly reader, and read with a godly mind what we present to you in the same way; this you will do if you interpret our effort for the best.

The 27th of June at 2 o'clock, 1519.

Carlstadt's protest by a responder to his side.

First of all, we testify and make it known everywhere that we do not want to deviate from the Catholic Church one finger's breadth, and if something of this kind is found, we want it to be regarded as something that escaped us out of human weakness, without having meant it intentionally, and that it should therefore be considered as good as revoked. We do not take anything away from the scholars' judgment, nor do we want to deprive the public schools of their authority and reputation. Everyone may be free in his judgment, if only he does not blindly follow the Scriptures, but acts completely. But to the holy Scriptures we give the honor of neither setting nor accepting anything without them; in other matters, however, which cannot be clearly taught from them, we leave the supreme place to the church teachers alone, and do not depart from them. Which we have sufficiently testified in the letter to D. Eck, 2) which thus reads: "If I do not have the most holy Father in Christ" 2c., and testify to it again here, as before.

Eck's Protestation.

He called for help.

I testify in theological honesty: How I made this effort for the praise of God, the glory of the churches,

2) This is Document No. 364.

If I have taken upon myself the salvation of souls and the explanation of truth, I do not intend to say or teach anything that is either against the Holy Scriptures or against the Holy Mother, the Church. I am ready to be instructed and corrected by the apostolic see and by those to whose judgment, after yesterday's settlement, we want to submit this disputation of ours: which I testify, as above.

Eck laughed. 1)

Since one of the main topics of our argument is in the eleventh proposition 2), where this matter is dealt with: how free will behaves in a good and meritorious work, on which other preceding and subsequent things depend, I will prove that this is in accordance with the holy Scriptures, the holy fathers of the Christian faith: That the free will, the human will, has an active Causality, and the power to work out and produce the meritorious work, without excluding the grace and spiritual help of God; so much so, that the contrast is so much clear as to harbor Manichaeism error.

And for this I first of all quote the text of the holy scripture, which has already been mentioned in the "defense" in the ninth conclusion 3), from Sir. 15,14. ff.: "God has created man from the beginning and left him in the hand of his counsel, he has given him commandments and laws. If thou wilt keep the commandments (si voluerissi volueris), they shall preserve thee, and keep the good faith for ever. 4) He has set before thee water and fire; reach for whichever thou wilt. It is before man life and death, good and evil, whatsoever he pleases, that shall be given him. And because many is the wisdom of God, and strong in might, who looketh on all without ceasing" 2c. Here the wise man expressly gives to free will, if one considers the words: "If thou wilt" correctly, the power which we have explained, and interprets such that it is a choice or a will which is worked out or brought forth by free will. And against this, nothing is valid that the Doctor says in his "defense" 5) against it: I would have the knot and the dissolution to-

1) This is not in the manuscript (eraser). - It will probably be in print.

2) Carlstadt's series of theses, St. Louis edition, Vol. XVIII, 716 f. The correct number is in the manuscript, in print it is: "14."

3) See Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 689. Eck's "Monomachie" or "Vertheidigung" is contained in Carlstadt's writing there in its entirety.

4) Instead of facere in the Vulgate, Eck has: 86I-VÄI-6.

5) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 690.

I have added a passage from Scripture that would be contrary to my opinion, because the wise man speaks of man as he was created in the beginning, and Scripture says that God created man righteous; if righteous, then also with the first grace. This evasion, I say, does not nullify my testimony. For although the wise man remembers man as he was first created, no one need think that the wise man addressed Adam only after so many hundred years and wanted to say, "If you will keep the commandment," 2c., but rather that he addressed the then present and the future men, which is indicated by the words at the end, "Who without ceasing sees all," 2c. Then also St. Jerome in his letter to the Virgin Demetrias, right after the beginning, refers to this saying of the wise man for the people of his time. Not to mention that the opinion of the holy fathers makes no great difference between the beginning of the free will and its continuation, except that at the beginning it was completely unharmed and perfect, but in the further course it was wounded by the stains of sin (as St. Ambrose speaks of the profession of the heathen), and became limping, according to Augustine in the third book *hypognosticon* against Pelagius. Which Bernhardus de lib. ard., in my edition Columnne 8, testifies quite clearly: Adam, he says, undoubtedly kept the freedom of the will both after and before sin always unchanged; and in the following Columnne: The will still remains, as in good, so also in evil, in the same way. This is more clearly stated by St. Jerome in the third book against the Pelagians, where Atticus says to Critobolus: "This is what I had said from the beginning, that it is in our power to sin or not to sin, and to take the good or the evil, that the free will remains (but he limits it at the end): but according to the nature and time and condition of human frailty.

Carlstadt's response.

The testimony of the wise man Cap. 15,14. ff. is about the first man and the whole human race; because according to the apostle, sin entered through one man to all men. As sin entered through one man, so would righteousness have been imparted to the whole human race if the first man had remained in rightness and innocence, so that he had been created, and each had been free to stretch out his hand for good or evil;

as the text clearly says. He says: "He formed man from the beginning and made him righteous"; and then follows: "has left him in the hand of his counsel". For grace rules the hand and stretches it out. Just as Paul also says: that those who are children of God are driven by the Holy Spirit. And John in his canonical epistle says: "Everyone who does right is born of God."

Secondly, I wonder that the excellent Doctor distinguishes the times by the Holy Spirit, as far as truth and righteousness are concerned, as if the Holy Spirit speaks truth at one time, which he overturns at another; and I refer to what has been said before.

To Bernhard I answer: that his testimony does not serve the cause, because the thesis speaks of freedom from sin, but the testimony cited by the doctor speaks of freedom in willing (*volitionibus*). And that this is so, Bernhard's words read thus: But he has lapsed from not being able to sin, into not being able to do otherwise than sin.

The words of Augustine, when he cites this saying: "God has man from the beginning," 2c., thus read: This is the first grace, by which the first man could have stood, if he had wanted to keep the commandments of the Lord. This he has now lost, since man has been corrupted by his disobedience, and has become a prisoner through the righteous judgment of the serpent, that is, of the devil (whom he preferred to obey rather than God); therefore it is written: "By whomsoever a man is overcome, that man's servant is he," 2 Pet. 2, 19, and again: "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin," 2c. [John 8:34.]

To Jerome I say that Jerome was never so ignorant of Scripture as to think that fallen man could avoid sin without grace. Rather he argues with all his might against the Pelagians and proves that good works, good merits are not in man's power. 1)

On Ambrose I say that Ambrose lib. 1, 2. says: The free will without grace, or the will itself, is uncertain, wandering and changeable, which can do nothing of itself that is pleasing to God, just as the church already sang: *Sine tuo numine nihil est in homine, nihil est innoxium*, i.e., the will of a man is not in his own right.

1) In the manuscript it says in the margin: Eck said: if he had read in the theologians, he would not have said it. But in the print: Thereupon 2c.: he had read it ages ago.

Without the grace of the Holy Spirit, nothing can be done that is pleasing and acceptable to God, but everything he does is harmful.

Eck denies it, and replies.

First of all, when the wise man speaks of the first man and through him to the whole human race, I have what I want, namely of what kind free will is in us. This serves the first purpose.

Concerning the other, that the Holy Spirit does not have different truths according to different times: I deny this with regard to the reminders, commandments and orders, and say that God has given different, even repugnant, commandments according to the times, as when he ordered circumcision in the Old Testament as necessary, but in the time of grace the apostle cried out, "If ye be circumcised, Christ is of no use to you." So this word [Sir. 15,14. ff.] is a reminder, which the wise man could not address to the dead for any benefit, just as this commandment of the Lord: "Go into all the world and preach" 2c. did not apply to the dead.

Thirdly, what the erudite doctor has further cited in his defense does not serve the cause at all. For I have not cited the saying of the sage that free will can do something good without grace, which was the damned heresy of the Pelagians. For in this I gladly agree with him, as a Christian who firmly holds to the Christian faith; but this was our matter, and about this we argued, that free will, our rational power, which is assisted by grace, should not be cheated of its natural working and good-producing virtue; that is to say, that the will should not behave merely sufferingly toward the good, and that free will after sin should be nothing but a mere sound of words, but rather should cooperate when God helps with His grace. And this is the purpose of the text in the holy Gospel Matth. 25, 20, where the servant says: "Lord, you have given me five pounds; behold, I have gained five more." For if free will were merely suffering for the good, the servant would have thanked God and rightly confessed that he had received ten. But since he had received five from God as a gift, and since he had acquired five through his merits and the cooperating grace of God, he confesses in general, without hope, that he had gained five more. For St. Hilarius also testifies that through these pounds the merits of the righteous are understood.

Furthermore, I have not quoted Augustine or Ambrose as if I understood the scriptural passage from said passages in such a way that free will was entirely the cause, but I only wanted to show from the meaning of Bernard, Jerome, Augustine and Ambrose, how the holy fathers unanimously held that free will was not a mere empty name after the fall, but remained unchanged, although wounded according to Ambrose, limping according to Augustine, and to be respected according to the measure of human frailty, according to Jerome. For this also pleases me: that free will without grace can do nothing that is pleasing or pleasing to God.

Carlstadt's response.

At first, when the doctor says that he has what he wants from my answer, I say no to it.

On the other hand, since the excellent Doctor cites some testimonies by which he wants to show that the Holy Spirit or the truth of the Holy Spirit has been changed by time, as the commandment of circumcision 2c., I say that it is another when remedies are changed that were prescribed against diseases; another that the truth itself perishes. For this is still true today, that the circumcision of the fathers was valid. Therefore this contradiction is brought forward without good judgment.

Thirdly, I say that this saying does not prove that man, having obtained grace, still has a special natural efficacy that is distinct from grace. For the saying of the five pounds is not contrary to this, although from the outward appearance it has the appearance of benefiting the Lord Doctor, but according to the right view the word of that servant, if he has spoken rightly, must be understood in this way: Not I have gained, but the grace of GOD which is with me; as Paul says, "I have labored more than all, not I, but the grace of GOD which is with me." And so similar testimonies must be understood. For what in one place does not stand at the same time with, is not therefore denied. But what is doubtful must be decided from clear testimonies. Therefore, it does us little harm what the doctor has cited against us in this case in the third place.

Finally, when he says that free will has not the empty name, but also the thing, I answer: He makes the right freedom, who is truly free, namely Christ our Lord.

Fourthly, I say that both Augustine and Ambrose say that the good merits are entirely God's, and not partly ours, according to the activity, but that they become ours through the bestowal of grace.

Eck's rebuttal:

In the first place, that you have said, No, or, I deny it, I could also deny it, but that is not enough.

On the other hand, that this answer does not invalidate my assertion. For I have not said that a truth becomes a falsehood, but that the exhortation [Sir. 15] which the wise man made does not apply to the dead, in whom it would be of no use. Rather, I want it to be, have been, and will remain a theological truth, explaining how God has left man in the hands of His counsel for good and evil.

Thirdly, I say that such an answer does not sound well in my ears, I do not know what others judge about it, that one speaks so doubtfully, whether that servant has spoken well or not; since the Lord praises him and says, "Enter into the joy of your Lord!" Likewise, that his scholarship confesses that the testimony given is in appearance for me, but not in fact, which it has so declared: Here are five other pounds, which I have not gained, but the grace of God, which is with me: so I leave such explanation of the affirmative words by the negative, but am still satisfied with the interpretation, because the servant, whom the Lord praises, will undoubtedly have had the same humility with the apostle. In the meantime, my intention also benefits from such a core and interpretation: for if the grace of God has won with that servant, then one can easily see both of them working; which first of all can be seen from the little word ["with"], which expresses the fellowship. For he who disputes with me, disputes he? and he who works with me, does he work or not? For the rest, St. Jerome took this apostolic saying in just this sense. For he says of the same words, 1 Cor. 15:10, "I have labored more," that is, neither he without grace labored in the gospel, so that he did not add to what he had said before, nor grace without him, so that he retained free will and kept his dignity; by which he evidently testifies, and the Scriptures clearly declare, that both grace and the apostle labored.

Therefore, free will is not deprived of its effectiveness.

Eck said that he would answer the fourth one the next day because the time had passed. Carlstadt added: For the same reason he had left out the testimonies that were not yet brought forward from the Scriptures, because the next day it would be his turn to prove. 1) But Eck answered: he would have lost if he did not answer.

The 38th of June early at 7 o'clock.

Doctor Eck lets it happen that Carlstadt answers.

Carlstadt's response.

To the first I answer no, and point the reader to what has already been said before.

But that V. Eck makes so much of the passage Sir. 15,14. ff.: "If you will keep the commandments" 2c., Augustine answers it quite nicely *de gratia et lib. arb.* C. 15: By grace (he says) becomes so great a will that he can keep the divine commandments which he wills; for to this belongs what is written, "If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments," 2c. Then the same Augustine says: "The same one who said, "If you will, you will keep the commandments" says in the same book Cap. 22:33: "O that I had a lock upon my mouth, and a seal upon my lips, that I should not fall thereby, and that my tongue should not corrupt me." Now if this be true, "If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments"; why then doth he require a lock for his mouth? And further on, the same Augustine says, "If thou wilt, thou shalt keep the commandments." It is certain that we keep the commandments if we will, but because the will is prepared by the Lord, we must ask it of Him that we will as much as is necessary that we may do by will. It is certain that we will when we will, but he makes us will good things, of whom it is written, "By the Lord his course is directed, and so he wills his way," Ps. 37:23. "He that worketh in us both to will and to do according to his good pleasure," Phil. 2:13. Therefore see the Lord. Therefore, since God bestows both the good will and the good work, see to it that he does not overthrow the free will by an evil interpretation of the Scriptures, and that he does not put into the hearts of ignorant people, who are not well versed in the law of God, a pompous hope instead of theological science.

For I say this, that Christ came to rescue from the devil's jaws the free will that was his slave; for for this reason Christ, who knows no sin, was made sin for us, that in him we might have righteousness in God, as Paul says in 2 Cor. 5:21. Because free will cannot do righteousness unless Christ first takes on the sins of the free will and transfers it into the kingdom of light, that Christ alone may be righteous in the pious, just in the justified, sanctification in the sanctified, and redemption in the redeemed, so that no one may seek his glory, as Paul writes 1 Cor. 1:30: "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who is made unto us of God wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption: that, as it is written, he that will boast may boast in the Lord," as Jeremiah says. This is the right science of theologians, knowing nothing but Christ's power and our weakness. For power becomes mighty in weakness, and grace alone is sufficient for us, 2 Cor. 12:9.

The last testimony: "If you want", does not have the shadow of the Sacrament that has ceased.

On the other hand, as far as the change of truths is concerned, I say that the doctor is seeking deviations and wants to drag me elsewhere so that he can secretly hide himself and his cause. For I have said enough that grace extends the hand of our council for good, but he always brings me the same words again without further testimony.

Thirdly, when the excellent doctor says that he does not like and that it sounds bad in his ears what I said about the servant who answered, "Behold, Lord, I have gained five other pounds," I answer that I have not made a definite statement about it, so that it could be annoying to the ears, and that such doubtfulness does not concern our matter; but I would like D. Eck to take better care of the people who speak and, as Augustine reminds Orosius, to be diligent about who speaks in the Scriptures. Eck would take better care of the persons who speak and, as Augustine reminds us of Orosius, Cap. 9, would diligently observe who speaks in the holy Scriptures. But that he cackles: affirmative words were explained in a negative way, I care little, and one leaves such objections to those who deal with logical trifles and how something can be interpreted. But that he considers this little word "with me" and still attributes to free will its own efficacy, which does not come from grace, is sufficiently known to those who understand St. Paul correctly, how miserable he is.

1) In Löscher: augumöntancki instead of: arxunwntÄnäi.

whose testimony is contrary to the explicit opinion of the holy apostle, who has rejected all work that does not come from grace, because he says: It is not I, but the grace of God that is with me, that is, I am not the one who has a special activity (*activitatem*), as the school teachers speak, but it is grace that gives me all activity, that gives and offers all powers, that drives and governs me; for "by his grace I am what I am, and his grace has not been in vain to me"; that is, all that I have worked, all that grace has done, all good works the grace of God has bestowed upon me. He says this even more clearly in 2 Cor. 4:7: "We have this treasure in earthly vessels," that is, in weak vessels of flesh we have everything that belongs to grace. But let the Doctor consider that St. Paul does not call them vessels of grace, and pay attention to what follows (why we have this treasure of Christ in earthen vessels), "that the abundant power may be of God," he says, "and not of us." What further testimony can we have? Why do we make do with trifling things? Why do we hover in doubt, since all Scripture, which is high and praiseworthy, clearly ascribes not to our power, but to God's? For love alone suffers all things in us and with us; it believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things, works all things, 1 Cor. 13:7, that is, grace makes us patient, faithful and doers; it also makes our entrance and exit. This opinion is also served by what John the Baptist humbly and truthfully said: "A man can take nothing unless it is given him from heaven," John 3:27. And yet my Lord still wants to work and attribute a special work to free will as far as the works of grace are concerned, since he hears the Lord's forerunners confess that a man can take nothing unless it is given him from heaven. But the creators of good works can only grab themselves, since the Baptist of the Lord cannot take anything, unless it is given to him from above. This is what Ambrose lib. 2, cap. 9, says so elegantly about the calling of the Gentiles: "Grace itself does this with all kinds of healing and help, that in the one whom it calls, it first of all prepares for itself the will, as a recipient and servant of its goods. Behold, he says that grace makes the will capable of receiving, namely, the gifts of grace, and all that pertains to a good work; which John said in the words, "No one can take anything away" 2c. After this he says: that grace makes the will capable of service.

of the gifts of God. But my Lord Eck makes the will the king, because he says: the will has a special effect, which is natural and works in good merits. Hereby, I think, the last quotation from Jerome is answered, because this same Jerome lib. 1. against the Pelagians, Columne 12, the quoted saying of John: "No one can take anything" 2c., likewise draws on the help of God, and many other testimonies more, which serve for my cause, pile up.

Fourthly, I am very glad to see that the excellent Doctor awaits my reasons of proof, with which I hope, and have firm confidence in the Lord, to prove bravely and strongly that the good merits or works in all things, that is, are entirely God's, as far as their efficacy or bestowal (*largitionem*) is concerned, and that they become ours only in the way that they are given to us free of charge by divine goodness. And it is very dear to me that the excellent Doctor, my former adversary, immediately after the first fight that we had together, agreed with my opinion, yes, with the opinion of the Holy Spirit, and teaches that the free will, or rather the fallen will, can do nothing that is pleasant and pleasing to God before God's grace straightens it out and sets it right again. So then, the school crickets of the [merit] according to equity (*de congruo*) may have a good night, and also the repentance go their way, which they attribute to the will that has not yet been healed. It may grab Aristotle, who concocted such opinions, who has now been taught for over four hundred years, with great harm to souls, and disregarding the integrity and spirit of the Scriptures! Meanwhile it remains with my eleventh conclusion, 1) which is actually that of Augustine, *de spir. et lit.* 6. 3. that the free will before grace can do nothing but sin. The twelfth thesis should also be established, which is that of Ambrose, on the vocation of the pagans, lib. 1, c. 2, in the last column: that the will, which is not guided by the divine will, approaches ungodliness the more zealously it is intent on action. There may also pass away what the common rabble of theologians have taught: that if a man do as much as is in him, he can push away the bar which stands against grace; for this has been sufficiently refuted in the thirteenth thesis.

1) See Carlstadt's theses against Eck, Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 716 f.

Corner.

Since our action is a disputation and not a lecture written at home, and in order to alleviate the gentlemen's displeasure, I say to the first that I quite like St. Augustine's explanation of grace and free will in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and twentieth chapters; because in these places the holy father leaves the rights of free will uninjured, namely: "As you wish" 2c., and yet does not conceal what is necessary, namely, the cooperating grace of God, which indeed cooperates in such a way that the deed of the good work may be attributed to God and to grace, which are the primary agents. Therefore, a Christian man must both praise grace and defend free will, as the learned Augustine lib. 2, o. 18. taught about infant baptism, and St. Ambrose reminded us in the introduction to voc. gent. Also Jerome reports lib. III against the Pelagians, that he had always been eager to assert the omnipotence of God at the same time as free will. But secondly, that the respectable Doctor reminds me that I do not bring the turgidity of hope into the hearts of crude people with my defense of free will: he should not have suspected this of me at all, for I defend free will in such a way against the abominations of the Manichaeans that I nevertheless place grace, as the noblest thing, far above it, against the damned Pelagians, and that Augustine lib. 3. hypogn. regards grace against free will no differently than the rider against the horse: so I willingly put up with what has been said therein in praise of grace, may God bestow it upon us all! As for the other, I say that I do not insist on anything so often as that I want the law of liberty to have been declared by the wise man, of which also Cyprian remembers Pope Cornelius, and says: Christ did not reproach those who went behind him, but rather turned to his apostles and said: Will you also go away? namely, they keep the law by which man is left to his freedom and, standing in his free will, chooses death or life. This law, I say, I wanted to see presented through the memory of the wise man, and this memory is addressed to the living and the descendants, but not to those who died before.

Thirdly: Thirdly, since the reverend Doctor blames me without reserve, as if I were miserably twisting the Apostle's word: "Not I, but the grace of God, which is with me, is with me," he says.

and ascribes to free will a special efficacy that does not come from grace: I wonder very much how this occurred to him, that he only added Jerome's words to those of the apostle, and I wonder still more that, since he had the transcript of our disputation yesterday from the notary, he interprets to me, contrary to our settlement, that I had taught that free will has its own special efficacy, which grace does not produce, which I had not even thought of; therefore I refer to the transcript of the notary. But what he has finally referred to, more in opposition than in answer, of grace being given from above: who does not know this? since even children know the well-known word of Jacob: "All perfect gift is from above" 2c. Therefore I also gladly accept Ambrose, who makes the will capable of good and a servant of it. But that the highly learned Doctor ascribes to me: I would have wanted to make a king out of the will, I admit, I say, as I have put in my "defense" in the sixth conclusion: 1) If the will is held against the lower forces that put it into work, then it is true that it is in the soul like a king in his kingdom: which I also want to prove; but if it is held against grace and God, then it is certainly only servant and servant.

Finally, since he answers Jerome with attraction to another passage of his from lib. 1. against the Pelagians, Col. 12, I would have liked the Doctor to answer to the words I have attracted from Jerome, which attribute to free will its power to act. For to put forward an instance is not to answer. But one must answer what is interjected.

Carlstadt wanted to draw a conclusion from Eck's objections and what he almost admitted; but Eck argued very cleverly: the time was up, and he did not concede everything to Carlstadt either. The matter was then brought to the regents (rectores) and superiors, according to whose judgment the matter was postponed to another hour.

Corner at 3 o'clock.

Since the word of the servant has been explained by the apostle's word, "I have labored more than all, yet not I, but the grace of GOD which is with me," 2c., I will show more strongly in reply that the apostle meant to say as much in that place: that both he and the

Grace have worked, except the explanation, which I have attached yesterday from Hieronymus. For so St. Bernard de grat. et lib. arb., Col. 15, expressly assures me. Hence Paul, when he had related many things which GOD had done through him, says at last, "Not but I, but the grace of GOD with me." He could say: through me; but he rather wanted to say, what is more, 1) "With me"; in that he thereby indicates that he is not a servant by tool effect, but as it were a journeyman of the active one, by attunement. There can be nothing clearer than these words, which alone should convict the opponent, because St. Bernard does not refer to the apostle as a mere servant, but as a journeyman of the effect. After this, the same Bernard teaches in the same Columne that grace and free will together are the complete cause of a meritorious work. According to his statement, I do not divide the meritorious work in such a way that it comes partly from grace and partly from free will. Bernhard's words are these: But it works this with free will in such a way that it precedes it at first, but accompanies it for the rest. No doubt this is why it precedes him, so that he afterwards works together with it, but in such a way that what grace alone has begun is afterwards accomplished by both of them, mixed with each other; not separately, so that they work together at the same time, not alternately, through all good works. Here the holy father explains not only the causality or activity of free will, but also its nature.

Fourthly, did the doctor want to know from me whether I wanted to answer the reasons that his glory would give against me in this? To this I answered in the affirmative, because I had taken such a long way to do so. But what he has stated without need of more than one, wiser than I may judge: whether all religious theologians, even the secular theologians, are to be held in such contempt for 400 years, as if Christ, who promised to remain with us until the end of the world, had left his bride. For my own part, since I am now dealing with theological matters, I do not want to take upon myself the protection of Aristotle, but I know this much to comfort philosophers and philosophers, that Aristotle is praised by the highest and most learned men, whose judgment already has so much to say, and their honesty in praise is so unadulterated, that one cannot reject it in the least. How then do I

I could also easily attract Cicero, Quintilianus, Plato and others. However, as I said earlier, I am now dealing with theological matters and will not take up philosophy.

Carlstadt expressed his sympathy over the reasons put forward by Eck.

To know the Scriptures is not to recite a heap of testimonies from one's head, but to seek and taste the spirit contained in the Scriptures and our Lord Christ, and also to present the testimonies according to the sense of the writers. Therefore, the doctor reproaches me in vain for having come to the disputation yesterday with a prepared lecture.

Regarding the testimony that the Doctor brings forward from Augustine: namely, that Augustine does not abolish the faculty of free will, I say: I have never doubted that grace makes free will effective. Secondly, Ambrose *de vocatione gentium* is clear that free will receives its effect from grace. On Jerome's testimony against the Pelagians, I say exactly what Jerome also widely proves. In Augustine *lib. 3. hypogn.* whose testimony he cited, that grace behaves against free will/as the rider does against the horse: so I answer that the Doctor reads Augustine with dark eyes, and cites Augustine against his opinion. Augustine's words are these: And laid him on his beast, that is, on the help of the grace of the Incarnation, since, as it is written, he bore our sins. This is what Augustine says. So the likeness is even greater, that the free will behaves against grace, as a weak, wounded man behaves against the beast that carries him away.

Cyprian's testimony does not prove a special effectiveness of the free will. But there are other testimonies of the same Cyprian, which clearly say that Christ works all good works in the free will.

That the doctor admits that free will has no special efficacy in good works, we accept with all thanks, and we are surprised that he is of such an extraordinarily different opinion and contradicts himself so much in the same dispute and at the same hour. But it is not without suspicion that he had other thoughts, since he draws testimonies by which he wants to prove that free will has such efficacy. I am also satisfied with Jacob's testimony, since he says: "All perfect gift comes" 2c.

As for Bernard's saying: that grace undoubtedly precedes for the purpose that it [free will] may henceforth work with it, that what grace alone has begun may be carried on by both alike, in a mixed, not single, way, nor even alternately, in all good conduct, not partly by grace, partly by free will, but that both do everything in an inseparable way: so in Bernardus himself follows the further explanation: The whole indeed does this (that is, the free will), and the whole (namely, the good work) does this, namely, grace: but as everything in it, that is, the free will, so everything happens from it, namely, grace. So the understanding is this: grace works the good works in the free will, and so grace has the efficacy of the good works, but the free will has the receiving; namely, what the same Bernard says Col. 1 in the very book *de grat. et l.*

arb.: This work cannot happen without two, namely one, from whom it, the other, to and in whom it happens. According to this, the good works are rather accomplished in the free will than that they happen through the effectiveness of the free will. For Bernard immediately adds and says: God is the author of blessedness, free will is only the recipient or capable of it. Note the word "only", which only allows the ability and takes away the effectiveness. It follows in Bernhardus further: No one can give such (blessedness) but God, nor can anything else seize it but free will. And again: Consequently, free will rather receives good works than works them out; indeed, it does not do good works. Bernard lists three kinds of creatures through which God works salvation or blessedness: namely, through the creature, without it; sometimes through the creature, against it; and sometimes through the creature, with it. Through the unreasonable creature he works without it, because it, since it has no understanding/) cannot even know about it; through the devils and the ungodly he sometimes works salvation against them; but through the pious in such a way that God works with them, who both do and will what God wants. For those who agree with the will do 2) the work of the Lord; what God accomplishes through them He communicates to them. Therefore Paul says: "It is not I, but the grace of God.

tes with me." He could say: through me. But he rather wanted to say what was more 3): "with me", that he did not make himself merely a servant through (tool) effect, but as it were a journeyman through attunement. Bernard does not mean that the free will has any effect in a good work, which God or grace did not create, but that the grace of God gives the will the good attunement, and therefore, he says, it is less said: through me; 4) because God works through some creatures without the same attunement; namely, when he works through unreasonable creatures, or through the godless against their will.

Corner, on the other hand.

Although I must confess the low nature of my teaching, which the respectable doctor holds contemptible, I may nevertheless, with permission, in order to become more learned, say the following against the given answer. For, that he introduces Augustine, when he says: grace makes free will work, he thereby gives us right. For since grace makes free will work, the effect of grace is not in vain; therefore free will will also work something. Ambrose's saying does not serve his opinion well either. For, let it be that free will receives the effect from grace, the conclusion is nevertheless wrong that therefore free will does not work, since not only free will but also other creatures receive the effect from God, so that one may rightly say: When the main cause stops working, all the other lower causes cease to work. The fire also receives its warming power from the Creator, but that is why it warms. But when the respectable doctor says that I looked at Augustine with stupid eyes, I wish that he could see as sharply as I do. But the doctor has accepted for himself one passage that was not attracted, but he has left alone the other one that was attracted. For Augustine acts in the passage attracted for me in the 3rd book against the Pelagians, book, m, since he says: I hold that free will can rightly be compared to the animal; hence also there it says: I have become like a beast before you, but grace with him who sits on it. This allegory leads

1) We have retained the reading that both the manuscript and the print offer: *intlisstu Cursus*, while Lösscher has put instead of *sarsns: prassns*, because the latter seemed to him to run counter to the sense.
2) Here we have inserted *Lusiunt*. Without a change or an addition, the sentence is untranslatable.

3) minus for masus. (Walch.)

4) Minus one sees that it has been quite improved above, by: the several: or one must make above from *maluit noluit* if minus is to remain. (Walch.)

I do this so that the learned doctor or anyone else will not blaspheme that I have only read the school teachers and that I am only a school theologian, while others are true scholars of God.

That our friend answered Cyprianus: Cyprianus has very often written that Christ works all good in us, so I am in trouble, about which I have also complained in the past, that he does not answer the objections as well as give me an answer. For what Cyprianus otherwise taught I do not want to deny, but I maintain that his opinion of the free will's ability in the cited passage is correct.

The excellent doctor thanks me for agreeing with his opinion and for not granting free will its own effectiveness for the good. But with permission, he states our things in a mutilated way. For I gladly conceded that free will has no special efficacy that grace does not create, but that grace and free will accomplish the good work inseparably with each other, according to Bernhard's testimony, which I have cited. To this the Doctor answered us with a lengthy narration of many of Bernard's words. But since the following would be more suitable for him if he were to make objections than if he were to give an answer, I would still like to know whether free will is merely suffering in relation to a good work, since Bernhard says that grace and free will are mixed and accomplish the same thing at the same time! And would also like to know how Bernard understands the difference between the work begun and the work to be accomplished? If free will behaves in a purely suffering way, it will behave in the same way when it receives for the beginning and when it receives for the completion.

In the same way, the respectable doctor and friend of Bernhardus draws words around from St. Paul. But I would like to know what Bernhardus says elsewhere: if he considered Paul to be a co-worker of grace through attunement, what this attunement is other than the effect of free will. And that this is quite certain, for this I cite the words of Augustine, which cannot be twisted at all, from the fourth treatise on the epistle of St. John, where the holy father treats the words of this holy writer: "Everyone who has such hope in him purifies himself, just as he also is pure." Behold, he says, how he has not snatched away the free will, since he has given

said, "Purify yourselves." Who justifies you but God? But God does not justify you against your will, but because you add your will to God's, He justifies you; He does not purify you from yourself, but from the one who wanted to dwell in you. But because you do something with your will, something is also added to you. But it is added unto thee, that thou shouldest say, according to Ps. 27:9, Thou art my helper, forsake me not." When you say, "You are my helper," you also do something; for if you do nothing, why is he given to help? This is what Augustine says. By this he clearly shows that we are given effectiveness, and by the fact that God helps us, he seeks to prove that we also do something ourselves. And certainly, if Augustine had not wanted to defend the law and ability of free will, which the wise man (Sirach) has indicated above, in his books everywhere, then the dear father would not have been so hostile to Julianus lib. 4, 6. 8. that he also said: he was lying, that he had pretended that Augustine had abolished free will.

Carlstadt's response.

To the first, second, third, and sixth arguments I say that grace does indeed give efficacy to free will; and this I have never denied, but only this, that free will has a special and natural efficacy in good works. Hereby I answer the long discourse which the Doctor drew from the fourth treatise of Augustine on the epistle of John. For I gladly admit that God is the helper of free will, that is, gives power and effect to free will.

Thirdly, that the free will is compared to an animal does not serve the cause and purpose of the excellent doctor. For free will is certainly a beast, that it may be tamed and prepared for necessary good works; but that it may be restored to health, grace is also called (the Samaritan's) beast (that carries the wounded), as we have sufficiently shown from the beginning of this doctrinal struggle.

To the fourth I answer on account of Cyprian that it is incumbent on the opponent to prove and expound his speeches so that they can be understood. But Cyprian's saying, because it is doubtful, will never conclude that free will has a special efficacy by nature; as above.

With regard to Bernardus, the Doctor would like to know and understand how a pious and justified person is a journeyman of the working grace.

It has been answered sufficiently that this takes place because of consent, which, however, grace imparts to free will itself.

Eck dawider.

Although our friend, the respectable Doctor, finally drawn over to my opinion, freely admits that he has never denied the efficacy of free will, which he received from grace, I have nevertheless been able to surmise from many of his writings and other various circumstances that the Doctor is of the opinion as if free will has no efficacy at all in a good work; firstly because of his 14th conclusion, 1) since he says: Since D. John does not see how a good work is entirely from God 2c. Next, because my 7th conclusion 2) clearly states this: He errs who denies that free will 2c. Thirdly, because the venerable father D. Martin Luther speaks against me in the 7th conclusion 3): [Who shows that he does not know] neither what faith, nor what repentance [nor what free will is] 2c. And just the venerable father in a printed disputation Col. 13 speaks: Free will after the fall has only the empty name or title; and Col. 14: Free will after the fall to the good 2c. Fourth, because the honorable Doctor often writes in his "defense": free will only suffers and does not work for good; as is evident from b 4. facie 2. and c 2. fac. 1. and g 4. fac. 1. and fac. 2. and in many other places, where the honorable Doctor says: the will alone receives, but does not work. However, if he gives the free will an efficacy that it has from grace, I am already satisfied. If he had admitted such a thing from the beginning of our disputation, namely, that grace and free will work together and mixed, we would not have had to argue against each other. And that he says that St. Augustine, lib. 3. hypogn., who will probably be attracted to me rightly and with good eyes, does not serve the point: so perhaps the respectable gentleman, as people can easily forget something, will not remember that I attracted Augustine. My purpose was to show that grace and free will together would be quite a complete cause of the meritorious work; but in such a way that grace would be the noblest, but free will the lesser (minus principalem) cause. To this my proposition

1) Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 717.

2) St. Louis edition, ibid., Col. 713.

3) St. Louis edition, 1. e. Col. 719. Here one can see in which way Eck citirt.

The symbol of Augustine, who compares grace to the rider, as the most noble cause, and free will to the horse, as the lesser cause, is undoubtedly suitable, according to the opinion of all.

Carlstadt's response.

In the first place, since the Doctor takes from my 14th conclusion that free will has no efficacy, I agree with him as far as natural efficacy is concerned, but as far as the efficacy which grace confers is concerned, I say that free will has an efficacy. But perhaps the doctor does not want to understand either me or St. Bernard, who says that each individual (namely, grace and free will) accomplishes the whole thing in an inseparable way; who therefore attributes efficacy or active action to free will, because the grace of God works in it, so I also attribute efficacy to free will? For the free will acts or works, because in it is worked; as the running is not of the running.

He is satisfied with the other things and did not want to argue about the words: animal, rider 2c.

I cannot be surprised enough that the excellent doctor wants to reject our things at his discretion, 4) since he says: I thought that the respectable doctor believed that free will had no efficacy.

Eck, who did not trust himself with anything good, here interfered with Carlstadt's speech that he should not use a piece of paper or a book; and in order that he might boast of his clever and cunning head, as if he alone deserved praise and the prize of victory with his wit, he said that this was the way of arguing in Italy, that no books were brought forward, but everything was stated from the head, which was the only thing that mattered here. Carlstadt often made humble objections against this. Eck shouted in the middle of the meeting: "The matter will be brought to the prince and the superiors. The most prominent people also stepped down and spoke together, but their judgment aroused more suspicion than justice. Most of them were of the opinion that Carlstadt should leave out the books. This opinion was accepted by all, and Caesar Pflug made a speech with the following content: "Gracious sir, and honorable gentlemen. There has now arisen a contradiction between the worthy gentlemen D. Eck and Carlstadt, namely, that Doctor Eccius did not want to yield to Doctor Carlstadt to read his argument from a book or a piece of paper, and threw himself on the use and practice of other universities and customs, saying that it is not customary to dispute from books. Therefore, Doctor Eccius, out of special request, has yielded to Doctor Carlstadt,

4) On the margin it says: Carlstadt read this from a piece of paper.

from the note today; but if they will not comply with such an objection tomorrow, and henceforth complete their disputation as raised, we will be well satisfied." 1)

Carlstadt, however, did not adhere to the theologians' judgment, and finally, after listening to the speech, they unanimously left their place and ran out to the auditorium with a crowd. There everyone shouted that the disputation would now end.

In the evening, however, immediately corners were again scheduled for the following day, firstly because many famous people would have come together from afar; secondly, so that such an important matter would not become a mockery.

July 1, 1519 early at 8 o'clock.

Carlstadt.

The excellent doctor seems to have set some repugnant and self-contradictory things in the matter of faith. Therefore, I will first of all ask the doctor to discuss this with me.

But it is this repugnance in the beginning of his disputation. There he says that free will, which receives help from grace, has its special and natural efficacy in good works. Afterwards, however, in the further course of the disputation, he said that it had never occurred to him that free will had a special efficacy that grace did not create.

Now here I ask: Since having efficacy from another is not the same as having it from oneself, but something foreign, not something proper to man; how such speech contending with itself may be united, so that we do not contend in wind and in vain?

This happened on June 28 early Wider the 11th thesis.

Eck's response.

The respectable doctor and friend pretends that in the past few days I have brought things into dispute with myself, because in the beginning of the disputation I attributed to free will its own, natural and special efficacy in good works, and afterwards claimed that such a thing had never occurred to me:

Thus I answer and say that neither at the beginning of the disputation nor during its progress did I ever say that free will has a natural efficacy in regard to the good work, but in opposition to the Doctor I only assumed it in order to prove that free will has a causal capacity to produce the good work if it is assisted by grace.

1) The preceding speech of Caesar Pflug is German in our original.

Postscript of the notaries. Therefore, since I have added the help of grace, I have attributed to the will not a natural, but a supernatural efficacy, which has been imparted to it by grace, in which opinion I still persist.

That the doctor from this brings forward a double conclusion (dilemma) by asking: whether then to have efficacy from another is not so much as to have an alien efficacy and no efficacy of one's own; and whether that therefore is not so much as to have it not from or of oneself, but from another?

So I answer: that to have an efficacy communicated by another is as much as to have one's own. And although the Doctor has not put on anything for his speech, nevertheless, in order to strengthen my answer, I cite in this matter the testimony of St. Jerome to the virgin Demetrias: Thus, he says, since God willed to endow the rational creature with the gift of a voluntary good and the part of a free will, namely, that he might reach for both things, he gave him the quality of being able to will, so that, being capable of evil and good, he might by nature be able to do both, and the will incline to one of the two. For man cannot have the name that he chooses the good voluntarily, if he cannot also choose the evil. The Creator has given both to our ability. Jerome expressly testified to this and said that man has both abilities as his own. Therefore, this is completely in accordance with the way the holy fathers speak.

But I want to add this to the rest: one must interpret the own effect of free will in such a way that it includes the effectiveness, but does not exclude the participation of another cause.

Finally, I admit that free will has its own and special efficacy for good works, but such as God and grace give.

Carlstadt's response.

The world may judge! 2)

For the other, I ask the doctor: How could there be two causes of one and the same good work, both of which produce the whole work; as St. Bernard, whom he attracted, says? For if not one of them has to do with it in a suffering way, but the other in an acting way, it is difficult to understand how the whole work of both comes into being completely or totally?

2) This is missing in the manuscript.

Eck's response.

Since the most respectable gentleman and friend wants to know from me how two causes, namely grace and free will, each of which can produce and work the whole work, without understanding it in such a way that the one appears to be suffering, but the other to be working and active in it?

So I answer that to everyone who has only looked around a little in philosophy, the question is quite easy and clear, which concerns the kind of interaction of the causes in one thing. For I readily admit that each of these causes produces the whole. But that the doctor finally put the words: completely and totally, we do not accept, because Bernhardus says in the same place that they act in a mixed way or with each other, not alternately. For no one may imagine that many 1) causes work together in such a way that one cause performs one part and the other the other, as the doctor believed in his "defense" when he answers my fortieth sentence 2). For there he says: He binds the rod with which he will receive blows, and to some extent he deviates from what he has absorbed from Scotus. 3) But that would be too bold a beginning, writes Ambrose at the end of the epistle, that one would only want to need God's good actions in one piece, but not in the other. And in the thirty-second sentence he concludes thus against me: If a good work is partly in your ability, then it is something after this part. 4) Therefore I have said in refutation of this: that this is contrary to all philosophy and true concept, since one imagines that a partial cause produces only one piece. And that this is so, I prove from all the order of causes. The fire also warms; 5) St. John says: All things were created by God. Therefore, this can be understood by a person not ignorant of philosophy quite easily and without difficulty in this matter of ours. St. Bernard 6) asserts this about free will, as far as I remember.

1) It is to be read *piurlum* instead of *piurirnurn*.

2) In Latin, by mistake, *propoui* stands for *propositiorü*.

3, Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 709.

d,4) St. Louis edition, I. e. Col. 705.

5) It has already been said above that it has the power of God.

6) In the manuscript: Augustine.

Carlstadt's response.

The fact that the doctor arms himself with pagan weapons in a theological dispute, he does according to his nature, but does not yet satisfy me. I therefore ask in one word: Is the good work entirely of God (effective) or not? If he admits the first, we are one; if he denies it, I reject his proposition.

Corner.

When the respectable doctor accuses me of arming myself with pagan weapons in theological matters, I answer that since I do it with weapons that have not been thrown down, I should think that it should not be held against me, because the greatest people in all times have done the same, even, along with the church fathers, St. Paul. Paul; however, I wonder how he could blame me for such a thing at this time, since with all diligence I do not cite the theologians, whom he calls school teachers, nor the great wonder of nature, Aristotle, and in the answer to two questions I have attracted nothing but Jerome, Bernard and St. John. But that the venerable Doctor asks: whether the meritorious work is entirely of God in an active way? this is already answered; for he could quite well see that God performs the whole (*totum*) meritorious work in an active way, but not completely (*totaliter*), which is clear from Chrysostom's "of the contrition of the heart," lib. I.: For we can also give these heretics an occasion in the cause of faith, because the apostles and all the saints did not become admirable from their excellency and work, but from the grace of God alone; for they will say: What hinders that all do not become such people? 2c., and consequently. And St. Bernard agrees above that they do not work piecemeal, but together and blended.

Carlstadt.

The contradiction that the doctor brings up anew, not to mention the "completely" and "not completely", may, as far as Aristotle is concerned in theological dispute, tell us Jerome's opinion lib. I., Col. 9 against the Pelagians: I do not ask, he says, what Aristotle teaches, but what Paul teaches.

For the rest, since the excellent doctor admits that the good work is entirely from God, I will rather approve than disapprove. But I prove it from the little prayer that the Roman Church prays every year.

O God, from whom all good things come, grant to us who humbly ask you that we may think what is right by your inspiration 2c. The text is clear that all good comes from God, and the Lord Himself bestows and gives right thoughts.

Corner.

Since the esteemed Doctor holds up St. Jerome to me, who says in the place mentioned: I do not ask what Aristotle says, but what Paul says, so I do not intend, as I might well do, to defend Aristotle, nor have I yet used Aristotle in this business; but only this I have said, that I could use the unthrown weapons of the Gentiles, and receive gold and silver from the Egyptians, as unlawful owners, just as Origen draws this fact to it; therefore, of course, one must be more concerned with Jerome about Paul than about Aristotle.

After that, the respectable Doctor assumes that I have admitted that the good meritorious work is entirely from God, working way, and he seeks to confirm that. But I ask the Doctor to consider what role he has on himself, and that it is not his place to prove or confirm my things, but to reject them. The church prayer is therefore not repugnant to me, but confirms my opinion, for it certainly says that God bestows good, and that help comes from God, but does not therefore exclude free will.

He added: all school teachers would be of the opinion. But also after the end of this proof v. Carlstadt added that the teachers of theology, whom he calls school teachers, held the same.

Carlstadt.

Capreolus has the opinion: that the free will causat the essence of the work, and the Holy Spirit the manner. Scotus, however, holds the distinction that according to the *principalitatem entitatis* in a good work, the will is the principal cause, but according to the meritorious essence, grace is then the principal cause.

Corner.

Because I have said: that the best theologians, whom the highly venerable 1) Doctor calls schoolteachers, did not depart from this Christian opinion, namely that all the good work of

The respectable doctor has held up two of them to me, Capreolus, who is not very well known to me, and the sensible Scotus, whom I have read only too diligently. Although the main point of the dispute is not what this or that teacher holds, but what we should hold and believe according to Christian truth, I will nevertheless excuse these good people, lest one have unjust thoughts of them.

The passage from Capreolus has not attracted the Doctor according to the place; but I believe certainly that he was of the opinion, what also his guide has asserted quite clearly in various places, I mean, St. Thomas Aquinas, the great church light, in 12. y. 109. 109, especially art. 6. in qu. 24. of the truth, in the beautiful book against the pagans lib. 3. and other places, where the holy father everywhere slackens and admits: the free will is not capable of a good meritorious work, if it is not supernaturally moved by God and grace; thereby he cites Jerome and Augustine with the passages of the Bible, which the holy fathers thought of.

But as for Scotus, nay, the whole host of the best theologians who have written theological Summaries, the respectable Doctor should have looked at the right seat of this doctrine, where by them the Summa of the present trade is dealt with, which is not done Dist. 17. of the first book, in the 27. and 8. of the second, where he will find Thomas, Aegidius, Albertus, Durandus, Gabriel, and others, all of whom, according to Peter Lombard, unanimously maintain that free will by itself, without special and supernatural help from God, is capable of evil, but of no good works, so much so that the inner inspiration of God precedes all good impulses of the will. In this connection, Bonaventure and others cite the very strange saying of St. Augustine, which I remember in my "defense," that it alone is enough to remove all difficulty in the matter. For in the 25th sentence I said: 2) Therefore, for all the sayings that must be cited for 3) each of the two parties, Augustine's excellent solution is sufficient; whoever does not have it, easily gets into danger between door and hinge, for that is the art of putting each in its proper place.

1) col. will have to be resolved by eolenaues.

2) Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 701.

3) Instead of per, read pro.

bring. This saying of Augustine is found in c. 21. de dogmatibus ecclesiast. and is also repeated in the book de Spir.: The beginning of our salvation we have from God's mercy; that we give room to the salutary giving is in our power; that we attain what we desire by such willing and giving room is a divine gift; that we do not fall in the attained gift of salvation is both in our ability and at the same time in the divine help.

St. Bonaventure and others want Augustine to have made four scales in order to assign to each its own, although Bernard Col. 15 only thinks of three: First, the beginning is God's; second, the consenting or the giving in is of the will; third, the grace is God's alone. According to this scale one must understand Bernard when he speaks Col. 1: God is the author of salvation, the free will is only capable of it. For Bernhard does not refer the ability to the good work, as the Doctor said, but to grace. To the third stage Augustine adds that neither anyone gives it as God, nor anyone receives it as free will, namely by considering the salvation of which Bernard speaks. Thus the free will is merely receiving.

Therefore, in his "defense," the doctor blasphemes me without cause for having praised the praiseworthy saying of Augustine: that I tear up the holy Scriptures, bite the holy church teachers, and wonders at my insolence that I put on Augustine so wrongly; while he nowhere remembers this passage of Augustine.

From this it is evident that the best and most heavenly theologians, whom he calls school teachers, have rightly asserted grace against Pelagius, and have not taken away the effectiveness of free will. I ask, however, that the doctor prove to the schoolteachers and to me that free will behaves only in a suffering way against a good meritorious work.

Carlstadt.

As for the school teachers, whom the excellent doctor cites and wants to understand alone, he may rather distort them. For the opinion of Scotus and Capreolus is clear, that they ascribe what is causally effective in a good work to free will, so much so that they also say that free will in some works affects the essence of the deed, which can continue until God pours in his grace.

But this I will prove, 1) that free will without grace and faith can do no good work, neither according to the nature of the work, nor according to the wisdom or the meritorious quality. And that the Doctor does not slip out of my hands by his circumlocutions, before I explain Augustine and Bernard, whose words he quotes and falsifies the sayings; I ask him again and request of the Doctor that he tell me: what then is that which in a good work works causally with grace? for that is what the scholastics teach, so may their advocate also teach it.

Corner.

I am very surprised that the respectable doctor calls the holy teachers Thomas, Bonaventure and others immodestly mercatores. And yet he reproaches me as if I alone understand and falsify the school teachers.

Let this be far from Eck's modesty, to boast so honorably; for I not only do not understand all, but also not as if others did not know just as much, from whom I would also like to be instructed, if they can do more.

But as for the explanation and interpretation which the respectable Doctor attaches to the sayings of Scotus and the school teachers, when they say that free will is the main cause of the essence of action, so that the will can continue the same by production until God pours in His grace: I do not remember to have read such a thing in any scholastic theologian; but they admit that grace is given and created by God instantaneously, and hold this to be truth: The Holy Spirit's grace does not come slowly.

It is true that if the respectable doctor is so well versed in the school teachers that they argue among themselves: whether grace, just like God Himself, has the *principalitatem activitatis* in the good work or not? not all agree on this. However, Wilhelm Occam in his *Bedenken*, addit. 4, also attributes efficacy to grace; and that I also had this opinion seven years ago, the Doctor could clearly see from the *Crysopasso praedestinationis*, if he had read it as diligently as he immodestly despises it. But be that as it may, the schoolteachers are themselves one with regard to the efficacy of grace, that the free will for good works has nothing to do with it.

1) improkare should mean prokars. (Walch.)

2) niotnm should mean moium. (Walch.)

The first is that the people are not able to be neither in essence nor in quality, but by the extraordinary help of God.

Finally, when the doctor asks me: what is it that the good work causally works in the essence of the action? then the doctor has promised himself, and wanted to say: what is it in the essence of an action that the free will actually causally works? I answer that this question was answered long before it arose; for in the essence of an action there are not pieces in such a way as in the mines, but, as St. Bernard says, God and free will act in an undifferentiated way. Therefore, I ask once again that the respectable Doctor prove that the free will is only suffering in good works, and that it receives only in this way. For I am ready to drive off his projectile in this in a manly way.

Carlstadt then said that he called them (the fathers) shopkeepers because they preached with profit of souls.

Carlstadt at four o'clock, the holy evening before the Visitation of the Virgin Mary [July 1].

The excellent Doctor has entrenched his cause today with many fortifications that I lay down his, many strength.

First of all, I want to say what is to be thought of Jerome's letter to the virgin Demetrias, as the most distinguished prince of theologians, our Erasmus, after Augustine, uses the following words about it: "It is a very learned and eloquent letter, but the way it is written almost alone obviously betrays that it is not by Jerome. St. Augustine seems to assume to some extent that it was written by a Pelagian heretic, because one thing and another in it smacks of Pelagian teachings. Beda thinks that it is from the heretic Julianus. From this it is easy to conclude how much the answer of the excellent doctor is worth, which he confirms from such a letter.

Secondly. Furthermore, when the excellent Doctor cites Augustine in the book *de dogmatibus ecclesiast.* 6. 21.: There is the beginning of our salvation 2c., the Doctor must also consider what follows e. 44. where this saying is written: If anyone thinks that by virtue of nature one can agree with evangelical preaching, he is deceived by a heretic spirit. Therefore, to obey divine inspiration or preaching is a gift from God. I refer him to *lib. I. Retract.* c. 10, where he says: that all men can keep God's commandments, if they want to; let none of the new

The Lord has prepared this for the heretics and Pelagians, as if it were for them. For it is true that all men can do this if they will, but the will is prepared by the Lord.

Thirdly. To what has been drawn from Bernhardus Col. 15, I say in refutation of the answer of the Herr Doctor, that St. Bernhardus attributes all three scales, as the Herr Doctor calls them, to GOtte, and not to free will. His words are thus: The words are not mine, but the apostle's, who attributes everything that can be good, that is, thinking, willing, and doing according to his good pleasure, to GOtte, not to his free will. Now if God works these three things, that is, thinking, willing, and doing good, in us, the first certainly without us, the other with us, that is, through the attunement which the Holy Spirit imparts, as is evident in the preceding Columnne: it follows that the excellent Lord Doctor endeavors to defend his cause more than to defend well, to follow his mind more than to accept faith. For in matters of faith, one need not use the weapons of heretics.

Fourth. It sounds very strange to my ears that God works the whole good work, but not entirely; and that this sounds inconsistent to right theologians, for this I refer primarily to Augustine's book *dono¹ persev.* c. 13, where he says: "So we will, but God also works in us the will. We thus work, but God also works in us the working or doing according to His good pleasure, "God works the good work in us". This is also useful for us to believe and to say. It is godly, it is truthful, so that there may be a truly humble and devoted confession that everything is attributed to God: with thinking we believe, with thinking we speak, with thinking we work what we do. But as far as the way of truth and right worship are concerned, we are not even capable of thinking anything of ourselves, but our capability is from God. This may be considered by those who ascribe to free will the efficacy in good works. For our heart and our thoughts are not in our power. The Church confesses this in the prayer: God of hosts, whose all that is good is 2c., therefore good works are entirely from God. Cyprian also teaches this in the Lord's Prayer about the petition: Lead us not into temptation, and in the epistle c. 2 in the book to the martyrs, whose words are these: In his struggle has been (Christ) who has

1) Eraser: "bono" instead of: dono.

the fighters and defenders of his name are raised up, strengthened, encouraged, and always victorious in us. Behold, he clearly says that Christ conquers in the martyrs, referring to Matt. 10:20: "It is not you who speak, but it is your Father's Spirit who speaks in you," as if he were saying, "It is not you who conquer, but it is Christ who conquers in you. This is beautifully described in 2 Chron. 20:15: "Thus saith the Lord, Fear not this multitude: for the battle is not yours, but God's." Behold, the Jews contend, and yet the Scriptures attribute victory to GOD. Therefore the same Cyprianus, in the same place, in the following Columnne, says: "Who is not of the kind to look only out of His servants; but He Himself contends in us, He wrestles and struggles with, He Himself crowns in the strife of our battle, and is crowned also. Now since David rightly confessed 1 Chron. 29 [30,14.], "All things are thine, and of thy hand have we given thee"; as if he said, "We can give thee nothing that we have not received of thee, and we have nothing that thou hast not given. Hence St. Jerome, in the book against the Pelagians, lib. 1, col. 3, and lib. 2, col. 15. says: "And that we may see that all we do is goodness from God," he says: I will plant them, that they be not cut off; and I will give them such a heart and mind, that they shall know me. If thoughts and mind come from God, where is the proud boasting of free will? From this it can be seen that good works are entirely of God. But that the Doctor says: not entirely, he does so in order to keep it the same as the differently minded, that is, the church teachers and the scholastics; for one never finds with them that the whole work is of God; just as, on the other hand, it is not found with them either that the good works are not entirely of God; where I remember otherwise.

So I wish the excellent Doctor, who strongly contested my 14th conclusion, luck that he now agrees with my opinion, yes, with the opinion of the Holy Spirit, and says: that the whole good work is brought forth by God.

That much I have wanted to say now. From the Bible, I must say other things.

Corner.

As the doctor rejects our answer with many words and read testimonies from the books, and tries to destroy the conclusion or implication of it, I say: First, let it be with the judgment of Erasmus and the venerable Bede as it is (*scil.* of the

Jerome's letter), in that they assume more than they judge, it is not unseemly that one has put on a writer's book, which one otherwise tends to put on as one's own. For the doctor uses such little handles in his "defense" against me with the book *de eccles. dogm.*, where it is right for me; especially since the same opinion agrees with the holy fathers, as also that which I have quoted from Jerome. For so Augustine speaks in the book *de sententiis Prosperi*, that to have faith, as to have love, is man's nature. But the respectable Doctor forgives me that it has a different nature with disputants who reject or refute the answer. For my answer together with the proof would have had to be completely overturned if he wanted to get the victory as he meant. Secondly, that the respectable Doctor does as he is wont to do, namely, he does not destroy the objections, but only tries to invalidate them with other passages that, as he thinks, contradict them. To the 20th chapter of Augustine's *de eccles. dogm.*, where he clearly says: it is in our power to accede to the input 2c., he answers nothing, but sends me far down to chap. 44 and 10 of the *Retr.*, since what is said there immediately leads to the answer, also to the way in which the Doctor reads; Augustine scolds those who think that they merely want to follow the preaching by force of nature, without divine impulse, which is a hundred miles away from our opinion.

The doctor also added that I take these secondary things with me: Augustine does not need an interpreter, but only a reader; so I wonder why he interpreted Augustine, as they say.

Thirdly, he presents St. Bernard as if he does not serve our cause at all. I am highly surprised about this, since no living person will read St. Bernard who does not see that he completely agrees with us in all parts. For St. Bernard says: in the first part we do nothing, and there we behave only in a suffering way; not even in the last, but in the middle, that is, in the consent that God works with us at the same time, as he says.

However, something has also been attributed to us, according to Augustine's opinion. And I do not accept the venerable Doctor's interpretation, of which he says that it is, that also the meaning is given. Otherwise, the first, the middle and the last would all be the same, and God would have to do everything completely and totally according to the Doctor,

that St. Bernard would be completely overthrown in this passage. Regarding the other main piece, where I am not mistaken, the honorable Doctor, before he endeavored to prove his intention, unconfidently insulted me that I was arguing more for my cause than for the cause of faith; and since I thought he was a party, he set himself up as a judge. However, I will continue to destroy his cause 1).

The respectable Doctor promises that he now wants to prove that the meritorious work is both 'wholly and completely from God; and I have long since asked him to read from the Fathers of the Church that free will is merely incidental to the good work. I do not want to say that he seeks deviations, but only that he does not want to let that which is the main thing come to light.

But let us look at what has been said. By referring to Augustine *Libr. de dono 2) persev. c. 13*, where he says: We will, but in what we will, the will is prepared by the Lord, who works in us; so the Doctor has especially laid great stress on the little word: "in us". I do not know, however, if this has much to do with anything, especially since such a testimony cannot prove more than that the good work is entirely of God; as also the following passages: that it is entirely of God, however, is not indicated by any letter.

But let the Doctor know above all that the meritorious effect is an inherent, and not a temporary, action (*immanentem, non transeuntem*), for which reason he must not be surprised that God works the will in us; for what is worked apart from man confers nothing on him. So also in the church prayer: GOD of hosts, whose is all that is good 2c., I confess that all good gifts are from above. So also I say of Cyprianus and of that which he put on; for I confess that all good is from GOD, and also say that it is wholly from GOD; but not wholly, because it is also by our cooperation. "For we are GOD's fellow-workers," 1 Cor. 3:8. and the apostles preached the Gospel of GOD, by the co-operation of GOD, Marc. 16:20. Therefore all our efficiency is of GOD. And as the apostle says: What do you have that you have not received? This, however, as we have already said, praises God's special and supernatural impulse, but does not cancel the free will. Therefore, I do not know to whom the respectable doctor sang the little song when he admonishes those who do not want free will to be effective.

1) Instead of *praspositum*, *propositum* will have to be read. 2) Again, our original has *douo* instead of *äouo*.

The testimonies quoted from Cyprian make it clear that they should think better of it. From 2 Chron. 20, the Lord Doctor says, "Fear not this multitude," 2c., and David's words, "All things, O Lord, are thine," 2c., as if a man were so stupid and unintelligent as not to know that all good must be ascribed to the Creator of all things. For the Herr Doctor should know that the best theologians, whom he calls school teachers, are unanimous in their opinion that no creature can do anything except through God's general or special impulse, so that God does more through the effect of creatures than He does through Himself. The doctor also conceded that free will also has its effectiveness. I did not go over to his opinion, but rather he took the side of the schoolteacher, where he still does not explain to me that free will behaves in a merely suffering way.

And it does no good that he says: he does not remember having read in the Scholastics that a good work is entirely from God. He still chooses to read in it, and not to deprive these holy fathers of their due honor, as Thomas in the places mentioned today; Peter Lombard, the excellent leader, in the distinction mentioned today, with the Strasbourg (*argentoratensi*) Thomas and others. If the learned doctor will not bring stronger things about this matter, the opinion of the school teachers will remain unconquered: that although the free will in itself is not capable of good works, nevertheless something is given to it by God's cooperation and sleeve, that it purifies itself, as St. John says, and finally deserves to receive what it has done in life and limb; as Augustine in the third book points the retribution of reward or punishment to such understanding.

Carlstadt.

The excellent doctor often accuses me of making a long speech and does not know that he is doing the same.

Here the disputation was stopped from four o'clock until six o'clock, because the short time and the royal highnesses prevented it. However, the herald announced the continuation of the disputation on Sunday at one o'clock.

After the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, which was on Saturday.

Carlstadt.

I do not respect the fact that the excellent doctor often pushes book reading ahead of me. Yes, the-

It is my wish that only my studies will be known to posterity. By the way, I do not respect that he wants to present me with rules of disputation: for the laws of the disputators and the name of a concluding artist (*argutatoris*) is abhorrent to me; to dispute in theology means nothing other than to bring out the understanding of Scripture. This serves the first and the second purpose.

Third, the excellent Doctor answers the proof taken from Eccles. docum. c. 43, but he says nothing about Augustine's text from the first book of the *Retract.* But so that all may see that when Scripture says that we are able to do a good work, it is to be understood that the will to do it has been given to us by God, read Augustine's First *Retract.* c. 22, where he says: "It is up to a man to change his will for the better, but such ability is nothing if God does not exist.

Fourthly, in his answer, the Doctor drew on St. Bernard, who says that good consent is not without us, or that the middle is counted to our advantage; and from this the Doctor wants to conclude that the will behaves only passively with respect to the first, but actively with respect to the second, therefore the second part of God is whole, but not complete. But it is the other way around. For Bernard says clearly: Although not of us, yet not without us. And further on: We must be careful, then, that when we see this happening invisibly in and with us, we do not attribute some of it to our will, which is weak, but to grace alone. Here I ask the Doctor what Bernard means when he says: grace works with us, and the good work is not of us, but of grace?

To this Eck replied.

Be it as it may with the excuses of the respectable doctor, which it is not my task to refute now, I cannot accept the new proposition that his dignity (*excellencia*) has brought forward: that disputing in theology is nothing more than interpreting the truth of the holy scripture, since even Augustine does not take disputing so lib. 22. against Faustus, if my memory does not deceive me: heretics (he says) would rather win than dispute, since he thus reproaches them: that they abstain from fighting, not from the study of the holy scriptures.

But that the doctor reproaches me: First-

If you think that I have said nothing about Augustine's passage from the first *retract.* 6. 10. which I have nevertheless dealt with the 44. cap. de eccl. dogm.: so I have not heard that something important is in it (*ponderare*). I dare to say that no passage from Augustine is brought forward in which the participation of free will is not taught at the same time.

But that he refers to the 22nd chapter of the same book: it is within man's power to change the will for the better, but not otherwise than when it is given by the Lord, I confess, as I have often testified, that the free will receives its efficacy for good works from God; but when it is given, it has what is given to it, and uses the same; only one must not boast of it, lest Paul's word be held against us, 1 Cor. 4, 7: "What have you that you have not received?" but rather we must recognize with Jeremiah: I know, O LORD, that a man's way is not with him, nor in a man's power, that he should walk and direct his courses. For all this gives both God his due honor, as it leaves to the will its ministerial cooperation; and Augustine unites the foregoing with free will in the second book de pecc. rsmis. 6. 16.

On the second, since the learned doctor thinks that I have not understood St. Bernard correctly, because of what follows, since Bernard says that consent also does not come from us; the doctor would probably not have made the objection if he had followed the tradition of the scholastics. For the little word "from" is, as it were, the root and the reason from which the deed or the work springs. But since the will does no good if it is not pulled, St. Bernard therefore denies that the good work arises from us, and in this he agrees completely with the apostle: that we do not do anything from ourselves, but from the obliging grace of God. This was clearly shown by St. Augustine 1) *de vocatione gentium* according to the apostolic sense: namely, that the righteous are driven by the Spirit of God, which does no harm to free will. And by this, I think, the respectable Lord's concern is lifted: What a difference there is between the three: In us, which is not enough; out of us, which we do not touch; with us, which is within our ability.

1) In Löscher ^Λ.mdrosius instead of

Carlstadt responds to the previous.

The first thing the Doctor says is an evasion.

Let's skip the second one.

But the third, that free will is involved, we must discuss how it is to be taken. For no one is so ignorant as not to know that the willing will and the active will work. But to grasp the understanding of the same, that comes to the theological science.

Furthermore, that the doctor answers: that good works are given to us, and we can use the given ones, I accept as much as is true.

For the sake of brevity, we will not say anything about Bernhardus and the doctor's interpretation of it. But I am confident in the Lord that when it has been proven that the whole good work belongs to both, namely to God in an active way, but to free will in a receiving way, it will be clear that the work is entirely and completely God's, active way. And that this is so, I cite Augustine's testimony from *Enchirid.* 6. 32. where he says: "If then no Christian may say, 'It is not of the merciful God, but of the willing man, lest he manifestly contradict the apostle,' it must follow that this must be called well spoken: It is not up to anyone to will or to run, but up to God's mercy; so that everything is given to God, who both prepares man's good will so that he can be helped, and helps him when he is prepared; for man's good will precedes many of God's gifts, but not all; but before those it does not precede, among them it is itself. He precedes him that will not, that he may will; but if he will, he follows after him, that he may not will in vain. For why are we exhorted to pray for our enemies, who undoubtedly do not want to live godly, but that God may also work in them the will? Likewise: Why are we exhorted to ask that we may receive, but that what we want may be done by Him who made us want? From these passages one concludes that as God works the willing in us, so also the doing itself; just as Paul also says without distinction that he works in us both the willing and the doing. On the other hand, he concludes that free will also has the good work in its entirety, but in a receiving way, as one receives a gift from another. This is also said by Augustine in the first book *Retr.* o. 23: Both are

because He prepares the will, and both are ours because it does not happen unless we will. And therefore, since we cannot will unless we are called; and if, after we are called, we will, our willing and running is still not enough, unless God gives powers to the running and leads where He calls: it is clear from this how the good work is ours, and how it is God's, and that grace gives foreign powers to free will, through which it works. Therefore Cyrillus writes about John, lib. 2. c. 56, thus: For they cannot do what is pleasing to God unless they are endowed with superior power. Therefore it was said to one of the ancients, "The Spirit of the Lord will come upon you, and you will become a completely different man," 1 Sam. 10, 6. 1) Thus speaks Cyril, who cites other testimonies on this matter. Gregorius also speaks about Ezekiel in the 9th homily in this way: But it must be known that only our evil is ours, but the good of Almighty God and ours, because he precedes us by blowing on us, that we may will, and afterwards helpfully follows, that we may not will in vain. Finally, he concludes that through the prefiguring of God's almighty grace, the gift becomes our merit. From this we see how the good work is both God's and ours. For this he cites Ezekiel's testimony, who says: "The Spirit of God has entered into me and has set me on my feet. This text clearly says that the works of God are to be attributed to the Holy Spirit.

Corner.

When the excellent Doctor says: I have admitted to him that good works are given by God, I deny this; not that I deny that good works are given, but that he assumes that something has been admitted by me, of which nothing has been said; since he very finely cites Augustine from the 22nd chapter of the first book of the *Retr.* I have admitted that the ability to change the will for the better is given by God. But it is something different that the faculty for good works is given, than that the good work is given; which the Lord Doctor considers to be one and the same. Secondly, the eminent Doctor, in presenting his opinion, seeks to prove that the good work is from God working and receiving from free will. To this I reply: that the Herr Doctor, if he wants this, that the free

1) In Löscher and Walch: "1st Legum 9."

The fact that the free will behaves in a merely receptive way contradicts what he already admits, namely, that the free will also has its efficacy. Now if he does not exclude the efficacy of free will, no one is so nonsensical as to deny that free will behaves in a receiving way toward good works, especially when one speaks of the inward good effect; and it is a well-known saying that, as the active cause and the final purpose often agree, so also the active cause and the matter in which it acts. But let us consider what he states.

First, Augustine in the 32. c. Enchir. in nothing against us. For we have already said so often that the holy fathers, when they say that all good work is done by God, do not thereby deny the participation of free will, but assert God and grace as the main cause. The words of Augustine clearly prove this, for he says: He prepares to be helped and helps when he is prepared. For under the name of help is the efficacy of free will, as he explains in the fourth treatise on the epistle of John the words already mentioned above: If you say, he says, be my helper, then you must do something; if you do nothing, then how does he help you?

That he also attracted the apostle: that God works in us the willing and the doing; so the apostle says, if my memory does not deceive me: who works in us both the willing and the doing according to his good pleasure. Be it as it may, I gladly admit that God works in us the will; but with us, as Bernard says.

That he, on the other hand, refers to St. Augustine from the first book of the Retr. cap. 23. that the good work is, as it were, a gift from God; so I say: one must look at what kind of object (*materia subjecta*) the writers are talking about. For there Augustine speaks of faith and of love, to which the will is indisputably only incidental. But it is another thing to speak of good works. Nor do we deny what follows: that the will is incapable of good works unless it is called; for every good action of the will is preceded by God's impulse. We also do not deny that God gives powers; but if He gives them, the will will have them in any case. Therefore, we pray to God to precede our good works by giving them, and to succeed us by helping us. On Gregorius we say just the same, who in

the books of morals so often rejects the freedom of the will. For we can certainly do nothing that pleases God, if God does not help, who gives grace freely; otherwise grace would not be grace, as the apostle says; and consequently also the good work that comes from it is rightly called God's gift and our merit, according to the word of Augustine to the presbyter Sixtus: If God crowns our merits, he crowns nothing else than his gifts.

Of Cyril and all the others whom one would like to attract, we have no reason at all to deny what is stated. For men, of course, can do nothing that pleases God unless they are clothed with higher power; as the Lord Jesus admonished the apostles: they were to remain in the city until they were clothed with power from on high. For the power, I say, is an implanted goodness and grace, since the will is only a recipient; but when the power is there, it can also work. And the scripture also speaks of the powers in Ezekiel.

Carlstadt.

I thank the doctor that he admits that good works are God's gifts and that God crowns his gifts. But since he accuses me of contradicting myself, I refer him to the preceding and following, and ask: What effect does a stick or a rod have, so that a schoolmaster chastises the boy? When I have the answer, let us go further.

Corner.

The highly learned doctor asks what effect a rod or stick has in order that the schoolmaster beats the pupil? I answer: Since all secondary causes (*causa secunda*) can also be called tool causes, the tools must necessarily be of different kinds. For sometimes a tool cause has and uses its innate and actual power and virtue, and sometimes the faculty that is imparted. But the least kind of a tool is when the instrument only does what it is guided and governed to do, be it either by the imparting of some force or merely by the power of guidance.

Therefore, I answer the pointed question like this: The stick has an effect, as far as it is led by the hand of the teacher.

I am ready to hear how such things are rejected.

Carlstadt.

Be it as it may with the discernment of the excellent Lord Doctor, Isaiah says this: that as the moving instruments can say nothing to their moving persons, so also the man driven by the Holy Spirit can presume nothing of such movement or effect. Isaiah Cap. 10, 15. speaks thus: "Will the axe also boast against him that heweth therewith, and the saw against him that draweth it? and the rod against him by whom it is moved?" So also the free will, which is compared to such tools, cannot say, The good work is not wholly of God; because, if he says so, he boasts against the Lord.

Corner.

The erudite Doctor counters my answer with the saying of Isaiah 10: "Even the axe may boast against him who cuts with it"; likewise of the drawn saw and the beating stick, from which it is to be assumed that free will cannot say that it does something; for if the will denied that the good work was entirely from God, it would boast against the Lord. I answer: that the words of the prophet are allegorical, which according to the teaching of St. Dionysii de mystic. Theol. 6. 4. they do not express the same thing, but only according to one or the other. Thus Isaiah teaches us that one must not boast of good works: which no one will deny, for he would be senseless, since the apostle admonishes us: "He who boasts, let him boast of the Lord! Therefore, for this purpose, the use of the three images, the axe, the saw, and the stick, is quite suitable. But in the manner of a tool, a stick and free will are not the same in comparison; for the former is an inanimate tool, but the latter is an animate one, indeed, the soul itself. This difference I could, if I dare, 1) cite from S. Thoma qu. 24. de veritate.

Carlstadt.

What to think of this comparison of the tools, I refer to Jerome, and that quite confidently. On the other hand, I say interjectionally: that what the grace-driven free will does is a gift and work of God, which Augustine evidently says

Aes 8xir. et lät. s. 2. In addition, Ezekiel Cap. 36, 27: "I will make you walk in my commandments, and keep my statutes, and do them." From this it clearly follows that God makes us do and work. Then I would like to know from the most respectable gentleman: which church teacher has ever written that the good work is all of God, but not entirely. And if I am right, then this is only a spiky miracle animal, which the Doctor invented, so that he would be fearless and not to be collected (inconclusibilis).

Corner.

First of all, as far as Augustine c. 2. de 8pir. st lät. is concerned, it is quite correct, and likewise with the words of Ezekiel: that God makes us do what we only do. How much more does he make us do good, as I have long said, that God does more with the instrumental causes than when he works alone. This the respectable Doctor, if he had wanted to read our things according to love, could easily have seen from the 29th conclusion of the "defense": For I know that my prayer is nothing unless God makes it something.

But that the highly learned doctor reproaches me with regard to the spiky miraculous animal, where church teachers have spoken that the good work is entirely from God, but not completely? so he does, as Arius did to St. Athanasius, when he asked the holy father before the judge Probus: where in holy scripture the word homousia [equality] stands? Because of this newly made word the heretics called the Christians homousians. And Hunnerich, the Wendish king in Africa, gave a law that all Homousians should be killed in different ways. I wanted, it once told me the respectable doctor, since there is no believer who does not know that God is in essence one and threefold in persons, where then the word person is found in the Scriptures? So could be said of the name *Theotokos*, in the time of St. John Damascene. And in theology we suffer from this poverty of words, because there are more things than words. Therefore, when the matter is established, it is vain to quarrel about a word; and the disputation about words must be left to the obstinate. Therefore, since the Herr Doctor has clearly understood my cause and intention, he strives in vain to hunt for words. I wanted to say this: The whole good work is from God, but because it is

1) namely, because the opponent does not respect school teachers. (Walch.)

2) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 703.

I have said, in order not to deny such participation, that it is not entirely of God; that is, to state the matter briefly and completely. Therefore, the Doctor does not deny the opinion, but only the words. 1)

The university famulus then publicly announced that the disputation between Herr Il. Eck and Martin Luther 2c. should begin the following day early at 7 o'clock.

The disputation of the excellent theologians Joh. Eck and Martin Luther begins, Augustinian,

which was started on July 4, 1519 at 7 o'clock.

Protestation of the Father M. Luther. In the name of the Lord, Amen.

I accept the protestation of both respectable gentlemen, Andreas Carlstadt and Johann Eck, and follow it. The one thing I add is that out of deference to the pope and the Roman church I would have let this subject, which is not necessary and extraordinarily hateful, pass if I had not been drawn to it by the thesis of the excellent Doctor Johann Eck. I am also sorry that those are not present who should be there above all, who, although they have blasphemed me privately and publicly so often with the accusation of heresy, have now, when the judgment of the matter is imminent, made off: I mean the heretics, who have put fraternal remembrance and doctrine behind their accusations.

Subject of the hearing (Scopus):

From the violence, rather from the primacy of the Roman pope.

Eck's protestation. 2)

In your name, sweet Jesus.

Before entering the battlefield, I testify before you, most noble, noble, noble, noble, noble, noble, noble, noble, noble.

1) In the margin is written: Mr. D. Carlstadt has thanked Mr. D. Eck for admitting that a good work is a gift of God; and Mr. D. Eck has said: he has always been of this opinion.

2) The first protestation is printed above Col. 861 f.

bare gentlemen, that everything that I shall say and that has been said by me shall first of all be subject to the judgment of the highest chair and of the Lord who sits on it, and then also to that of all others to whom it is incumbent to rebuke the erring and to lead them to the knowledge of the truth. And since the venerable father testifies in his preface, as it were, to his excuse, that he would have gladly, out of deference to the pope, left this subject pending, if he had not been drawn to it by my thesis, let the venerable father, on the other hand, be mindful: if he had not previously denied in his "Explanations" 3) that before the times of Silvester the Roman pope was higher than others, it would not have been necessary for me to put forward the thirteenth thesis; and that in the actions before the legate of the apostolic see 4) he pretends that the holy pope Pelagius has distorted the evangelical writings, who of all has taken the words of Christ most according to the sense of the holy fathers. In vain, therefore, does the venerable father seek to blame me for the matter to which he has more than once given rise. But now, without further ado, let us proceed to the main matter under God's guidance.

Venerable Father! Your thirteenth thesis, which is contrary to mine, states that the Roman Church is higher than others according to the very cold decrees of the Roman popes, which have arisen for four hundred years, and which, as you say, are opposed by the text of sacred Scripture and the proven histories of eleven hundred years. Against the same I argue thus:

A single rule (monarchia) and a supreme rule is established in the Church of God by divine right and by Christ. Therefore, the text of the Holy Scripture or the proven histories do not contradict it. For the contending Church, which according to St. Paul [Eph. 4:16] is as it were One Body, is ordered and made in the image of the triumphant Church [Eph. 5:23 ff], in which there is a single dominion (monarchia), in that everything is joined together in order to the One Head, namely God. Therefore, such an order was also established by Christ on earth, since He confesses, John 5:19, that the Son does nothing except what He sees the Father doing. Therefore

3) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 173 f. - "Eck cites the passage inaccurately in his favor." (Weim. Ausg.)

4) See the 226th Document, § 5, Col. 619 in this volume.

who is not from heaven, who refuses to be under the head, just as he who is not from heaven but from Lucifer, who does not want to be subject to GÖtte.

All this can be confirmed in great detail, especially by the holy soul, the blessed Dionysius Areopagita, in the book of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, where he says: "For our kingdom order (*hierarchia*), which is sacredly established by God through traditional orders, is conformed to the holy and heavenly kingdom orders. Thus Gregory of Nazianzus says in the treatise on the defense (*apologetico*) that the holy mysteries are celebrated according to the likeness of the heavenly image, by which we on earth are badly assimilated to the heavenly orders. For what an absurdity it would be that the Church should be without a head! This has been the aim of almost all heretics, as St. Cyprian tells Rogatianus and Puppianus, so that after the head is weakened, they can drive their errors and their poison into the minds of men with impunity. And this was the main cause, along with others connected with it, why the noble University of Paris condemned John of Tournay for denying the primacy of the Roman Church. Thus it was also an error of the Wiclef that the Roman Church was not higher than others according to the law of the Gospel.

Martin Luther.

Since the doctor proves that there is only one head of the general church, he does very well. And if there is someone who, by a private agreement with the venerated gentleman, has understood to defend the opposite, let him come forward; it is none of my business.

Corner.

Since the venerable father says that it is none of his business to prove the opposite of what I asserted, that by divine right there is an *autarchy* (*monarchiam*) in the contending church as in the triumphant one: so I praise him in that he agrees in this also with St. John in the Revelation [Cap. 21, 2: I saw the new holy city coming down from heaven 2c. But to come closer to the matter: if the contending church has not been without an autocrat, I would like to hear who the other autocrat would be or ever would have been than the Roman one.

Pabst, or what other supreme (*prima*) see than the see of Peter and his successors, according to the words of St. Cyprianus, who says in the third letter to the Roman pope Cornelius, when he writes against the Novatians, who deceitfully turn to Rome: After these things, having, moreover, a false bishop 1) appointed to them by heretics, they nevertheless presume to ship to Rome, and to bring to the See of Peter 2) and to the chief church, from which Priestly Unity has sprung, letters from riffraff and unholy people, not considering that the Romans are such people whose faith has been pledged by the Apostle, to whom faithlessness can have no admission. And Jerome testifies the same against the Luciferians: the salvation of the church, he says, depends on the dignity of the supreme priest; if he is not given an extraordinary and supreme power, there will be as many sects in the churches as there are priests. And that this supreme priest is the Roman one is evident from the same Saint Jerome in two letters to Pope Damasus, whose words serve the cause almost without exception, but for the sake of brevity we will show only these: I am talking to the successor of the fisherman and the disciple of Christ; I seek no other reward than Christ; to your holiness, that is, to the chair of Peter, I join myself. I know that on this rock the Church is founded. And further on: He that gathereth not with thee scattereth. From this, every good Christian easily deduces that priestly unity comes from the Roman Pontiff, and that that See has always been supreme and superior to all others, and that it [the See] is the rock of which Jerome says he knows that upon it the Church is founded, or the venerable Father would indicate another supreme lord (*monarcham*) of the Church in ancient times.

Martin Luther.

I fully admit a supreme rule in the contending church, and that its head is not a man, but Christ himself, and that according to divine testimony. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians, Cap. 15, 25, it is said: "He must reign until he puts all his enemies under his feet." And shortly before [v. 24]: "After that the end, when he shall have the kingdom of God.

1) Here the Weimar edition has put pseudoepiscopo instead of the senseless cedo episcopo, which will be based on a hearing error of the notaries.

2) As an aside, not at Peter's footstool.

and your Father will hand over, when he will abolish is not from heaven, who refuses to be under the head, all dominion." Augustine interprets this in the first book and is from Lucifer, who does not want to be subject of the Trinity, in the last chapter, of the kingdom of to God. For as the foregoing has been ill-dressed, so Christ in the present time, namely, in such a way that also is this ill-dressed.

Christ, the head of the church, through faith will bring The third testimony, which is that of Dionysius, is us, who are his kingdom, into 1) seeing. Thus it is said not valid against us. For we do not deny the in Matthew at the last, "Behold, I am with you unto the ecclesiastical order (*hierarchium*), but we dispute the end of the world." Likewise in Acts Cap. 9, 4. Paul head of the sole supremacy (*monarchiae*), not the heard from heaven, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou order of the empire.

me?" Augustine again says that the head speaks for The fourth testimony, which is quoted from its members. Therefore we must by all means not hear Gregory of Nazianzus, that through the sacred those who push Christ out of the contending church mysteries we are associated with the sacred heavenly into the triumphant one, since it is the kingdom of faith, orders,-from which everyone who understands the that is, we do not see our head, and yet we have, as grammar recognizes that nothing is said therein either Ps. 122:5 says, "There sit the chairs of judgment, the of the sole supremacy or of the head.

chairs of the house of David." Namely, there are many What he now added, that it would be an absurdity chairs on which the One Christ sits; the chairs we see, if the church were without a head, I concede; but as not the One who sits on them, or the King. this head even the Lord Doctor could set no other head than Christ. And this I prove clearly. For if his To come to the testimonies of the honorable Doctor: since he claims that in the contending church there is one supremacy by divine right and appointed by Christ, he says his own, but proves nothing. For his head, which he calls the Roman pope, dies, as he is a man, then the church is already without a head; but first testimony, namely that of Paul to the Ephesians another is chosen, it is no less an absurdity that Christ Cap. 4, 15, in which he says that Christ is the head of should depart from the living pope and follow the dead one.

the church, serves against him for me, since he The fifth testimony is of St. Cyprian, who argued certainly speaks of the church in conflict and calls against the heretics because, after the head had been Christ its head. It is also the same opinion in the weakened, they strove to imprint their errors on the passage opposite to this, 1 Cor. 3, 5 [1, 12. f.]: Who is people with impunity: this does not serve the point at all. For he does not speak of the Roman head, but of Apollo? Who is Cephas? Who is Paul? Is Christ then divided? 2c., where he obviously forbids another head of any head of any diocese. And if the respectable doctor than Christ. wants to stand by Cyprian's testimony, we will end the

disputation in this hour. 2) For he never greets Pope

Cornelius other than as a very dear brother. Then,

describing in many letters the election and

confirmation of bishops, he proves most conclusively

from sacred Scripture that it belongs to the people and

to two or three neighboring bishops, as is also

established in the most holy Concilium at Nicaea. Yes,

the same hei

I pass over the fact that he said that the

1) Weimarsche: per; Löscher: ad. We have assumed the latter.

2) As an aside, Eck said that won't happen.

The first martyr, as St. Augustine states in the second book, Cap. 2, "Of Baptism," says thus: For none of ours raises himself to be a bishop over the bishops, or by tyrannical terror compels his brother bishops to the necessity of obeying, since every bishop has his own authority according to the freedom and power due to him, so that he cannot be judged by another, just as he cannot judge another, but we must all await the judgment of our Lord JESu Christ.

But that he says that the priestly unity came from the Roman and Peter's chair, I gladly admit, as far as the occidental church is concerned. For in fact, the Roman Church also came from that of Jerusalem; this is actually the mother of all churches. But the conclusion is not valid: the priestly unity came from the Roman church, therefore it is the head and the supreme mistress of all. Otherwise, he would insurmountably conclude that the Church of Jerusalem is the head and mistress of all.

The last testimony of St. Jerome is not properly cited by the honorable Doctor, even if Jerome's testimony were true in all respects, for the Doctor intends to prove that the monarchic power of the Roman Church was instituted by Christ by divine right. This is not contained in the words of Jerome, for he says: unless a special power, higher than all, is given to her, there will arise in the churches as many sects as there are priests. He says: "is given", that is, according to human right it could happen if all other believers give their consent. For even I do not deny that if all the faithful of the whole world unite on the one at Rome or at Paris or at Magdeburg or any other, that he should be the first and supreme bishop, that this one, because of the deference to the whole church of the faithful, which thus agrees, should be considered the supreme overlord (*monarcham*). But this has never happened, does not happen and will not happen, since until our times the Greek Church did not enter

and yet was not considered heretical. And that this is the opinion of St. Jerome, I prove from the letter to Evagrius, where he says: "Wherever a bishop may be, whether at Rome or Eugubium or Constantinople or Rhegium or Alexandria or Thanis, he has just as much authority and has the same priesthood. The power of wealth and the lowliness of poverty makes him either higher or lower. By the way, all are the successors of the apostles. 1) This epistle is cited in decrees that are not cold, *dist. 93. cap. legimus*. The same says about the epistle to Titus: "A presbyter is the same as a bishop, and before special efforts in religion arose at the instigation of the devil, and it was said among the people: "I am Pauline, I am Cephian" [1 Cor. 1, 12], the churches were governed according to the common counsel of the presbyters. But when any one thought that those whom he had lusted were his, it was decided in the whole world that one should be chosen from among the presbyters and be set over them, and quoting passages of Scripture he says at the end, "As therefore the presbyters know that according to the custom of the church they are subject to him who is set over them, so let the bishops know that they are higher than the presbyters more by custom than by the truth of the divine decree 2). Therefore, what the Doctor added, that Jerome understood it from the Roman Pontiff, proves nothing, since he says: I talk with the successor of the fisherman and the disciple of Christ; and join myself to your holiness, that is, to the chair of Peter; I know that on this rock the Church is founded. It does not follow: I join myself to this church, therefore this alone is the supreme one. Nor does it follow: It is founded on the rock, therefore it alone is founded.

In addition, there is the decree of the African Council, *dist. 99. cap. primae*. It states:

1) In the margin: DIartimis "That they did not burn Jerome long."

2) "Probably Luther said *äispensationis* [not *sispotionis*], perhaps also the notaries wrote *dispesationis*." (If. edition.) Compare Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. XVIII, 802 s.

The bishop of the highest (*primae*) see shall not be called a prince of priests or the highest priest or in any such way, but only: the bishop of the highest see; but even the one at Rome shall not be called a general bishop. Therefore, if the sole rule of the Roman Pontiff existed according to divine right, all this would be heretical; but it is sacrilegious to assert it.

And finally we want to listen to the Lord Himself, who says Luc. 22, 24. ff.: "But there arose a dispute among the disciples, which of them should be considered the greatest". But he said to them: "The worldly kings reign, and the mighty are called gracious lords; but ye are not so, but the greatest among you shall be as the least."

Corner.

The venerable father has come to the battlefield quite well equipped, in that he has his subject matter, put together in good order, in a printed booklet 1) written by him. Therefore, you, most illustrious lords, dignities and gentlemen, will give credit to the corner, who has now been burdened with other business for a long time, if he is not able to heap together so many things so roundly and exactly off the cuff as the venerable father has already brought together; for he comes to dispute, not to publish a book; but what the venerable father has said, we want to look at carefully in turn.

First of all, he intends to prove that the head of the Church is Christ, which was quite superfluous, since no one can deny it but he who is an antichrist. But I am very surprised that he did not consider that (as he promises in the acts before the legate of the apostolic see 2) that he could prove himself to be a juridical theologian), that several subordinate heads can be, wherein the manner of the spiritual or figurative head differs from the manner of a natural head. Therefore, it will soon be proven that besides the headship of Christ, there is another head in the church.

must be sought. And it does not suit him that he quotes the apostle in the first letter to the Corinthians Cap. 3, 5 [1, 13]: "Is Christ then divided?" For although Paul there remembers Peter, yet St. Jerome in the first book against Jovinian, in my edition Col. 18, did not say falsely: One is chosen (he speaks of Peter), so that by the institution of the main the occasion for rottenness may be removed. He clearly calls Peter the head who is appointed in the church. But we want to leave this aside and refute the objections against our citations.

First of all, when he answers to the saying Joh. 5, 12: "For even the Son can do nothing but what he sees the Father do," he said that according to the holy Fathers the equality of the Father and the Son is expressed here. But, I ask the venerable father to read more carefully the holy and not high enough to be exalted (inadulabile) father Bernardus in the third book de consideratione to Eugenius, where he, speaking of the figure of the church, and proving that it is of divine right, used our way [of interpretation], in my edition Col. 7: And you may not disregard this figure because it is on earth, for it has its model in heaven. For the Son can do nothing but what he sees the Father doing, especially since it was said to him under Moses' name [Ex. 25:40], "See that you make everything in the image that is shown to you on the mountain. This is what he saw who said [Revelation 21:2], I saw the holy city 2c. For I believe that this is said for the sake of similarity, that as there the seraphim and cherubim and all the others, except the angels and archangels, are ordered under one head, God, so also here under one pope the primates or patriarchs, the archbishops, bishops, presbyters or abbots and the others in such a way. Then Bernhardus adds: "It is not to be disregarded that it both has God as its author and derives its origin from heaven. Who should not now recognize that this ecclesiastical kingdom order, as Bernard says, was instituted by Christ, and that, just as God is the head in heaven, so the pope is the head in the contending church? by no means to the exclusion of Christ, whose governor he professes to be. But as for the scurrilous reason he gave: that the Church, when the pope is dead, remains without a head, unless we were to say, in a ridiculous way, that Christ gives way to the living pope, and follows the pope when he dies.

1) Eck means Luther's "Erläuterung über seine dreizehnte Thesis von der Gewalt des Pabstes," Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 720 sf.

2) In Doc. No. 226, § 2, Col. 618 in this volume.

This is a quite ridiculous bad reason, which is hardly worthy of being mentioned in such a serious matter among such eminent men, since I said in the beginning that this figurative head deviates from the manner of a true natural head in several respects. Nor does Christ, whose kingdom remains forever and whose priesthood is eternal, yield to the pope, nor does he succeed him, since all authority in heaven and on earth has been given to him, Matthew the last [Cap. 28, 18.], and when the pope has died, immediately the assembly of cardinals, as after the departure of a bishop the chapter, holds these rights until a new pope is elected.

But what the venerable father says in the second place, that Cyprian speaks of any bishop, not of the Roman pope, I am very surprised about, since the understanding of what is said must be taken from the causes that caused such things to be said, and Cyprian, in the passages I have quoted, chides those who had fallen away from Cornelius, who was certainly a Roman pope. Therefore let the venerable father know that I do not wish to be fobbed off with mere words, as we are wont to feed the sophists. That which he brings for himself from Cyprian, I think he will make more in refuting. For that Cyprianus calls Cornelius a brother, there is no one who does not know that the apostles also were brothers. But Peter, as well as his successor Cornelius, was the head of the apostles, the apex and the chief according to the opinion of St. Dionysius in the third or in the seventh chapter "of the divine names". That which was gathered from the election and conciliar of Nicaea, and that which was gathered from Cyprian, neither furthers our cause, nor hinders the same, much less would Augustine lib. 2., cap. 2. "of the baptism of little children" should have been drawn to Cyprian. For Augustine rebukes the presumptuousness and sacrilege of those who by ambition and presumption force their way into the ecclesiastical high offices, that they should not appoint themselves, nor compel others to appoint them, since every prelate should wait to be appointed, like Aaron [Heb. 5:4].

Thirdly, wishing to nullify another saying of Cyprian in the third Epistle to Cornelius, he replies that while priestly unity in the Occidental Church came from the Roman, it did not in the Oriental; here the venerable Father has concealed the fact that Cyprian, in the foregoing, has made the Roman Church the See of Peter and the most distinguished

Church. But what his refutation is able to do, becomes obvious to the one who looks closely at the core of the words. For the venerable father, according to the grammatical way, understands the emergence of the priestly unity only from the beginning and the beginning, while Cyprian truly wants to explain the origin of the conferral of the office (commissionis), the subordination or the influence, that from the One Peter as from the head came the jurisdiction over all others; otherwise he will not be able to provide One priest, not even at Jerusalem. I am silent that the added miserable gloss about the occidental church does not help him, since St. Jerome, at the beginning of his letter, writing from the East, for this reason calls the occidental church a rotterian one, which tears the undivided skirt of the Lord, woven from above, piece by piece into shreds. These foxes, he says, spoil Christ's vineyard, in that Jerome alludes to what the bride lamented about in the Song of Songs [Cap. 2, 15.]: *Fahet uns die kleinen Füchse, die den Weinberg zerstören*. Therefore, may, I pray, the venerable Father be silent, and not mock us with the Greeks and those in the East, who, having fallen away from the Roman Church, have also become such people as have forsaken the Christian faith. From this it follows how the conclusion is to be taken: She is the root, therefore the mistress. For we do not speak of the root of the beginning or of the time, but of the root of influence and supremacy.

In the fourth place, the venerable father tries to wriggle out of Jerome's words and avoid them. For he admits that the highest priest is also given the highest dignity, but this is done by human right. But why then does St. Jerome call Damasus the successor of the fisherman and wants to join the chair of Peter? By citing the saying of God, Matth. 16, 18: "I know that on this rock the church is founded. This cannot be attributed to the other churches in such a way, as Bernard concludes, and we have learned, alas! to the greatest harm of Christians, that the gates of hell have overwhelmed the church at Jerusalem, at Antioch, at Alexandria, I also add, the one in Bohemia, which, after all, the church, which is founded on the rock, is the only church in the world.

1) Instead of frustra in the editions, the Weimar edition reads frustra.

the unadulterated truth of Christ. But what Jerome says in the same letter [Matth. 24, 28.] is quite true for those who are of faith: Where there is carrion, there the eagles gather. After the paternal inheritance is wasted by the wicked offspring, with you alone the reputation of the fathers is preserved quite unharmed. But this we shall prove quite clearly in the main, 1) that the Roman church holds supremacy not by human but by divine right.

However, it is still necessary to resolve what the venerable father has drawn for himself from Jerome. First, to Evagrius, where he says that the bishop of Rome and of Eugubium, of Constantinople and of Rhegium have the same prestige and the same priesthood; we have known this since time immemorial. Nor is the papacy a rank above the bishopric. For he says in another place that the apostles were equal, when he did not take the first place from St. Peter. But the fact that the venerable father asks me so much that I should not seek any deviations (which I never do), by referring to the Canon legimus, 93. dist., brings me to the pointed question which the gentlemen canonists and theologians discuss: whether the episcopal dignity is a state which, distinguished by a special characteristic, is added to the priesthood: about this I decide nothing for now, since it does not belong to the matter. But I say this, always with the reservation of better consideration, that it seems clear to me that in the first church there was not such a confusion that a bishop should not have been separated from a priest, since the twelve apostles were higher than the two and seventy disciples. In testimony to this, I cite St. Dionysius, who is older than Jerome and a regent of the first church, who in the book "Of the Kingdom Order of the Church" places among the holy orders the episcopal dignity and the supreme church regent, and how he must be ordained. Since I agree with him, I believe that the bishops have been higher than the common priesthood from the beginning of the church.

Fifthly, he has attracted a Canon of the African Concilium, 99. dist.can. primae, where the Concilium forbids that even the Roman Pontiff should not be called a general bishop, and that Christ had forbidden it

Luc. 22, 25.: The secular kings rule 2c. I answer that it is true that the proud name of a general bishop has been forbidden, not as if the Roman pope had ever not been considered by a true Christian to be the first and highest bishop, but because a bishop, especially of the Roman church, is not the proper bishop of any church, but the first, because otherwise the lower bishops would not be given due honor. But there is no injustice in anyone calling the Roman bishop the general one instead of giving him the name of the first. More correctly, however, he will not be called a general bishop, but bishop of the general church, as he is Christ's governor. The fact that the Lord punishes the ambitious quarreling of the apostles, as it is deplored among the worldly, does not abolish the supremacy of the Roman Church, but [the Lord means that] what St. Gregory first did and recognized, that for this reason he was placed before the Roman Church, so that he might recognize himself as a servant of servants, in which we should not attack the following popes with invective, but strive to obtain from God by prayer that they be subdued.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the fourth of July, 1519.

Martin Luther.

My first answer, in which I showed from Paul's saying 1 Cor. 3, 4. ff. that the apostle forbade that the faithful should not choose Cephas or Paul or Apollo [as their head], was refuted by the respectable Doctor in this way: that although Paul thought of Peter there, Jerome against Jovinianus does not wrongly say: One is chosen, because when a head is appointed, the opportunity for rotting is taken away. He clearly calls Peter the head appointed in the Church. He added: But this let us drive. I answer: I do not suffer that I should depart from a greater testimony for the sake of a lesser one, nor is Jerome so great that I should leave Paulum for his sake. For Paul not only remembers Peter, as that refutation endeavors to weaken, but with full power he teaches and forbids that no one should say that he is

1) Weimarsche: probabimus, all other editions: xmbaviinus. We have assumed the former.

Peter. Therefore also this very chapter [1 Cor. 3, 22. f.] closes: "All is yours, whether Paul or Cephas, whether death or life. But you are Christ's, but Christ is God's." Therefore, my answer still stands unconquered, and if it is not more strongly refuted, I oppose it to all past and future proofs of the Lord Doctor. For the word of God is above all the words of men.

To Jerome, however, I say that I, too, let this go, since it is a very ambiguous passage, as the Herr Doctor has well noticed.

In my second answer concerning the saying John 5:19, where I said that Christ speaks of the equality of power with the Father, the Doctor asked me to read more carefully St. Bernard, who introduces this saying from the contending church, as has been heard. I answer: I hold St. Bernard in honor and do not despise his opinion, but in the struggle one must take the right and proper sense of Scripture, which can stand in the dispute, from which the holy fathers sometimes depart in order to make their speech richer, and that without blame. But now it is clear from the preceding and the following text that Christ speaks of His same omnipotence with the Father [John 5:16, 18, 19]: "Therefore the Jews persecuted Jesus, because He had done these things on the Sabbath. Therefore the Jews sought after him much more to kill him, because he not only broke the Sabbath, but also said that God was his Father, and made himself equal with God. Then JESus answered and said unto them: Verily, verily, I say unto you: The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He sees the Father doing." And so it is clear that Bernard treats this word of Christ in a different sense.

To the third answer, namely the scurrilous (as he put it) and ridiculous bad reason that I said that even without the pope the church has its head, he said on the other hand that the reason was not worthy to be given before such great men and in such a serious matter. I answer: It is after all plebeian and ridiculous, if it is only insurmountable, because I still see

not that he is refuted. For I do not see that if the church is not without a head for three or four months, if the pope has died, if there are only other bishops, just as it should not be without a head if there were no pope. For what he said about the cardinals, who have the right of election, 2c., strengthens my answer, because it would follow that at the time when there were no cardinals, as at the time of Jerome, there could not have been a pope.

To the fourth answer, the testimony of Cyprian, where I said that he speaks of any bishop, he replied that it is clear from the text that he spoke of Cornelius the Roman Pontiff, against the Novatians. I answer: I have no interest in this, nor do I have this letter in my memory. But I do know that St. Cyprian, in many of his letters, is entirely concerned with the assertion that the head and bishop of each church are ordained by popular vote and the judgment of the neighboring bishops. And therefore, if it is so, as the Doctor states against the Novatians of Cornelius, I say: It is certain that he spoke of the head of the church at Rome, but not of the general church. He also refuted that Cyprian always calls Cornelius brother, but never lord, as the bishops do now, putting a relational without a correlative [that is, a lord without a servant]. He replied that Peter also considered the apostles to be brothers, and yet was the head and highest of the apostles, as Dionysius says. 2) I answer: If the excellent Doctor can prove that Peter ever ordained one of the apostles, even one of the seventy disciples, or ever sent out any of them, then I admit everything and will be overcome. But if I shall prove that not even all the apostles could have sent or ordained one apostle, I pray that he will grant me that Peter did not give any authority to the apostles.

1) This non, which is necessary according to the context, is missing in all editions.

2) In the margin: Us Uivinis noruinidus.

over the other apostles. From this it follows that much less the bishop, the successor of Peter, has authority over the bishops, the successors of the other apostles. But now the very clear text in the Acts of the Apostles Cap. 1, 23. ff. is that the apostle Matthias could not be ordained by the whole assembly of apostles and disciples, but from heaven, like all the others, he was chosen and ordained by Christ. So also, Cap. 13, 2, Saul and Barnabas were accepted for the work when the Holy Spirit set them apart. It is therefore a very obvious error that Peter had authority over the apostles. I freely admit that the apostle Peter was the first in the number of apostles, and that he deserves the privilege of honor, but not of authority. They were chosen in the same way and received the same image. So I also think of the Roman Pontiff that he must be preferred to the others according to the preference of honor, without prejudice to the equal authority of each, and not as Pelagius concludes in his very cold decree 1): Where there is the greater prestige, there is also the greater authority, and the others are left with the necessity to obey.

As for the fifth answer, where I mentioned the election of a bishop from Cyprian and the Concilium of Nicaea, the excellent doctor disregarded it with very pompous words and said that this neither promoted nor hindered the matter. But this does not refute my answer. Therefore, the Nicene decree still stands, or if it does not stand and they have decided this against divine right, then it will not be called a Catholic concilium, but a diabolical, wretched concilium (*conciliabulum*). Thus, since he thought I should not have put on Augustine, and with his very beautiful gloss put on Cyprian, whom Augustine cited, that Cyprian rebuked the ambition and pride of those who pushed themselves into office before they were called, like Aaron: he said this out of sheer audacity. By the way

1) "Luther has in mind Dist. XXI. e. 3. Huuavis." (Weim. Ausg.)

the text is quite clear that no bishop who is already a bishop should raise himself to be a bishop over other bishops. Therefore, my answer is still fixed.

In the sixth answer, the same excellent doctor severely rebukes me for having omitted from the other testimony of Cyprian this word: "the most noble church"; then he mocks me as a grammarian for having said that the priestly unity came from the chair of Peter. Therefore, the new dialectician or philosopher explains this origin rather as the conferral of the office, the emergence of subordination or influence; "otherwise", he says, "he will not be able to provide One Priest, not even in Jerusalem". I answer: Whether I have concealed or spoken this word "most noble" is of no consequence. For it cannot be called the noblest with reference to the Oriental Church, as has been sufficiently said. Then, I despise his little word about the "origin of influence" just as easily as he invented it, and it is not difficult for me to procure a priest from Jerusalem, namely Christ Himself, from whom the church began and from whom it sprouted and came forth according to the words of Isa. 2:3: "From Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." If, according to the testimony of Jerome, he added that the Oriental church was a red church and tore the undivided skirt of the Lord into small pieces, I really do not know what he means by this. For he cannot say that the entire Oriental church has also always been red-blooded. Therefore, he cannot deny that the Latin church has also had its rottenness at times, and yet it has remained a church. Therefore, it is nothing that he tells me to be silent, and not to scoff at the Greek church, because since they fell away from the Roman church, they have at the same time become such people who have left the faith of Christ. Rather, I ask Doctor Eck, according to the Eckian modesty he boasts, to spare so many thousands of saints, since the Greek Church has lasted until our times, and no doubt continues and will continue to this day. For Christ did not

The Father has not given us the center of the Roman land, but all the ends of the earth as a possession and inheritance, Ps. 2:8.

To the seventh, which he opposed from Jerome about the highest priest, he said that my answer would be an evasion, therefore, to confirm his statement, he added why then St. Jerome called Damasus the successor of the fisherman and wanted to join the chair of Peter, citing the divine statement, Matth. 16, 18. I know that the church is founded on this rock, which cannot be attributed in such a way to the other churches, and then he deplored the fall of the church at Jerusalem, at Antioch, at Alexandria, and finally also of the Bohemian church, and said that, according to the testimony of Jerome, only among the Romans would the reputation of the fathers be preserved unharmed. I answer and ask the excellent Doctor to cite the sayings of the Fathers according to conscience, so that we do not seem to be sophists instead of theologians. For in that passage Jerome also calls any bishop the highest priest, since he is elevated from the number of the other priests, therefore the passage does not actually refer to the Roman pope. Then the saying Matth. 16, 18, is not only assigned to the Roman church, which is explicitly indicated by the words of Christ when he says: "my church". Therefore, whatever church it may be, it is built on the rock, and not the Roman church alone; or if this word does not refer to the other churches, then the Roman church will be alone, therefore not the first. Therefore the unity of the church is not based on the unity of the Roman supremacy, but much better, as the apostle says Eph. 4,5, on the unity of faith, of baptism, of the Lord, as Cyprian also often says in his letters. And not only among the Romans the reputation of the fathers remained unharmed, except perhaps at the time when Jerome wrote; indeed, the Histories report that the Roman pope Liberius made concessions to the Arians; and Jerome writes this in the "famous men", that Achatius, an Arian bishop at Caesarea, a disciple of the Arian Eusebius,

by order of the emperor Constantius, decreed Felix to be the Roman pope.

Eighth. Refuting Jerome's testimony to Evagrius, which I have quoted, he says that he knew that all bishops had and have the same prestige and the same priesthood, but that the papacy is a rank above the bishopric. 1) But he did not refute my answer, because Jerome ascribes the majesty and lowliness of the bishops not to divine right, but to custom and the power of wealth. Therefore, I still remain with Jerome.

To the ninth answer about the Canon *Iegimus*, 93. dist. he says that it does not seem to him to have been such a confusion in the first Church that a bishop full of a priest would not have been divorced. I answer: What is that to me? He argues with Jerome and the Canons. But since he states that Dionysius counts the bishopric among the holy estates, I am surprised that he does not also bring from the same author the sole supremacy (*monarchiam*) of the Roman church, since it has such a great influence on the order of the empire that without this the similarity with the triumphant church cannot exist. It would be proper, however, for someone who claims to write a *hierarchy*, especially in its most noble part, to do enough with the subject matter; but Dionysius brings it only up to the bishop.

With regard to the tenth answer, to the Canon *Prima*, 99. dist., where I answered that it was forbidden that the Roman pope be called the general bishop of the church, he refuted thus: Not that the Roman Pontiff should not be the first and highest, but that a bishop, especially of the Roman Church, should not be the proper bishop of any church. I answer: As if such a foolish thought could occur to any man that one person should preside over all the churches and over every one of them, that it would have been necessary to make such a great nonsense of it.

1) Here Luther, as Eck says in his answer, did not understand Eck correctly (he understood *sed* instead of *nec*), because the latter had said that the papacy was not a higher state than that of the bishops. Compare Col. 916.

to forbid it! He then abandoned this refutation and gave a more correct one, namely that it should be said that the Roman pope is not a general bishop, but the bishop of the general church. If I did not spare him, I would also overturn this answer. But let the judges and the listeners judge.

Finally, on the saying of Christ, when he said [Luc. 22, 26.]: "But you not so", he said that the ambition was punished, but not the being in the first place (*primatum*). I answer, This is a *petitio principii*, 1) as if he had already obtained this, namely, that there was a supremacy. Then the text is clear that he has forbidden not merely ambition, but being higher than others.

Corner.

Regarding the defense of the answers given by the venerable father, I say in regard to the first that Paul did not scold those who said they were Peter because they had their sights set on the supreme place of the apostles, but because they had the particularity of the persons in mind. This is clearly indicated by the words separation and division [1 Cor. 1, 13. 10.] themselves. And although he [Luther] rightly prefers Paul to Jerome, one must still believe, in a godly way, that Jerome understood Paul's opinion well in this passage. For the passage is not doubtful that for this reason a head was appointed in the church, so that the opportunity for divisions would be taken away. This is enough for a reader who knows grammar. In a disputation, the venerable father said of this science that it was the most excellent above the other branches of philosophy and that it was useful for theology.

Secondly. No one except the Arians has denied that Christ Jn 5:19 asserted his equality with the Father, and even Bernard does not cite the passage in a different sense. But the fact that the venerable father thinks that the holy fathers have put on the holy scripture in order to make their speech richer, we reject this, because one must not suspect such a boast from them.

Regarding the third, when the pope has died, that then the Church is without a head, I say that it has never been denied that

Christ is the head of the church, also according to the gloss on the Song of Songs, Cap. 5,11: His head is the finest gold. The gloss says: The head, that is Christ. But the pope is his governor. In the consistory, however, bishop and governor are considered to be one person. Therefore it is not allowed to appeal from the governor to the bishop. As for the cardinals, I have said that now, that is, after the church is already organized, the election came to the cardinals by decree of a pope Nicolaus. But I believe that at the time of Jerome there were Cardinals, unless Jerome was not a Cardinal priest. 2)

Fourth, from Cyprian. Certainly it cannot happen that he constricts the words of the holy martyr to the narrow space of the Roman district, because the Novatian bishops came to Rome from Numidia, a country of Africa beyond the Atlas, 3) as Ptolemy and Strabo testify. But that Cyprianus called Cornelius "brother", I think that this was the opinion of the collector [of the writings], not Cyprian. For if we read the letters of the holy bishops, we will clearly find that the praiseworthy and glorious titles were much more common at that time, as it happens now against the Roman pope, as it is known from Ambrose, Augustine, Hilarius and other fathers. For they call themselves among themselves: Most Blessed, Most Holy, Beloved of GOD 2c. With regard to the added, he objects that I am looking for deviations and things that do not serve the cause. With permission I would like to say: It is shameful for a teacher [to instruct others, but not himself]. 4) He asks me to prove that Peter has appointed some apostle; but this does not serve our cause. For we do not ask who has ordained one or the other, but who has obtained from the Lord JESU the supremacy over the others. The following I reject entirely, because he makes such a conclusion: Peter could not have ordained an apostle, therefore also the successor of Peter could not ordain the successor of another [apostle] or have authority over him. For the antecedent (*assumptum*) is true, the consequent is obviously false, since the pope now has authority and ordains other bishops. But the way to untie this knot will be this, that the

2) As an aside, Martin replied that Jerome had not been a Cardinal.

3) As an aside: D. Martinus said: This side of the Atlas.

4) The bracketed is put by us instead of "etc.".

1) What *petere principium* is, Luther explains to Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1130 s., p 85.

Office of an apostle, the foundation of the Church, means more than being a bishop. Therefore Leo the Tenth is the successor of the apostle Peter, not an apostle. But that he admits that Peter is the first of the apostles in number and honor, but not in authority, does not do the matter enough: first, because the evangelists do not begin the number of apostles in the same way, as Chrysostom notes about Matthew and can be seen from the gloss to Matth. 10. Next, that he makes a distinction between the preference of force and honor, that is expressly against the holy martyr Cyprian, who in the treatise *de simplicitate prelaturum* 1) against Novatianus, speaking of the wiles of the devil, chides those who, as if they were ministers of justice, pass off night for day, ruin for salvation, despair under the pretense 2) of hope, faithlessness under the pretense of faith. And further on: And although after his resurrection he gives equal authority to all the apostles, saying, "Just as the Father sent me," 2c. nevertheless, in order to make the unity manifest, he so ordered the origin of this unity by his power that it began from one. The other disciples, too, were just what Peter was, gifted with the same fellowship both in honor and power (this is well to be considered!), 3) but the beginning proceeds from the unity, so that it may be shown that the church is One. And further on: Whoever does not keep this unity does not keep the law of God, does not keep the faith in the Father and the Son, does not keep life and blessedness. These are very remarkable words of Cyprian, who does not distinguish among the apostles 4) the preference of honor and power.

With regard to the fifth, of election, I say, as before, that we are not disputing about the manner of election, but about the nature or rather the greatness (*quantitate*) of the elect itself. Therefore the Nicene Concilium was not a contemptible Concilium. But as for the action and the use, it can be done according to the nature of the time,

of the persons and the place are changed, as we see in many canons.

As to the sixth, that the reverend Doctor opposes me, that I, as a dialectician, have invented a difference of a twofold origin, we have already heard Cyprian say that he speaks for Eck, who has not such great gifts that he could invent new things, but he interprets the old sayings of the saints according to his ability. But since he gives Christ as the priest of all, he first of all does not obtain Cyprian's opinion, nor Jerome's, because they want Peter to be appointed as the first of the apostles, from whom the power of the other priests flows, not, of course, by inwardly conferring what is Christ's as the head, but by communicating the ecclesiastical power.

Seventh, that he misses Eckian modesty, since he [Eck] declares the Greeks and inhabitants of the Orient to be people worthy of condemnation, I answer that the Greeks have long been not only red-blooded, but extremely heretical, as the great heap of so many errors and their obstinate obstinacy testifies in the Clementine *de summa trinitatis*, as, of the Holy Spirit, of confession, of the falsity of the three evangelists, and innumerable other things, though they have often rendered a fictitious obedience to the Roman Church, as happened at the Florentine Concilium in the days of Eugenius the Fourth. Therefore, if according to the opinion of many in our country only a few will be blessed, how much more will very few or none be blessed in Turkey, except for some monks and their followers who adhere to obedience to Rome.

Regarding the eighth, the venerable father asks that I cite the writers according to conscience; he may not have any misgivings about that. I would like to be able to cite them also according to knowledge. But that Jerome recognizes Damasus as pope, no one can doubt. In the same way, no one doubts that the universal church is founded on the rock. But that this rock is Peter and his successors, I will prove at another time.

But he insults Jerome a little bit, because he had said: with you alone the first reputation will be completely unharmed, as if also the Roman popes had not been without blemish. If he refers it to the time of Jerome, Liberius and Anastasius were before him. I say this because it is rightly stated in the

1) Now usually titled *de unitate ecclesiarum* (Weim. ed.).

2) In the text: *odtutu*. "Older as well as newer editions of Cyprian's works have *odtsntu*." (Weim. Ausg.)

3) An Intermediate Sentence by Eck (Weim. Ausg.).

4) Here Löscher has the reading *upo8tolorura* instead of *apostolos* in the editions. According to Löscher, the last part of the sentence would therefore read like this: which makes no difference between the *voitzug* of honor and violence of the apostles.

In the minds of the faithful it is something worthy of admiration that no Roman pope, however evil or erroneous he may have been, has judicially established and decreed anything, as far as I can remember, that is contrary to the commandments of the Christian faith, although they themselves have indeed often erred; rather, if they tried to make such erroneous judgments, they are also punished from God's judgment, as happened with the Arian Leo, against whom Hilariion sat, and with Anastasius, can. Anastasius, 19. dist.

To the ninth. With regard to the Canon legimus, 93. äi8t. the venerable father has perhaps not understood me. It never occurred to me that the papacy was a status above the bishopric, but a dignity. But that he says that I am at war with Jerome and the Canons, I have said what my opinion is. At this point I prefer the testimony of Dionysius as the older one. But since the venerable father makes oratorical remarks about Dionysius, why he did not describe the sole supreme ruler 1) of the church, indeed, does not go beyond the bishopric, I can easily answer. For Dionysius goes through the mysteries of the church. But since I have denied that the papacy is a state, the bishopric will receive the highest place after the agreement of all.

Tenth, that he thinks that no one is so nonsensical as to believe that anyone is the own bishop for all the individual churches, - what do I have to complain but that of the fools and those who seek something special, there is an infinite multitude? The venerable father read Alvarus "On the Lamentation of the Church", John de Turre Cremata in the *summa ecclesiae*, William of Occam (Ocken) in the dialogus, and he will find people who sometimes had this nonsense. But that he wants to overturn our answer, that I said that the pope is better called the bishop of the general church than the general bishop, I did this according to the testimony of St. Bernard and according to the custom of the popes, because Bernard says lib. 2. de consideratione ad Eugenium, Col. 7: For it is a sign of the special bishopric of Peter 2c., and afterwards: since each one of the others has his church, one is commanded to you, the largest ship, which out of all just the

general church has become, spread throughout the world.

Regarding the tithe, he says that the word of Christ, Luc. 22, 24. ff. is not satisfied, as if it were my little bundle. But I do not speak without a warrant. I refer him to Richard Armacanus, lib. 7. c. 3. de quaestionibus Armeniorum, who understands this passage according to the testimony of St. Leo. And that this is true is indicated by the words [v. 26]: and who is the greatest among you 2c. Therefore Christ presupposed that any one was the greatest. But who would be the greatest, he did not indicate then, but later [v. 31 f.], when he spoke to Peter of the devil desiring them, and how he would plead for him, that when he was converted, he should strengthen his brethren, where he declared his being greater.

Martin Luther early at seven o'clock on Tuesday,
which was July 5.

To refute the answer in the matter concerning the word 1 Cor. 3:5: What is Paul? What is Cephas?, the excellent Doctor said that the intention was not the supreme place, but the particularity of the person, and this is indicated by the words that express division. I answer: I am more moved by Paul's text than by such a violent and forced distinction, which is not based on any solid ground at all, while he wants to conclude from divine right. But it is clear that their quarrel was because of the preference or supremacy of the persons, which Paul's refutation itself indicates by penetrating through the diminishing speeches and comparisons and saying, "What is Cephas? what is Paul? Servants they are, by whom ye believed. Therefore, he who plants and he who waters are one and the same. Neither he who plants nor he who waters is anything, but he who gives the flourishing, GOD." In this he evidently belittles the person, that is, the cause of division. So also in the Epistle to the Galatians Cap. 2, 6, when the Galatians were seduced by the pretense of the outstanding position of Peter and other apostles - he boldly says: "Those who had the reputation of what they were then," that is, how great, "I do not care; for God does not care about the reputation of men." As if he wanted to

1) Löscher perhaps more correctly (according to the word used by Luther): mormrokiarQ; in the other editions monurotma.

I would like the excellent doctor to read the Scriptures more correctly before he performs them. Therefore, I would like the excellent Doctor to read the Scriptures more correctly before he reads them all. Therefore, it is certain that this supreme authority (*primatus*) or person does not concern the Church, at least according to divine right.

I pass over the fact that he says Jerome understood Paul's opinion; likewise also that which he admitted John 5:19; likewise also that of the scurrilous bad reason, because it has not been refuted. What he quoted from the bishop and the governor in the consistory does not serve the cause. My reason has wanted this: If the Church is not without a head when the pope has died, neither is it without a head when there is no pope. I pass over that of the Cardinals, because it is known to all when they began. I also pass over that of Cyprian, because the Doctor has said from his own head, I know not what, of a Numidia beyond Atlas, which does not exist in the whole world. Also that Cornelius is called brother by Damasus I pass over, because it is not refuted, although it has been said that they did honor to each other with the most honorable titles, calling each other the most blessed, the most holy; for this I also say. But not only to the Roman pope, as nowadays, was so written; for this should have been proved. I also pass over that he said it did not serve the cause whether Peter had ordained any apostle, for this is the main thing (*nervus*) and insurmountable against Doctor Eck, therefore he does not pass over it without forethought, lest he should start so that he cannot arise again. Likewise, I admit what he has quoted from the martyr Cyprian about the equal honor and authority of the apostles, and accept it as a favor shown to me by the Lord Doctor. That he has passed over with equal care the election 1) of bishops described by the Concilium at Nicaea and by Cyprian, pleases me; for it cannot be refuted.

1) Instead of *ecclesiam* in all editions we have assumed *electionsm*, which seems necessary to us according to what has been said in Col. 909. 920 and 926.

But what he repeated concerning the distinction in the origin of the priesthood, from which it appears that Cyprian had his intention on the origin of the priestly power, proves nothing to me, since he spoke nothing but his own words. It is even more noteworthy that he, quite modestly, dared to call the Greeks extremely heretical people, while no part of the entire church has produced more excellent writers than the Greek. For the fact that he has so often, secretly biting, advanced Bohemia to me and let other invectives flow in, I refer this to the sophists, for it is too unseemly to be mentioned, let alone reproached, in a serious and theological disputation.

Therefore, let us look at this word, Matth. 16, 18: "On this rock" 2c. There I say: "Rock" means in this place either power or faith (because I have the confidence that the Lord Doctor will never do his promise enough, that the rock means the pope or the successor of Christ). If violence, it is said superfluously afterwards [v. 19.], "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," that is, violence; if thou wilt not say, it is given to violence. Then, if it certainly means violence, all churches will have the same, because he says, "upon this rock I will build my church," not the Roman alone. Or if it means faith (which is true), then again all churches will have the same faith. Thus it is evident that this pronoun "my" alone makes the rock a common one, whatever may be signified by the "rock." That is why the decrees of the popes cite this saying without any probative force for the singleness of the supreme rule, while they constantly defend the community of Peter. And so this agrees with the apostle in the Epistle to the Ephesians [Cap. 4,5.]: "One faith, One baptism, One Lord." For, as St. Jerome writes to Evagrius, there is not another faith of the Roman Church, another of Britain, and of the whole world, so neither another Christ nor another Rock. If then the same faith and the same Lord

and the same baptism of all churches, it follows that all the rest also follows in the same way, concerning faith and baptism and Christ.

Finally, he has interpreted Christ's word from Richard Armacanus of ambition, not of being greater, for, he says, Christ presupposed that one among them was the greatest, though he did not indicate who it was. I answer: Whatever Armacanus is about, the very clear text is more valid than the unknown writer, for it is written that a dispute arose among them as to who among them should be considered the greatest. And Christ sda he says Luc. 22, 26.]: Whoever wishes to be the greatest among you indicates sufficiently that he has presupposed that no one is the greatest?and from the context of the text it is clear that he did not intend that anyone should be the greatest?c. But the fact that he cited the saying of Luca [Cap. 22, 32] to confirm his own: "I have asked for you, Peter, and you strengthen," serves for me because he commands Peter to strengthen Peter's brothers, not to be the greatest.

Corner.

What the venerable father has taught about the apostles, that I say it once and for all, we have heard from Cyprian and Jerome, what also the holy martyr and pope Anacletus testifies in the Canon in novo, dist. 21: that they were equal in apostleship, which no one denies. But the equality in the apostleship does not enter the supreme authority and the supremacy, unless one wants to impudently say that the holy martyr Anacletus contradicted himself in the same decree. But that he [Luther] puts so much weight on the decree of the apostles and seeks protection behind it, I know that Paul freely wrote [Gal. 2, 6.] that after he went out to Jerusalem, he received nothing from those who had the standing. But if this main thing (nervus) is to bind the corner so insurmountably, he will make use of it when the turn comes for him to oppose. But that he says that a favor was shown him by the word, which I have quoted from Cyprian, that the apostles were endowed with equal fellowship in honor and authority: if he calls this a favor, that I nullify his answers, I am ready to show him often such a favor.

point out. For the venerable father had made the distinction that Peter was first according to the preference of honor, not of power; Cyprian puts them equal in both things.

As for Numidia, of which he says that it belongs to Mauritania, and what he has brought, does not concern our trade, and since I have not dealt with geographical matters for a long time, I also do not remember all things. I know that the Turgan 1) and Caesarean Mauritania extend from the Atlas to the sea, and that the Atlas is not set as the extreme end of Africa, but that it divides Africa after a large part into several stages. It is enough that those who came to Cornelius from Numidia did not belong to the Roman district, but turned to the first church. Therefore, that saying of Cyprian still stands unconquered and has not yet been answered. I am surprised that he says, with regard to the flowing forth [of power], that it was my words, since I cited Cyprian against Novatianus, to which the venerable father answered nothing.

Of the Greeks I admit that they were formerly very Christian and learned, since they called the Roman church the supreme see; but since they, puffed up by pride and filled with envy, withdrew from the obedience of the Roman see, they fell into the worst errors and at the same time lost the faith with the rule. But since he suspects that I will not fulfill my promise and has made a reason for proof out of the 16th chapter of Matthew, I am surprised that the venerable father is so hostile to the Sophists, and yet uses the precautions of the Sophists quite nicely, and while he is a responder, takes the side of an opponent. 2) Therefore, I do not answer anything now, but I will prove what he demands to be proved by me, so that the time for deliberation does not always fall on his side.

Finally, he rejects the unknown teacher Richard Armacanus, forgetting that I said that Richard does this according to the testimony of St. Leo. Furthermore, he does not prove from the letter of the text what he desires. Christ rightly rebukes the quarrel that had arisen among the disciples. Therefore, the words of Christ must also be taken in such a way as to suppress the quarrel, but not the supreme

1) Eck said: DurMnioam instead of: linZitanam.

2) That is, while he is supposed to answer interjections, he makes interjections.

Take away place. And the venerable father believes that the text later on serves him, that Christ called the apostles brothers [of Peter], and thus did not make him the greatest. But if he were to consider the words of the text correctly, as he usually does, he would immediately see that Peter is higher than the other apostles, since he who strengthens is greater than he who is strengthened. This is what is said about the answers.

Now I come to the main thing he desires, and will prove that the supremacy (*primatum*) of the Roman church comes from divine right and from the institution of the Christ, so that Peter was appointed as the sole ruler of the church by Christ, with his successors, for which I repeat the reason of Bernardus, which has not yet been refuted. I repeat likewise the saying of Cyprian, and thirdly I prove it by the words of Christ Matt. 16:18.: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." The glossa ordinaria says: "He granted this authority to Peter in particular, so that he might unite us. For this reason he appointed him prince of the apostles, so that the Church would have a supreme governor of Christ, to whom the various members could take refuge if they were at odds among themselves, because if there were different heads, the bond of unity would be broken. Thus St. Augustine, in his letter against the Donatists, declared: "You are Peter, and on this rock, that is Peter, I will build my church. And although the same Augustine interpreted elsewhere: on this rock, that is Christ, according to the sense of the apostle: the rock was Christ, he did not retract his first interpretation in the book retractationum. So also St. Jerome says in the first book against the Pelagians, in my edition Columne 5: What about Plato and Peter? For as the former was the prince of the philosophers, so also the latter was the prince of the apostles, on whom the Church of the Lord is founded by a firm structure, which is not shaken by the impetuosity of the waters nor by any storm. Thus St. Ambrose says in the 47th Sermon that Peter was the rock. Chrysostom also agrees with this opinion, at the beginning of the same chapter. What then does Peter say, he says, the mouth of all the apostles, the summit of the whole company? and further on: Christ gave him higher understanding and made him the shepherd of the future Church, and afterwards he set him over the whole world. This is what the holy martyr Cyprianus admits, saying.

he says to Pope Cornelius: Peter, on whom the church was built by this same Lord, speaks alone for all, answers with the voice of the church and says: Lord, to whom shall we go? 2c. [Therefore St. Leo 34, qu. 1. cum beatissimus freely confesses that the Apostle Peter received the supremacy over the Church from the Lord. Thus all the saints agree that Peter received the supremacy over the Church from Christ. I pass over the younger ones, Beda, Bernard and the like. The holy pope and martyr Anacletus, who did not write cold decrees only four hundred years ago, but a thousand and four hundred years ago thundered: The holy Roman and apostolic church has not received the supremacy from the apostles, but from our Lord and Savior himself, as he said to the holy apostle Peter: Thou art Peter, and upon this rock 2c., and further on: But this apostolic chair, the head and center, as was said before, was instituted by the Lord and not by others. These words are carried over into the Canon sacrosancta, 22. dist. Thus writes St. Marcellus, the fourth [pope] before Silvester, in the Canon Rogamus, 24. q. 1. to the bishops of Antioch: although the supreme see was at Antioch, it was later transferred to Rome by command of the Lord. Thus says St. Julius 3. q. 6. can. *Dudum*: "From Christ it is confined that the Roman Church has the supremacy and is the head of the other churches. Thus the pope Pelagius, not for four hundred years, but nine hundred years ago, and following the opinion of twenty-eight holy fathers, took the words of Christ: "and on this rock" 2c., in the same way.

Therefore, among the damned and pernicious errors of John Wicklef, this one is also damned: It is not necessary for salvation to believe that the Roman church is the highest among the others. Thus, among the harmful errors of John Hus, this one is also mentioned: Peter is not and was not the head of the holy Roman Catholic Church. And another: "There is not a shred of evidence that there must be a head who governs the church in spiritual matters, who always has his being in the contending church. And: This papal dignity has come from the emperor. And: The pope's sovereignty and investiture came from the emperor. Thus, since Boniface VIII condemns the heresy of the Lyons, he gives the decision against their error: it is necessary for salvation that all human creatures be brought under Roman rule.

The same is true for the *Decretale unam sanctam*, which states that Peter was the head of the Church. Also John XXII, when he condemned the heresy of Marsilius at Padua, also rejected this: that Peter was no more the head of the church than the other apostles. Thus, in a long line from the first church on, there has always been the confession among good Christians that the Roman church received the supremacy from Christ, not from human right and consent of the people. I confess that the Bohemians, in the obstinate defense of their errors, mention these things and defend themselves with these poisonous weapons, as can be seen from their petition to the Concil at Basle and in another disputation that took place before the king and the great ones of the empire between Ragusius and the servant of wickedness John Rockenzcena. Therefore I ask the venerable father for forgiveness if I am hostile to the Bohemians (I do not speak of the Christians, but of the Rottians) as enemies of the church, and that I remember them in the present disputation, because also the thesis itself and what was presented yesterday, that the supremacy in the church is ordered by human right, is according to my low and bad judgment very much in favor of their errors, and as one hears, they sincerely wish themselves luck in this. This I have now wanted to state for the present, and now I want to hear the opinion of the venerable father and the refutation of what has been put forward.

Martin Luther.

First of all, I want to refute the blasphemy that the respectable Doctor accuses me of being a follower of the Bohemian mob and clearly makes me their protector (the Lord forgive him), especially in such a large assembly of such great men. Never has any division pleased me, nor will it please me in eternity. The Bohemians do wrong to separate themselves from our unity by their own power, even if the divine right were on their side, since the highest divine right is love and unity of the spirit. I have sought this alone, and I ask every good Christian to be willing to consider, in Christian love, whether it is not by far the most impudent impiety to have so many thousands of martyrs and saints, who are called fourteen hundred

1) It will be read with eraser hanc, instead of ūne in all other editions.

The Roman Pontiff is not able to deny that the Church of Christ has been established for twenty years and has been crowned for a great part of the Greek Church. For even if all the flatterers of the Roman Pontiff should become furious, they cannot deny that the church of Christ had been established for twenty years, crowned in a large part of the whole world, before the Roman church came into being through Peter, as is quite clear from the Epistle to the Galatians [Cap. I, 18. 2, 1.], where Paul writes that after three years he came to Peter, then that after fourteen years he went out again to Petro. If we add these years together, we find almost eighteen years after the ascension of Christ, when Peter was still in Jerusalem, to say nothing of the years when he had his seat in Antioch, so that it cannot be said that the Roman church was the first and the head by divine right. Now this proves even more strongly that the Greek Church never received its bishops from Rome until our times, that they were confirmed from there. Therefore, if it had been a divine right for so long a time, all the bishops of Alexandria, Constantinople, some of the most holy people, as Gregory of Nazianzus and many others, would have been condemned, heretical and Bohemian. No more detestable blasphemy can be said.

On the evidentiary grounds of rebuttals:

Since the honorable Doctor says: "The equality of the apostleship does not affect the supremacy," and cites the holy martyr Anacletus dist. 21. can. in Novo testamento, I say briefly: This is one of the coldest decrees, which I contest, and no one will persuade me that this decree is from this holy pope and martyr.

To the second: I did not put weight on the ordinance of the apostles, which we will see in the *Opponiren*.

Thirdly. That he has cited Cyprian, who equates the apostles both in honor and power, whereas I would have said that St. Peter was first in honor, I very gladly admit, and if necessary, I will gladly

If the doctor can only maintain this as the truth, and then say where the supremacy remains. But I say that the honor of the apostles is equal in relation to others, but among themselves they have rightly given the first place to Peter. For every one of the apostles has equal honor in his part, and as every bishop in his district.

That he reproaches me that I have answered nothing to Cyprian, I have searched for the letter, but have not found it. But it is sufficiently answered in the foregoing that Cyprian in many letters ascribes to each church its own head. Those which were from Numidia do not prove that it was a divine right, but indicate the fact, as in the same way Achatius in fact appointed Felix as Roman pope, which is said yesterday. Yes, Epiphanius, the bishop of Cyprus, deposed the greater bishop of Constantinople, namely John Chrysostom, as stated in the historia *tripartita*. But this fact did not become a law. And so there are many other examples. I am very surprised that the respectable doctor has undertaken to prove the divine right, and to this day does not even cite a syllable of Scripture, but only sayings and deeds of the fathers, and those that contradict himself.

The fact that he admits that the Greeks were once very Christian, but that afterwards, since they abandoned their obedience to the Roman church, they lost the faith along with the dominion, is the same as what he said yesterday with the same Eckian dictum that the gates of hell had overwhelmed them, by treating the Scriptures in such a way that he understands by the obedience of hell the loss of earthly life or goods. Surely a very beautiful explanation! As if faith could not remain after the dominion is lost, and thus one might suppose that there were no Christians in Greece because there was no dominion. For the same reason, he will also say that the martyrs were overcome by hell.

He also reproaches me, since he says that I made an opponent out of a responder

(I gratefully accept the reminder), but I would have done this for the sake of having time to think about it. The angular flashes are not so great (so that I also boast something) that I need to think about it. Also that Richard Armacanus did not act from his head, but according to the testimony of Leo the word of Christ, moves me little. He shows from the text itself what he has undertaken: "This is from divine right," and I will be satisfied.

To the last, where he concludes thus: He who strengthens is greater than he who is strengthened, so Peter is the greatest apostle, perhaps because, according to Aristotle, he thinks that the doer is more excellent than the one who suffers from his actions. So I will also conclude in an Aristotelian way: The strengthening one is probably greater in itself (*per se*), but after the accidental (*per accidens*) probably smaller, if he does not understand by *confirmatio* here the sacrament of confirmation, which I do not believe. Otherwise, it is not uncommon that a higher person is admonished, comforted and strengthened by a lower one.

Let this be said about his refutations.

To the main thing.

With regard to the main matter, as he approached it, he proved that Peter was the sole ruler by divine right, and that from the above-mentioned testimony of Bernard, Cyprian, Jerome, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, then from the consensus of all the saints, and likewise from many decrees and decretal documents of various popes. I answer: Doctor Eck wanted to prove from divine right, and soon he forgot himself and got into the testimonies of the fathers, which we have already treated for the most part and seen that they have sometimes expressed different opinions in different places, and much more and more often for me than for Doctor Eck.

Secondly, we want to look at them one after the other. The first testimony, that of Bernardus, has been sufficiently eliminated above, because he does not prove, but only persuades, because he is based on a meaning that is far removed from Scripture, as the Lord says.

Doctor himself. Similarly, the testimony of Cyprian about the supremacy and the origin of priestly unity has been sufficiently considered. Thirdly, he gave proof with the words [Matth. 16, 18]: "You are Peter, and on this rock" 2c., which Augustine interpreted in this way: Upon this rock, that is Peter, and this interpretation he had not revoked. I answer: What is that to me? If he wants to fight against me, let him himself first bring the repugnant sayings into agreement. For it is certain that Augustine has often interpreted the rock as Christ, and perhaps hardly once as Peter. Therefore he serves more for me than against me. If Augustine and all the fathers have understood Peter as the rock, I, who am one, will resist them with the saying of the apostle, that is, with divine right, since he writes 1 Cor. 3:11: "No one can lay a foundation other than the one laid, which is Jesus Christ," and with the saying 1 Pet. 2:4 ff, where Peter calls Christ the living stone and the cornerstone, teaching that we are built on it into a spiritual house. Otherwise, if Peter were the foundation of the church, the church would have fallen by the voice of a servant, the gatekeeper, while the gates of hell should not be able to overpower it. Therefore it follows that the holy fathers, when they call Peter the rock, have suffered something human at this point, or have some other opinion, about which I do not speak now. Therefore I gladly admit the word of Ambrose, since he says that Peter is the rock, since also every Christian is a rock for Christ's sake, on whose firmness he is founded and becomes one with Him. But if Chrysostom calls Peter the shepherd of the future church, and the superior of the whole world, I am satisfied if this shepherding is not understood of the whole church, so that we do not cast a spell on the apostle Paul, who shepherded many more churches than Peter. And I confess that Peter is the first in glory in the whole world, and this also touches Chrysostom, since he says that he is the summit of the whole apostolic society. Summit is not the head of the

1) but a part of the head. Yes, even more clearly he calls him the mouth of the apostles, which Jerome and Cyprian also teach, because he heard not only in his person, but in that of all apostles and the whole church [Matth. 16, 19.]: "I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven" 2c.

Of the decrees I say nothing, which I have called quite cold, and especially of that of Anacletus, which has been highly praised in this hour, because a good Christian cannot believe that it is from the martyr Anacletus, who interprets Cephas as the head, and calls the Roman church the center (*cardinem*).

Finally, since the excellent Doctor dislikes the Bohemians so much, let him show his memory and his good head: he writes against them. I am very surprised that one finds so many accusers and enemies of the Bohemians, and yet there is no one who, in brotherly love, stoops to refute their error in honor of the Roman Church.

Doctor Martinus begged the corner not to do him such great dishonor as to make him a Bohemian, who had always been hateful to him because they separated from Unity.

At two o'clock the disputation was continued on the same day, July 5.

Martin Luther.

In the end, the excellent doctor has opposed me to the articles of Wiclef and John Hus, and Boniface, who condemned them. I answer as before that I neither want to nor can defend the Bohemian schism, but the Greek church in one thousand and four hundred years; if the Bohemians have kept it, it is none of my business. This I know for certain, that neither a Roman pope nor all his flatterers can push down from heaven such a large number of saints who have never been under the power of the Roman pope.

Secondly, it is also certain that among the articles of John Hus or the Bohemians

1) Already Walch remarks here: "should probably mean: summit of the main or head of the main".

many are completely Christian and evangelical, which the general church cannot condemn, as this is and similar: that there is only One general church. For this 1) has been unreasonably condemned at the operation of the exceedingly ungodly flatterers, since the whole of the Church prays: I believe in the Holy Spirit, one holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints. This most noble article of faith they count among the articles of John Hus. Then the article: It is not necessary for salvation to believe that the Roman Church is higher than the others. I know that Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil the Great, Epiphanius of Cyprus, and countless other bishops of Greece were blessed, and yet they did not keep this article; nor is it in the power of the Roman pope or the heretics to set new articles of faith, but to judge according to those already given. Nor can a believing Christian be forced to go beyond the sacred Scriptures, which are actually the divine law, unless a new and proven revelation is added. Yes, according to divine law, we are forbidden to believe anything unless it is proved either by divine Scripture or by a clear revelation, as also Gerson, though belonging to the newer ones, teaches in many places, and St. Augustine, who is older, observes as a special rule when he writes to St. Jerome: I have learned to pay this honor only to those books which are called canonical; but the others I read in such a way that, however rich they may be in doctrine and holiness, I do not consider it truth for the sake of it, because they have held so, but if they have been able to convince me either by the canonical books or by some acceptable reason. Yes, even the jurists, of whom one would least think it, have established in the Canon *significasti, de electione*, that the opinion of a private citizen is more valid than the Roman Pontiff, Concilium, and Church, if

1) Haec must be b^ogen to ecclesiu universulis. The relation to artieulus, which is found in the old translator, is not permissible because of the genus.

he relies on a better testimony or a better reason. Therefore, it is nothing that the excellent doctor, while he wants to prove against me from divine right, abandons divine right and concludes against me from the collections of heretical judges. Therefore, if this sentence of John Hus: The papal dignity came from the emperor, is false, then erase the word of Platina in the biography of Benedict the Second, where he writes that Constantinus the Fourth, Greek emperor, decreed that the Roman pope was the general governor of Christ, even though he was not so respected by the bishops of Greece. Therefore, as much as the excellent Doctor urges me with the Bohemians, who are not yet a hundred years old, so much I urge him with the Oriental Church, the better part of the universal Church, and one thousand four hundred years old. If those are heretics because they did not recognize the Roman pope, I will accuse my adversary as a heretic who dares to declare as damned so many saints who are praised full of the universal church. I say the same to Boniface VIII. What kind of a pope he was, and with what faith his deeds are to be accepted, the histories prove sufficiently.

Accordingly, I conclude, and ask the Doctor to admit that the Roman popes were men, and not to make them gods, especially as they often judged in their own cause, then not by themselves, but by quite unlearned flatterers, since St. Gregory, Although he was a Roman pope, St. Gregory, in many letters, denied himself the supremacy over the whole world, citing his predecessor Pelagius, and saying, among other things, that the venerable Synod of Chalcedon conferred this honor of supremacy on the Roman pope, and yet no one dared to accept it. Therefore, if I am mistaken, Gregory I is mistaken with me with his predecessors, and they have sinned damnably in not accepting the supremacy offered. Hereby I want to have proved that from the more recent decrees, condemnations and approvals of the Roman Church nothing is to be found.

against me, since they are all very suspicious and completely contrary to the old truth and custom. Nevertheless, out of reverence and to avoid division, I quite gladly tolerate them, and advise that they be tolerated; only let us not, as a matter of divine right, condemn so many previous saints.

This is what I have had to say about the articles.

Corner.

Since the venerable father, in order to save his honor, denies that he is a patron of the Bohemians, I would praise him highly if the deeds corresponded to the words. But the latter does not agree with the former, since he does not say Christianly that the most harmful errors of the Hussites are exceedingly Christian. But of that hereafter.

But that conclusion I hate, that the Rottirian Bohemians and Picards could receive as one god, 2) if the divine right stood for them. I have always praised the highly praiseworthy Greeks and the holy martyrs, but the venerable father, who is not well instructed in the art of cooking, mixes the holy Greeks together with the Rottians and heretics, so that by the pretense of the holiness of the fathers he may protect the faithlessness of the heretics, since at the same time he also inculcates the one thousand and four hundred years.

(D. Martin Luther protested and said: I protest before all of you and publicly that the respectable doctor speaks this lying and insolent about me. 3) And Eck protested that he wanted to prove with writings and words, in which in a long time the greatest

1) Instead of tantum, which we could not make sense of, we adopted tanquar.

2) The Latin of the editions reads: Oone1u8ioU6M tarnen illain oäio, guoä setnsrnatmi Lotienri et kiaräl tan^narn äenrn aeeptare p088ent, etc. About this the Weimar edition says: "The text is corrupted here." But the correction made by the Weimar edition: Conäitionern instead of: Conolu8ion6n>, does not satisfy us. The old translator assumed 6tzU8 a666ptari. We have retained the given reading. The "conclusion" (wnelumo) will be the last paragraph of Luther's preceding speech, and the word in Eck's rejoinder: "receive a god," is to be regarded as a rejoinder to Luther's word, "that Eck does not want to make the popes gods." - This passage will probably remain an erux intrsprsturu, but not much is attached to the more or less correct solution of it, because Luther does not take it into consideration in his answer.

3) In the manuscript: said this falsely and mendaciously.

The light is not in harmony with Belial, nor with the holy martyrs and confessors. But the light does not coincide with Belial, nor the rotterians with the holy martyrs and confessors).

I will speak of the Church that existed twenty years before the Roman one, which the venerable Father tells me: I am not moved that the Greek bishops were not confirmed by the pope, because even the village priests or parish priests are not confirmed by the pope now, but it would be something extremely nonsensical to say because of this that the pope does not have sovereignty over the common priests.

I will talk about the very cold decree of Anacletus later, and I will also defend the other decrees. Regarding Numidia, the venerable father said that it is a fact, not a right, which is contrary to the opinion of Cyprian, who accuses them of being robbers, who dared to appeal to the See of Peter and the supreme Church, from which unity came. That Epiphanius of Cyprus expelled the higher bishop, John Chrysostom, from the diocese, let him see for himself. This, I say, has happened; I judge that it was not right.

Moreover, when he hurls sophistical speeches against me, as if I did not handle the Holy Scriptures correctly, since I am supposed to have said that because of the loss of temporal things and wealth the gates of hell had gained the upper hand against the Greeks, he imposes something on me that I never thought of, for I said that heresies and divisions and errors had gained power against the church of the Greeks. It is true that the loss of dominion has also followed to great disgrace of Christendom.

Then, since the venerable father boasts that he speaks Luc. 22, 24. ff. from divine right, but I cite the unknown man Richard Armacanus, who even relies on the testimony of Leo, he may say that I also believe the same scripture of the Gospel and the divine right. But the venerable father, who relies on his intellect, rejects me, who follow the understanding of the ancients. It is beyond doubt that both Arius (in the words: "The Father is greater than I") as a heretic, and Athanasius had the Gospel; but Arius understood the Scriptures erroneously, Athanasius as the Holy Spirit required. There is nothing in what is added in regard to strengthening, since every sensible person recognizes that he who strengthens others out of the power given him by a superior is greater in this than he who is strengthened. I do not know what the "in itself" refers to.

(per se) and "according to the accidental" (per accidenz).
1) This for the first.

Since the venerable father wants to take my reasons for proof against the main thing, he imposes on me in a quite intemperate way that my intention was to prove by divine right that the Roman church is higher than the others, and yet I alone got into the sayings of the fathers and the saints, as if, since I wanted to make a container, I started a little jar. The venerable father forgive me if he did not want to or could not understand my intention. For this is done by divine right enough, since so many holy fathers have said that it is by divine right, even though we have not concealed the divine right, Matth. 16, 18: "On this rock," to which I have cited the testimonies of the holy fathers.

I do not know how the venerable father, forgetting himself, could have said in regard to St. Bernard, whose testimony and at the same time whose reason is insurmountable, that I had allowed St. Bernard to speak in a different sense, which he could not dispute with any weapons. For if the true and proper sense of the Scripture of the equality of the Son with the Father is maintained, then the reason of St. Bernard emerges from it in the best possible way.

Of Augustine and others, who said that Peter is the rock, he says that he does not accept him because he says contradictory things. Against him I say how he can presume to believe that such a holy, such a learned father taught contradictory things in the same book, in the same chapter, in the comparison of both opinions, in the first book retract. cap. 21 But how modestly and humbly the venerable father, an Augustinian! answered, others may judge, since he promised that he alone would oppose so many holy fathers. This is bohemian poison, wanting to understand the Holy Scriptures better than the popes, the conciliar, the doctors and the universities, which are in great bloom, while the Holy Spirit has not left His Church, and it would be surprising if God had hidden this truth from so many saints and martyrs until the venerable father came. The passage quoted from St. Paul does not prove anything either, since his sayings are not at all contrary to the holy fathers and teachers. It is Christ the rock, he

is the foundation, he is the cornerstone, he is the undoubted head of the church. Furthermore, that this should not be attached to his governor, which goes against the testimony of the holy fathers and martyrs, is not to be assumed.

He has also recently added a bad reason which he has spread in a German sermon 2)): If on a rock, how then could the Church be built on Peter, who at the voice of a lowly maid denied Christ and the Christian faith? The venerable father forgives me, since he despises the Aristotelian philosophy and holds grammar so high: Why did he not see here with his lynx eyes that the verb "I will build" is in the tense of the future? because at the time when the bridegroom was present, when the children were happy, there was no need for a governor. Christ did not give him the power of the keys at that time, but rather he promised it to him. Therefore, before the keys and the power were given to him, St. Peter was addressed by the doorkeeper, which is also testified by Ambrose and then Gregory.

To Chrysostom he answered that Peter was higher in honor, because Paul also shepherded several churches. As if the venerable father had not preached more than now the pope, and for that reason should be called a greater shepherd than the pope! Thus, he plagues himself all too pointedly with the expression "summit", as if Chrysostom had not wanted to understand the supremacy. But who will tolerate this, since it is a figurative expression, and "summit" is used in such figurative speech for the highest place? Thus he is also called the mouth of the apostles, because he often spoke for all the apostles, which St. Chrysostom also considers.

He says of the decrees that they are quite cold decrees, about which I am very surprised, since he stated in his disputation: "That the Roman church is higher than all others is proved from the quite cold decrees of the Roman popes, which have arisen in the last four hundred years," and I have cited to him many older ones, before the love of many began to grow cold. I do not accept his evasion, in which he denies that those ver-

2) This is the sermon on the day of Petri and Pauli (June 29, 1519) in the disputation hall at Leipzig, Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 2306. It was not printed until after the disputation had ended, and Luther made several changes in the publication, so that the sentence quoted here by Eck does not occur in the present text.

1) In passing: If not on Carlstadt's wagons. Compare the documents No. 355-358.

order belongs to Anacletus. For in such a way the decrees of all conciliarities and popes would be destroyed piece by piece, and thus the whole faculty of law would be accused of forgery, as if it were based on false foundations in its lectures, decisions, judgments, and the like, and thus its papal rights would be of no value if they had not been approved by the consensus of all Christendom. Therefore, the opinion of the venerable father is not to be accepted under any condition, since the decrees of all popes and conciliarities are found in very many places, and, as the human race is bold, people would have long since been found who would have torn apart that monkey walking in the lion's skin of Anacletus. Therefore, if he does not prove that those things are not contained in the original writings, I do not believe him.

Finally, he said about the Bohemians, certainly not without maligning Christian teachers, that there were many accusers of the Bohemians: where were those who, out of love and pious zeal, wrote against them and admonished them, proving their good head and memory. Why should I tell a story to a deaf person? But a Christian must not deny that very many, moved by the best zeal, wrote against the Bohemians. Such people were the fathers who were appointed to do so at the Costnitz Concilium: as the doctor who answered the Bohemians at the Würzburg Concilium; so Ragusius; so the man of excellent rectitude and learning, John Capistranus, priest of St. Francis, well known to all the faithful; Nicolaus of Cusa, the most learned of the Germans, with several other, as the venerable father reproaches me, heretical judges, whom I pass over. Therefore, the Bohemians did not lack those who wrote good things, but they lacked them because, obstinate in their heresy, they did not follow the good 1).

We have often spoken of the holy Greeks; but I believe that it is frightening to all Christ's faithful that the venerable Father does not hesitate to say, against the so holy and praiseworthy Costnitz Concilium, which was assembled with such great unanimity of all Christendom, that some of the Hussite and Vicleite articles were eminently Christian and evangelical (Martin protests: "It is not a Christian article, it is an evangelical article").

1) In the Weimar version, non is missing here (intentionally). Our reading is noted in the margin.

It is not true that I have spoken against the Costnitz Concilium. Eck, on the other hand, asks to prove it with words and writings that the general church cannot condemn, just as it is said very badly that the Hussite article was condemned unreasonably with regard to the necessity for blessedness, that the Roman church is higher than the others. Of course, the Bohemians are not unjustly jubilant about this statement, and they have sought it with their prayers to God, 2) but to the great detriment of the Church. Now, if (as St. Augustine elsewhere concludes) any lie has been admitted in the Holy Scriptures, it will be wholly suspect as to the truth, so no doubt the damned Hussites, relying on the protection of the venerable Father (Martin Luther protests: This is a very impudent lie!), will say: If the Concilium has erred in these two articles, which are eminently Christian, its reputation among us will waver in other articles also. Therefore, in a matter that has been condemned before, I will not waste more words on what a Christian must be forced or allowed to do. I say this, that it is brought about by the prestige of a Concilium or the Roman Pontiff that an opinion cannot be defended without the suspicion of heresy, which otherwise could be defended with impunity without violation of the faith. I have an example at hand: whether the being in the Godhead testifies? Richardus has accepted this opinion in the book of the Trinity and thereby does not burden himself with any guilt. But after a decision has been made by a concilium, no one could now say without suspicion of heresy that the being witnesses; I believe in the chapter *damnamus* of the highest Trinity.

I am not moved by what is introduced from Augustine about the reading of the canonical writings, because he does not exclude the decrees of the conciliar and popes. What my lords jurists put forward in the Canon Significasti, de electione, I do not remember now. But, mindful of their profession as guardians of justice, they will not allow, as I believe, the destruction of the papal laws.

But that he cites Platina, as if he were more than Pabst or Augustine or Cyprian, who, in the biography of Benedict the

2) Compare Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 39.

If the second is said to have told that Constantinus IV decreed that the Roman Church was entitled to supremacy in the Church, read, I beg to ask, the venerable father, what the gentlemen jurists note in the chapter *ecclesiae S. Mariae, de constitutionibus*, what, how much, and in what way the decrees of secular people apply in ecclesiastical matters, and he will see in what sense the words of Platina (not to say the Roman Emperor, with respect to churches and heretics) must be taken.

In the last place he asserts: I urge on the Bohemians, the Greeks (I admit it of the Rotterian, because the holy Greek fathers who are canonized, I do not condemn) [I want to push out of heaven], 1) like the giants in the fable wanted to drive Jupiter out of heaven. But then the venerable Father rightly opposes us, if he can procure a Greek disobedient and rebellious against the Roman Church, who would have been canonized. And who is this, and we should not praise him? In vain, therefore, does he suppose that he tolerates a sole suzerainty, as if it were not by divine right, but by a kind of toleration of the people and instituted by the consent of the faithful. This is most evident from what has been quoted from Gregory, who rejected the suzerainty among the faithful that had been offered to him. But the venerable father follows the sense, not the outer shell of the words, and he will find in the letters the highest humility of the very pious father, that he tried more by kindness and humility to break the court of the patriarch at Constantinople, than that one could have the suspicion about him of arrogance or court. That is why he first wrote himself "servant of servants". And that this was true, if the venerable father was such a diligent reader of Gregory, he could read in his letters (as he is cited in the decrees in the second Canon, hu. 6. decreto), where the exceedingly humble father, mindful of his authority, although he despised wealth and honor, writes that other bishops, besides the Roman, were called to share in the care, but not to the fullness of authority. There is no one who could doubt here that in the proper sense he wants to give the other bishops a part, but the Roman Pontiff, according to the grammatical sense, the fullness. Therefore, I ask the venerable father to accept what has been said either by others or by me.

I don't always throw it away, as if it were said out of an effort to flatter, because I haven't learned to flatter, nor do I know how to flatter.

On the sixth day of July, early at seven o'clock, Martin started.

Since yesterday the excellent doctor did not prove himself to be a party, but presumed the office of a judge, against the contract of the agreement made and against the will of the most illustrious Prince George, our patron, has so often declared and proclaimed me to be a heretic, while it would have been his office to act solely on the grounds and testimonies given, and to leave it to the judges to decide whether I am a heretic or not, let those to whom it is incumbent see whether safe conduct is not violated in this.

First of all, he has objected to the matter that I have called the most harmful errors of Hus exceedingly Christian; with regard to this I testify to my innocence. He will never be able to prove this, and I challenge him to denounce these very articles, which I am supposed to have called exceedingly Christian, although they are exceedingly harmful, or he recants his word.

Secondly, he accuses me of mixing the holy Greeks with the Rottians. What else could he do, since he had nothing to say, since it is quite certain that at the time of the last destruction of Constantinople the most righteous Christians were in Greece, who were afterwards received in Italy. And even if this should not be an urgent proof, it is still certain that until the Nicene Council there were at least righteous Christians in the whole Orient who were not subject to the Roman Pontiff, as the decree of this very Council at Nicaea clearly testifies, which states in the tenth chapter of the history of the Church: "And that at Alexandria or in the city of Rome the old custom be preserved, that the former should take care of Egypt, the latter of the churches situated around Rome. The same

Concilium gave the first place (*primatum*) of honor not to that of Rome, but to that of Jerusalem, in that it says there: "And that to the bishop of Jerusalem the pre-eminence conferred from time immemorial is given.

right of honor be preserved. Even if this is not enough, it is still a conclusive proof (which the excellent doctor has cleverly concealed) that the Church of Christ existed for at least twenty years before the Roman Church came into being; therefore his refutation is ridiculous that he claims that I mix the saints with the Rottians, while he cannot denounce his Rottians.

Third, refuting my reason that the bishops of Greece were not confirmed by the Roman Pontiff, he said that this was nothing, since the village priests everywhere were also not confirmed by the Roman Pontiff. Who does not see that this is said to spoil the time, since the village priests are ordained by the bishops? At the same time I refer all this to what was said before by Jerome to Evagrius. For the same reason he also repeated that of Numidia so often, since it is written of those that they came to Rome without being appointed, and are accused because they came, - and yet from this history the Lord Doctor ascribes a divine right to the Roman Pontiff. But also that Epiphanius of Cyprus deposed John Chrysostom, he did not take as a right, but as a fact, and thus wants to have refuted, although the latter acted according to the decision of the Council of Nicaea and the testimony of Cyprian "by the decree of the bishops", without the authority of the Roman Pontiff.

It still stands unconquered that the Roman supremacy either did not arise from divine right. It is still unconquered that the Roman supremacy either did not arise from divine right or that the saints of the whole Oriental Church are damned for eternity.

I pass over the fact that he explains the overcoming of hell by the prevalence of heresies, which I do not care about. Nevertheless, he has not shown that the Greeks were heretics, since it is generally known, even by the right, that the Greeks are not considered heretics. I also pass over that of Leo and Armacanus, where he says that he follows the mind of the ancients in taking One Number for a Number, namely that of One Leo, in the singular. Likewise

I say nothing of the strength of the brethren commanded to Peter [Luc. 22, 32.]; enough has been said, since he proves nothing and it has not yet been refuted.

In the main, he says that he held the divine right, because he followed the opinion of the fathers, especially of Ambrose and Augustine, who said that Peter was the rock, with the words Matth. 16, 18: "You are Peter", and he also had the audacity to add that Augustine had not recanted this. Later, when I consult the book *retractationum*, I find the opposite: for in fact he recants it and says that Peter is not the rock, but that what he confessed is the rock. He says the same thing in the homily which all priests pray on St. Peter's and St. Paul's Day, where he says: "on the rock (not: on you, but on the rock) which you have confessed". I find the same in Ambrose, although he also sometimes speaks differently. Here is at the same time that golden gloss, as they boast, on the chapter *ita dominus*, which says: "And on this rock" 2c. I do not believe that the Lord indicated anything else by this saying than these words which Peter answered the Lord when he said: "You are Christ, the Son of the living God", because on this article of faith the Church is founded. So Christ founded the Church on Himself. It is therefore nothing that the excellent Doctor boasts that the sayings of the Fathers are on his side, since it turns out that they are much more on my side. He could therefore have spared his tongue and our ears, since he exclaimed with an oratorical roar: I alone want to be more learned than all, I want to understand the Scriptures better than the doctors, the universities, the Concilia and the Roman pope, and it would be strange if the truth, which had been hidden for so long, had been revealed to me alone. For that would not mean disputing, but arousing hatred.

But that he ridiculed my bad reason, since I said that the church fell, when Peter denied if it was built on him, putting on grammatically the verbum in the future time: "I will build", as if after the death of Christ the church was built on Peter,

I will pass over this, because everyone can easily see what it is worth. Nevertheless, after the Holy Spirit had been sent, Peter also fell with great distress of faith, Gal. 2,11. ff., since he was punished by Paul, in whom faith and confession remained unharmed; in Peter, faith remained, but he pretended against the truth of the gospel. But I allow that the excellent doctor, who mainly relied on this saying [Matth. 16, 18.], now excludes himself from the same, so that nothing of divine right is left for him in such a way. For if only a promise has been made, one must go to the place where the promise is fulfilled, and one will find this John 20:22 f. 1) where he does not say, Peter, receive the Holy Ghost, but says to all alike, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whom ye remit sins." 2c.

I also pass over that of Chrysostom, where I said that Peter was higher for the sake of honor. Since the doctor wanted to refute this, he replied: Since Paul preached more than Peter, he will also have more honor, as if I had spoken of the amount of work and not rather of the highest position. I also pass over that of the "summit" and its figurative head, for they are empty words.

With regard to the decrees, he is surprised that I say that they are quite cold decrees and have arisen in the time of four hundred years. I will pass over the four hundred years now, but I will talk about them later. For it was not necessary to instruct me that twelve hundred years ago, rather four hundred years ago, there were decrees; yes, that there were also disputes about the supreme authority. In the meantime, the doctor is surprised that he understands the saying of Matthew [Cap. 16, 18.] to be a word of promise, not of fulfillment, while the decrees themselves are based on the same word as a word of fulfillment. Therefore, it follows with necessity either that the decrees act inauthentically, as the doctor himself assumes, or that he himself is mistaken.

But that he does not admit that I deny that it is a decree of Anacletus, and what he jokes there about the artificially prepared 2) decrees, I pass over. For he has not yet refuted that the same decree interprets "Cephas" as head. Such ignorance should not be imposed on such a great pope, especially at the time when the languages were flourishing and there was a large number of Jews. But it is known that the Book of Decrees has not yet been approved.

He also persecutes that I said that there are more people who accuse the Bohemians than those who instruct them. Would God that I had spoken a lie! I see that many things are said and written against them, but in an unfortunate way, because they are not called by the name of brothers, which Paul does not deny to the Galatians who fell into Jewish faithlessness. I believe that the Bohemians are human beings and can be won over with friendly speeches and concessions, while they are hardened even more by accusations and vituperations with the heretic name. Therefore, it is nothing that we excuse ourselves with: it is not necessary to tell a story to a deaf person, since according to Paul's commandment [2 Tim. 4, 2.] we are to stop, whether in season or out of season.

We have often spoken of the holy Greeks. But it must be said that, in order to arouse hatred, he shouted a lot: it is frightening to all the faithful of Christ that he [Luther] is not afraid to say against the so holy and praiseworthy Costnitz Concilium that some articles of Hus were exceedingly Christian and evangelical, which the general church could not condemn. I answer: Among the articles of Hus is this one: There is one holy general church, which is the entirety of the elect. Likewise another: The universal holy church is only One, just as there is only One number of all the elect. These two are not of Hus, but of Augustine "on John" almost from word to word.

2) Instead of siÄÜlatim (piece by piece), which Eck had used, Luther mockingly puts: siFiUatis, that is, provided with small images.

and they are repeated by the Magister Sententiarum that I have been accused of being a heretic all too hastily [Peter Lombard] in the fourth book of the Sentences, of and far without the modesty of a corner, since he could the Sacrament of Holy Communion. The third is: Two perhaps hardly prove that I have given offense; rather, natures, the Godhead and the humanity, are One Christ. since it is not at all incumbent on him to judge about these These articles, I believe, Doctor Johann Eck confesses articles which are erroneous, which are heretical, which with me. The fourth: An obvious distinction of human are presumptuous, it is clear how unreasonably and works is this, that they are either virtuous or vicious; for if boldly he accuses me of being a heretic and with the a man is vicious and does something, he does it in a worst name. Therefore, it has not yet been shown that vicious way, and if he is virtuous and does something, he the article: it is not necessary for salvation that the acts virtuously 2c. This article, as we heard in the previous Roman church be higher than the others, is heretical, week, has triumphed through the excellent Doctor even if it is counted among the heretical ones.

Carlstadt, so that the excellent Doctor Johann Eck has But that he concludes according to the example of been forced to reject Scotus and the Scotists, Capreolus Augustine: If any lie is admitted in a concilium, the whole and the Thomists with all the more famous doctors of his reputation of the concilium will be shaken, so it is an party, and to agree with him. unfortunate equation. Augustine makes a conclusion in

Therefore, what he spat out against me yesterday, that relation to the Holy Scripture, which is the infallible Word I was a patron of Bohemia, an exceedingly harmful of God, but a concilium is a creature of that Word. heretic, and the like, I attribute to himself. Here he keeps Therefore, by this comparison, the word of God is brought it with Johann Hus. Everything he said for himself is for into disrepute, since it is admitted that a concilium can me, against his accusations. I add that I have rightly said: err, as Panormitanus notes in the chapter *significasti*. exceedingly Christian and evangelical, especially from I pass over that of the begetting of the divine being, the: "Two natures" 2c. Therefore, the excellent Doctor, because it does not belong to the matter.

should have admitted to me that I believed out of To Augustine, who commands to read all writings with deference to the Costnitz Concilium that these and similar good judgment, with the exception of the Scriptures, the articles were not condemned there, but inserted by some excellent Doctor says that from him the decrees of the impostor. But since against this the Concilium itself says: Roman pope and the Conciliar are not excluded. This is some are heretical, some erroneous, some blasphemous, said, but not proved. Yea, I confirm my answer by the some presumptuous, some seditious, some offensive to saying of Paul to the Thessalonians [1 Ep. 5:21.], godly ears: so the excellent Doctor, according to his "Examine all things, and keep that which is good." The prudence, should have put each article in its proper place, Roman pope and the concilia are men, so they must be and not, against the decision of the Concilium, condemn tested, and so kept, and they must not be exempted from all of them altogether as heretical, which the Concilium this apostolic rule.

has hardly wanted to declare presumptuous. For even the When he says that he does not remember the chapter truest truth may be accused of being presumptuous, vexatious, inflammatory, offensive to the ears, as *significasti* that I mentioned, and exhorts the jurists happened to Christ. But for this reason an article is not not to let the papal laws be destroyed, which also serves false, much less heretical, because it is presumptuous or to arouse spite against me, I reply: "This does not destroy the papal laws if the divine laws are preferred to them. offensive, and so it is in the day,

Since the lords

If lawyers do this, the theologians do it very badly, who even resist the best lawyers in this matter.

Of Platina, whom I have attracted, he says that he is no more than a Roman pope, Augustine, Cyprian, as if he had already proved supremacy through Augustine and Cyprian or the pope, since he has so often promised us that he would prove it by divine right, and has brought forward nothing but quite cold decrees and some misunderstood testimonies of the Fathers. I do not attach anything to Platina, but to the history, which is the mother of truth, which Platina writes.

What he says of the regulations I pass over.

Finally, he admits that the holy Greeks are not condemned, but only the Rotterian ones. This is none of our business; for I have never spoken of the Red-Irish Greeks, but of the holy ones, especially of the Nicene Council, just as I do not believe that he means the Latin Red-Irish when he speaks of the Roman Church.

Of Gregorius, whom I have quoted, he says that one must follow him according to the sense, not according to the outer shell of the words, and thus my answer is sufficiently refuted, for the Eckian words alone suffice!

But since he cited 2 qu 6. ca: *decreto*

When the same Gregory writes that other bishops, besides the Roman one, are called to participate in the care, not in the fullness of power, the Doctor should have shown that he understood all the bishops in the whole world, and not only the bishops of the occidental church. Even if he did this as much as he could, it would not be proven for that reason to be of divine right. Gregorius is a man, and it is proved the less, the more he expresses different opinions in many places, so that I have more of a right to tell the Doctor that he himself should follow the sense and not the outer shell of the words in his citations, or first make him agree with himself.

Finally, since I have quoted Paul 1 Cor. 3:11 against the excellent Doctor, "that no one can lay any other foundation except the one that has been laid, which is Jesus Christ," he has said that this is also true of the place of

The foundation has to be laid by Christ's holder. Therefore he must say thus: No one can lay a foundation outside of yours, except the one that has been laid, which is the Roman pope. And in this way, the very clear testimony of Paul will have to be resisted, or it will have to be revoked and it will have to be said that this is not to be attached to the governor of Christ. In the same way the word of Paul Gal. 2.6. where Paul said: "But of those who had the reputation (he speaks of Peter, James and John), of which they were then, I care nothing, for God does not respect the reputation of men." There Paul says in the clearest possible way that nothing was important about Peter's greatness and reputation, and that God did not pay attention to it either. But if this is out of divine right, then it is quite certain that Paul is lying here. For what is divine right is considered badly by God, and much is attached to it. And therefore this saying of Paul's forces that the supremacy of a man, of a bishop, is not of divine right, and therefore what the doctor has said about divine right must be revoked, since he obviously contradicts the apostle here. Since the matter now stands like this, I say that if the excellent Doctor does not change his opinion, since it is clearly contrary to Paul, I will not consider him a Catholic Christian.

This may be enough with my answer to the objections of Doctor Johann Eck about the thirteenth thesis of the power and the primate of the pope. I leave this to the judgment of the judges and all readers.

Corner.

Since the venerable father accuses me of having taken the office of a judge, this is not the case. I am a disputator, nor did I call him a heretic, but I said that his statements are favorable to the heretics and especially to the Bohemians, and that I protect them, mainly because he took the liberty of making that atrocious statement that some of the articles of John Hus, which were rejected by the holy Costnitz Concilium, are exceedingly Christian and evangelical. Let us rather go to the point. Yesterday he brought forward two such articles, today he has added some more; but of that later.

But as far as the Greeks are concerned, it is astonishing with what zeal the venerable father defends those of whom he claims that they were good even at the destruction of Constantinople, who came to Italy afterwards; I must indicate and name which ones were the red-blooded and heretical Greeks. I am surprised that the venerable father in his letter 1) accuses me of ignorance in the histories, and even on this occasion does not want to know what the whole church knows. Was not Nestorius a Rottirer, not Macedonius, Eutyches, Achacius, John of Constantinople, and after persisting in their Rottirerism for a long time, obeyed the Church under Eugenius IV at the Concilium of Florence, although after their obstinate disloyalty they immediately returned to their Gespeieten? Otherwise, if the Greeks had not been heretics, we would not have the decision about the supreme Catholic faith against the Greeks; or perhaps the venerable father does not know that Thomas published a book about the errors of the Greeks. I add that he has often said that the Oriental Church was not subject to the Roman Pontiff, and that Epiphanius of Cyprus expelled St. Chrysostom from the episcopate, of which the venerable father says that it was well done, according to the testimony of the Nicene Council and Cyprian. But he fell into the pit he made, since St. Chrysostom was cast out by the hatred of the empress and an Arian heretic was put in his place. To this the pope commanded Julius to depart, and reinstated John Chrysostom. Since this was not done, Pope Julius commanded that John Chrysostom be reinstated and put the emperor under ban. He proceeded in the same way against other heretical bishops, so that the histories report that the Greeks departed not once but ten times from obedience to the Roman Church. And now the venerable father may go and say that the Roman pope did not dispose of the Oriental churches, or justify the expulsion of such a holy father, Chrysostom.

Thirdly, of the Nicene Synod, which he cited from the tenth book of the History of the Church, if that is the ordinance he meant in his conclusion, it is good, I say, but it has no force (*est frigidum*) in relation to the matter at hand. Yes, no synod,

even at the time, was considered legitimate, which had not been assembled by order of the Roman Pontiff. So Leo, so Marcellus, so Julius, holy, not cold popes, have decreed, who lived around the same time. Their decrees one reads dist. 17. can. Synodum, and in the following. Therefore, the Lord Father should have proved that they gave the patriarch of Jerusalem the privilege of honor, but not the supremacy over the whole church. But the sixth synod expressly gives the supreme see to the Roman church, which is cited in the 22nd dist. This was also obtained by Pope Leo against the Emperor Michael and St. Gregory against John of Constantinople and the Emperor Mauritius.

Therefore, I will also eliminate here that of St. Gregory, whom he cites as having rejected the supremacy, of which it is known that it is quite false, since he attributes so much to Platina, who writes thus of St. Gregory. Moreover, since the bishop John of Constantinople, when a synod of the Greeks was held, had made himself an ecumenical, that is, a general, patriarch, and Mauritius had admonished Gregory to obey John, the man of good character and faith replied that the power to bind and loose was given to Peter and his successors, not to the bishops of Constantinople, therefore let him desist from provoking God's wrath against himself. From this it is clear that Gregory, without doubt a holy and humble father, not only did not reject the supremacy, but even asserted it against the emperor and the bishop of Constantinople. Therefore, I do not want to impose on the holy father what the venerable father does, who by all means does not remain the same as himself, that Gregorius said repugnant and conflicting things, but denied that he was a general bishop, in the sense in which he was stated in an earlier disputation, and yet received the supremacy. That this custom always existed and was observed even at the time of the Nicene Council is evident from the 92nd letter of Augustine and his fellow bishops to Innocentius the First, where they say: "Since the Lord has placed you on the apostolic chair by a special grant of grace, and has given you to us in our time as such, we ask that you will deign to use your pastoral diligence in the great dangers of the weak members of Christ. The pope answers in the following letter: "Therefore, you draw carefully and in a measured way from the dangers of the

1) This is the 363rd document, Col. 821.

I say of the honor of him to whom, besides what are external things, there is also the care of all the churches in regard to difficult things, which opinion must be held, in that you have followed the way of the old rule. What can be said more explicitly than that in the time of Augustine the pope had the care for all churches, and that this did not begin then, but was the way of an ancient rule?

Then the venerable father comes with his Hercules, that is, with the reason of the twenty years when the church is said to have existed before the Roman one. I answer that it is true that in the Gospel Christ did not specifically mention the Roman Church, but Peter, who was appointed prince of the apostles. This is because Peter, who had the supremacy, moved the See from Antioch to Rome by command of the Lord. Therefore, it did not become first at that time by human right, but by God's command, since St. Peter had held the right before, as witnessed by St. Marcellus, martyr and pope, *eun. Rogamus*, 24. qu. 1: Although the first see was in Antioch, it was later transferred to Rome by the command of the Lord. For who is so foolish as to tie the supremacy to a place? but this is the opinion of the holy fathers: because Peter is appointed governor of Christ by divine right, so are all his successors, just as the Roman popes are, in whatever place they may be, governors of Christ. The Roman king or emperor is therefore not at Rome. Thus, we see, St. Augustine held it against the Manichaeans. He says: "It is evident that in doubtful matters the certainty of faith is served by the prestige of the Catholic Church, which is fortified by the firmly established sees of the apostles, who follow one another to this day, and by the uninterrupted succession of bishops and the consensus of the people. That is why St. Augustine, in his letters, lists the Roman popes.

So much of the foregoing.

Now to the main thing.

Since the venerable father wants to reply to what I have said (for I have said that Peter was set before the other apostles by divine right, Matth. 16. I have referred to Jerome, Bernard, Leo and Cyprian, to which he has answered nothing, although he confesses with his hand in his book that St. Cyprian had the opinion

He said that the Church was founded on the rock, but he took the trouble to add that St. Cyprian was mistaken), he took the trouble to answer Augustine. For it is undoubtedly Cyprian who, in another letter, the eighth to Cornelius, calls the Roman Church the mother and root of the others. He accuses me of quoting a saying that Augustine recanted. The venerable father cannot cloud the reader's judgment; for he is not at all pleased with his former opinion that he also cites St. Ambrose to support it. But what I mentioned at the beginning, Augustine testifies; he also interpreted the rock as Christ. Neither of the two opinions he refutes, neither of them he gives preference, but adds: Which of these opinions is the more probable, let the reader decide. Augustine does not dare to give a decision, and the venerable father wants to reject the one opinion that has been accepted by so many holy fathers, and accept the one that is according to his will. Therefore, I do not allow that Augustine in the same 1) chapter said something contrary or repugnant, but different, because he accepts both opinions: because the rock is Christ, and Peter was the rock. Therefore, I remain with Ambrose, Jerome, Cyprian, Bernard and others, the holy concilia and decrees.

Secondly. Since the venerable father had taken a reason of proof from the doorkeeper to dispute my opinion, I told him that he would better consider the words of Christ in a grammatical way. For according to the unanimous opinion of all, Christ Matth. 16, 18. f.: "On this rock I will build" and: "I will give you" 2c., made the promise to Peter, and did not give it to him at that time; but leaving aside his grammar, of which he nevertheless said that it serves theology more than the other parts of philosophy, he replies: Why then do the decrees base themselves on that passage Matth. 16, and I would have based myself on it, from which I now depart? I answer: Because Christ is the way and the truth and the life, therefore it must be believed without doubt that he kept to Peter what he had promised him. Therefore, the decrees conclude quite rightly from that passage where Christ promised, but only after the resurrection he fulfilled it.

1) Here we have adopted the conjecture of the Weimar edition: in eodem capite instead of: in 9. eaxits.

But he implicitly interjects that Christ did not fulfill this to Peter alone, but to all apostles, saying [Joh. 20, 22. f.]: "Receive the Holy Spirit, by whom ye remit sins" 2c. The venerable Father did not mean to express where he had given Peter the promised supremacy. For all teachers agree that Christ made the disciples priests at the Lord's Supper, giving them power over the true body of Christ, saying, "This do in remembrance of me" [Luc. 22:19], and that afterwards, on the day of the resurrection, he gave them power over his spiritual (*mysticum*) body [John 20:22]: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." But the supremacy and preeminence over the whole church he promised to Peter John at the last [Cap. 21, 17.]: "Feed my sheep." This is attested by Gregory, Chrysostom, and other holy fathers. For Chrysostom says, The noblest of the apostles was Peter, and the mouth of the disciples, the summit of the collegium; hence also, after the denial was blotted out, he promises him supremacy over his brethren; and in the eighth homily on repentance, But the same night Peter fell, and rose again. After this so grievous fall, repentance brought him back to the former level, and gave him the chief place in the church out of all the earth. Thus the gloss to 1 Peter 5, 2. says: "Feed the flock that is under your care": Just as the Lord entrusted to Peter alone to take care of the whole flock 2c. Therefore, Christ fulfilled what was promised earlier at that time. St. Gregory also agrees with this: The care of the whole Church and the supremacy is commanded to Peter, namely, "Feed my sheep." Even if I had not shown it before my eyes, where Christ had given it, the truth could not have lied, and many things have happened that are not written, as even his Alexander III 1) teaches in chapter 6um Nurtlms 6te.

But again the venerable father objects, because Peter still sinned after the sending of the Holy Spirit (and he made Peter's sin even great), as is written in the Epistle to the Galatians Cap. 2, 11. ff. is written. Although there was a disagreement, first between the apostles Peter and Paul, then between the church scholars Jerome and Augustine, I cannot be brought to the opinion that any of the apostles sinned after the sending of the Holy Spirit.

1) Rather Innocentius III. (Weim. ed.)

The Holy Spirit's fertilizer has not fallen into any mortal sin, just as those who are sanctified in the womb are not allowed to do so. But this does not belong to our matter. However, assuming, but by no means admitting, that St. Peter had sinned to death in his hypocrisy, he would still have remained the rock and head of the church, unless the venerable father also wants to defend this Hussite article, which I do not believe: there is no one a civil lord, no one a prelate, no one a bishop who is in a mortal sin; which would cause the highest uncertainty in the Christian religion.

Fourth. 2) Of the decrees that are quite cold with him, I say this, that so often in the Church the decrees of the popes have been accepted in matters of faith, and, what is more, the Roman Pontiff formerly did not confirm a bishop if he did not send a note of assurance of faith, in which he publicly affirmed that he believed the Evangelia, the four Concilia, the legitimate synods and the decrees of the popes. Therefore, the pope did not want to confirm John Gilibrecht, bishop of Cologne, because he had not delivered this note of faith completely, as we read in the Canon *optatum*, 100. dist.

But since he rejects the decree of Anacletus, we said yesterday by what power or with what proof he does this. For since the *original* writings are at hand, no one has ever said that this decree is not from the holy martyr Anacletus. But Nicolaus of Cusa, the most learned of the Germans, who testifies that he wrote his "Unity of Faith" from the original writings, refers to this decree of Anacletus. The venerable father has given a color to his cause: that in so holy a martyr there should not be so great an ignorance that he should interpret Cephas in this way: that is, chiefly, as if so great a science were necessary to holiness of life. But we want to say one thing, that Kephe or Cephas should be Syrian and well known to the Hebrews, and should mean as much as Peter or firmness, as Erasmus states after Jerome. We also want to add this peculiar circumstance that Cusa, who is learned in Chaldean and Hebrew, testifies in the books *Excitationum* that "Peter" also means as much as "head of the house". Therefore, Anacletus did not suffer from such great ignorance when he interprets Cephas as head. But as this also

2) No formal third party precedes it.

I do not see with what appearance he can deny other decrees of the holy martyrs and confessors than that of Clement 20 dist., 1) Marcellus, Julius, Pelagius, Nicolaus, Agatho, Simon, Vigilius, Benedictus 2c. Therefore, I prefer to join such great fathers and the holy Concilium.

To the offensive things (Ad Scrupos).

Most seriously, I have heard that the venerable father, against the order of the most noble prince, according to which the most noble prince wanted that what was decided by the holy concilium should remain untouched, the venerable father 2) nevertheless hardened himself in yesterday's opinion, and established four articles which have been condemned among the Hussites, which he himself considers to be Catholic and Protestant: he certainly takes the Bohemians quite nicely in defense. But out of deference to the Concilium he wanted them to be added by an impostor. First of all, the excellent doctor and nobleman Jerome of Croaria, 3) who had the Acts of the Concilium printed, had a copy made in a certified form, and since the matter at Constance was obviously handled in this way, the Hussites would not have concealed for so long that some articles had been suppressed. Nor can the venerable father suspect what he assumed yesterday, that this was done by the pernicious action of a flatterer against the Roman pope, since John Hus was burned in 15 [in July], his comrade Jerome in 16 [in May], 4) while Martin V was not elected until 17 on Martinmas. Therefore, holy fathers and men who did not give themselves to flattery, from all the noblest nations, have been ordained to do so, have examined these articles, and the holy church assembly (*Synodus*) has condemned them, rejected them, and burned the author, and therefore they must be considered condemned and rejected by every good Christian, and let not the venerable Father impose upon me to judge these articles, because they are already judged. There is nothing wrong in the Synod's thinking of them, saying that 5) some are heretical, others are presumptuous, seditious, and offensive to godly ears; for in what order are they to be condemned?

Although he may bring these articles, they cannot be called exceedingly Christian and evangelical, and although I do not want to take upon myself the work of defending the whole church assembly in condemnation of the articles, let us teach something, and that in brief words.

The first article he declares to be Catholic, and it is that of Augustine Cap. 6 on John. I say: Perhaps the venerable father interprets the article in a kindly way; but because the matter is not subject to the speech, but the speech to the matter, the deciders of the Concilium were not obtuse. It is true that there is one holy and universal church; but that it is only one, just as there is only one number of elect in the Hussite sense, is arch-heretical. By this he [Hus] meant that those who are in mortal sin, since faith is lost, are not in the church, while the kingdom of heaven of Christ [Matth. 25, 1. ff.] is compared to ten virgins, of whom five were wise, but five were foolish, along with other similitudes that serve the same purpose. And also Augustine in the 26th Tractate on John does not serve a shake to the Hussite sentence, since he praises the communion of the Lord's Supper, about which, as I wish, the reader may judge for himself. Thus he says of the other article: - "Two natures, the divine and the human, is One Christ." For this, he has not taught anything, except that it is according to faith. In the Athanasian Creed we read differently: God and man is One Christ, not: the Godhead and mankind. In another article, "An obvious distinction of human works," 2c., which he quaintly attributes to me, and as if he had been challenged by me to judge, he exclaimed that his college had triumphed. All of you who were present can bear witness to how extremely true the venerable father spoke. And before the victory he sang a victory song at Wittenberg, now he sings another one after the victory is lost, as it were.

To the point.

That article I will never consider Christian, and for that reason I rejected Gregorius of Arimini 28. dist. 2. 6). Nor has it been discussed between us whether there can be a work that is neither good nor evil (indifferens), or whether the whole life of unbelievers is sin, or the like, as far as this article is concerned. Therefore, in order to avoid the Hussite

1) "In any case, not properly cited, perhaps 80. ckist. van. In illi8 meant." (If. ed.)

2) Eck has lost the "Constructiv".

3) Thus the Weimar one; in the other editions: Oroutia.

4) The indication of the months is found in the margin.

5) Added by us to make the interrupted Constructiv".

6) According to Luther it is "in the 2nd book, question 28". Compare St. Louis edition, Vol. XVIII, 829.

In this way he compares John Hus with Christ, but has not suffered me to compare the holy Concilia with the holy Scriptures in regard to a mockery of truth committed in a play. In this he compares John Hus with Christ, but has not suffered me to compare the sacred Concilia with the sacred Scriptures, in both of which is the undoubted and infallible truth, in regard to the mockery of truth committed in one piece. For no Christian need be moved, both by the fact that he says the Conciliar are men, and so creatures, and also that they can consequently err. For if they err, as the Concilium of Ephesus was condemned by Pope Leo, I believe, as that of Arimini, of Aachen, then they are not concilia, but wretched so-called *conciliabula*. Therefore, we should rather hold on to this with quite constant faith: everything that the lawfully assembled Concilia have established and decided in regard to faith, be quite certain. For thus "Christ abideth with us unto the end of the world," and, "If two be gathered together in my name" [Matt. 28:20, 18, 20]. It is very repugnant to say that because men are in a concilium, they can err. For though they are frail as men, yet it must be believed that a true concilium, lawfully assembled, is not governed by human sense, but by the Spirit of God, so that what a concilium has approved is sufficiently proved, and need not be further discussed according to any particularity or obstinacy, but we must take our minds captive under the obedience of faith. Therefore I am surprised that, since he wants to deny the text, he admits the Sicilian interpreter, the Panormitanus.

Thus, it is evident what he last quoted from the words of the apostle. Of the "reason" I have always said that this is according to the opinion of all Catholics, that Christ is the head of the Church. For he is the principal Lord. But because he has appointed Peter governor, he has also given him authority over the whole Church, as St. Leo testifies in the Canon *ita dominus*, 19. dist. (and I am very surprised that the venerable father has abandoned the text of St. Leo, and there seizes a gloss that is contrary to the text); indeed, so much does the heaven-bound Christ bestow, that he has appointed in his stead here a governor head, to whom one could have recourse in doubtful matters and other urgent cases, so that the whole Church of Christ should not be a "church of the Lord".

confused Anaxagorean 1) chaos. This opinion is held by the whole Church, as it is said in the responsory which the Church uses of St. Peter: You are the shepherd of the sheep, prince of the apostles. To you God has given all the kingdoms of the world. This is how we pray in the Church. Yes, St. Franciscus, who was confirmed [as a man of God] by the marks of the wounds, taught his brothers and the whole world to obey the pope, and commanded this in his Rule. Therefore, the Church sings of him: Franciscus, the Catholic and wholly apostolic man, taught to hold fast fidelity against the Roman Church. So very many popes, so the holy Concilia have decided, which I do not mention for the sake of brevity. Also many sayings of the holy fathers say the same and approve of it. I will not refrain from mentioning all this in its time, when I have seen the treatise of the venerable father on this trade 2). If, nevertheless, the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff is based only on human right, and he is exalted by the consent of the people, whence comes the privilege of the venerable father that he may beg (*mendicitatis*), whence this monastic *habit* (*religionis habitus*), whence the power to hear confessions, to preach, with other innumerable privileges with which they are showered by the apostolic see, although bishops, archbishops and parish priests often speak against it? Who nevertheless, as obedient children, hear the Roman Pontiff and in him Christ, so that through the good of patience they may attain eternal life.

I wanted to add this little in the present matter of the disputation, as much as time has allowed, otherwise I would add even more, if I were not prevented by weariness and the order of the most noble prince.

Martin Luther.

Two things are incumbent upon me: First, to answer the refutations of the excellent doctor; second, to oppose him according to the contract of the agreement. And since I have now already answered for three days, and the time has been spent that I have not been able to accomplish one thing either, I will briefly say that everything that has been stated by the excellent doctor, although with very many arguments, is not true.

1) Compare Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 1823.

2) Luther's "Explanation of his Thirteenth Thesis". Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 720 ff.

He has now promised for three days that he will act against me with divine right, and one has not yet heard a testimony of divine right, except Matth. 16,18. f., of which we have all heard in how many different ways it has been treated by the holy fathers, and that the greater part and their more correct opinion is on my side. He himself has attracted One passage of Augustine for himself, and another of Ambrose; all the rest were words of Pelagius, of Anacletus, of those who have compiled human opinions. Cyprian, however, keeps it almost entirely with me, which I leave to the judgment of an understanding reader. Similarly, the extremely clear text of Jerome to Evagrius and about Titus; then Gregory in the register through almost six letters; then the Histories and the use of the Oriental Church; for it serves no purpose that the Doctor has cited the Rottian Greeks, Nestorius and others; those did not belong to the Oriental Church. I, too, can describe the Latin church by people like Pelagius, Manichaeus, Jovinianus, Vigilantius, Helvidius, and similar monsters; but far be it from me that I should call any whole church a Rottian one for the sake of a few wicked and Rottians. The other I will not be able to pursue, and reserve for myself especially the articles of John Hus, which have been reproached to me, and among these the last of the human actions to pen and paper, and everything else, which I would have wanted to object to, so that I may do in writing what I cannot do here, since I am not given room, and in this I will yield and obey the orders of the most noble prince, the most gracious patron of the university. About this I require you, gentlemen notaries, and call the audience as witnesses.

On the seventh day of July in the year 1519, early at seven o'clock.

Corner.

Because the venerable father would have had an hour yesterday to answer ours, so that we could thus fulfill the orders of the most noble prince.

he called to the pen, since a great deal passes through the word when answering; but after consultation he offered to answer even more completely. I did not refuse out of love for the truth and for its explanation. I wonder how the venerable father dares to roar before so many learned men that I would have said that I would prove the sole supremacy and the supreme authority in the church from divine right, while I would have brought forward only sayings of the holy fathers and decrees of the popes, although I have quoted to him the divine right Matth. 16, 18, about the promise of building on the rock, that Christ especially prayed for Peter's faith, that he especially promised him to strengthen the brethren [Luc. 22, 32], that he especially commanded him in the presence of John and Jacob to feed the sheep three times [Joh. 21,15-17], and that this divine right is to be understood in this way. Then I mentioned the holy fathers, the popes and the martyrs, the agreement of the conciliarities and all the universities. Therefore, it is proved by divine right that there is a supreme authority in the Church; only that the venerable father holds his opinion higher than that of so many holy fathers, popes and the holy Concilium, although the praiseworthy Costnitz Concilium condemned such an article among the pernicious ones of John Hus. The venerable father is silent on this. If he can bring something better to explain the truth, which he could have done yesterday according to the order of the most noble prince, then I am ready to listen, under the condition that he, while he has the office of a responder, does not cunningly put himself in the position of an opponent at the end of the action. But everything he will always object against this irrefutable truth, I am ready to answer with this, what I have mentioned, and to nullify it. This I testify herewith.

Martin.

Since it had been determined yesterday in the name of the most illustrious prince, our patron, that this matter should be concluded that day, and the excellent doctor had taken up the greater part of the time without need and in a more spiteful manner than befitted this brilliant audience, there remained for me a single little hour

left for a three-day answer, in which I should answer [respondiren] to his so great mixture and at the same time also make objections [opponiren]. It pleased our most noble prince of his own accord that I should be given the opportunity to respond as well as to oppose, for which I thank his most noble grace. And therefore, in order to get to the point, before I continue the response I began yesterday, I will first dispel this morning fog of Doctor Eck, since in his way he accuses me of Hussite heresies quite spitefully and again and again, despite the fact that I have purified myself so often, and for this reason I will make a short preface in German, because I hear that I have a very bad reputation among the common man.

He declared, however, that he did not dispute the supremacy and obedience to the Roman Church, and that this could not be disputed by anyone in a Christian way, but he was drawn to declare that this supremacy was not of divine right, just as the imperial power could not be rejected among the Germans, although it was not founded in the Holy Scriptures. Although Doctor Eck said that it was true that this was the point of controversy, whether the sovereignty of the Roman Church was from divine right [, he nevertheless stated], 1) that it is known that this disapproval is Hussite and an article that was rejected by the Costnitz Council, and it was to be deplored if the hearts of Christians were so cold that no one defended it. After that, Doctor Martinus began to continue in Latin.

That he now introduces this scriptural word Matth. 16, 18. and claims that sovereignty was promised there, it has been sufficiently answered in the foregoing that the excellent Doctor has hardly two warrantors, and even these are ambiguous with regard to his opinion, while the greater part holds that Peter was the representative (personam) of all apostles and believers there.

which even the text itself demands in its context, since Christ asks all, and not only Peter, since he says Matth. 16, 15. ff.]: "Who do you say that I am?" and Peter answers for all as the mouth of the apostles, as Chrysostom says, and the representative of the apostles, as Jerome and Origen say, and Beda and Augustine and Ambrose. That is why I have said that from this passage of Scripture nothing is proved for the supremacy. Likewise, that the text itself does not say: You are Peter and on you, but: "on this rock", obviously naming another rock (*petram*), of which Peter is named. Therefore, since there are common laws and the Roman popes themselves testify that the interpretation of Scripture is more valid with the teachers than with them, it should indeed be different in the decision 2) about things.

Yesterday I said enough about that article of Hus that it is not yet proven that it is heretical. This as an answer for this morning.

To return to yesterday's question, since the excellent Doctor objected in the second place that the deposition of Chrysostom was unlawful because it was done out of hatred of the Empress, I deny the implication. For the power to ordain and depose, which was decreed by the holy Concilium, was not unlawful because it might have been used badly by chance. For it is also written in the same history that the Roman pope Victor, a martyr, wanted to banish the bishops of Asia; but they, as superiors, imposed silence on him and ordered him not to disturb the church, in the fifth book of church history. But Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons in France, also put the same Roman bishop in check, and in Greece at that time there were Epiphanius, who was most gloriously praised by Jerome, Gregory, and Gregory the Apostle.

2) Wittenberg and Jena: äskeinäsdik; Löscher: üscnUsnäis, which the Weimar edition followed. The sense is the same in both readings, but the former will have to be preferred, since 0NU8N8 (tssoindsrs is a tkrrninus tseUninus, as can be seen Walch, St. Louiser Ausgabe, vol. IV, 1319, § 276.

1) inserted by us.

of Nazianzus, Basil, exceedingly Christian men, who nevertheless were never under the Roman pope, but were ordained by the bishops of the provinces according to the decrees of the Nicene Council. However, the fact that the excellent Doctor states that Julius I had excommunicated the Emperor Arcadius does not serve the purpose. For Boniface VIII was also subject to it, and wanted to push the king of France from his throne; it is not proven that this is a right, which the Roman popes have always undertaken from time to time out of human frailty. And it is not to be wondered at that these holy men were plagued by the challenge of ambition, since more than once the exceedingly holy apostles, even when Christ was still present, suffered from it.

That he says that the bishop of Jerusalem was given the prerogative of honor, he says right, but does not prove that the supremacy, at least of the Roman pope, is by divine right.

Also, the excellent Doctor says very well that the sixth synod gave the supremacy to the Roman Church, but not the previous synods. For this is what I intended, that this supremacy was given by synodal decrees and by human law with the consent of Christ's faithful, which must not be opposed. St. Gregory also says this in the register in these words: You know that the venerable Synod of Chalcedon has entrusted the supremacy to this apostolic see, and yet none of my predecessors has ever presumed to assume it. Therefore, it proves nothing that the excellent Doctor says that Gregory did not reject the supremacy, but asserted it. Let the godly reader read the letters of Gregory, and he will find that Gregory rejected the supremacy and did not claim the general episcopate, as we have sufficiently proved from the above, dist. 99.

Regarding the testimony of Augustine to the Roman pope Innocens and his answer to the latter, I answer: Let the reader read the words of both, and judge whether or not the apt

The doctor has added new meanings to the words.

Of the twenty years of the church before the Roman one, he said that with Peter the supremacy was transferred to Rome, perhaps wanting this saying: Where the pope is, there is Rome. I answer: It should have been the supremacy that was to be transferred, not the transfer, which I gladly concede.

He has also attracted a testimony of Augustine against the Manichaeans, which, as I assume, is in the second book of the "Christian Doctrine" Cap. 8¹), that in a doubtful matter to the certainty of faith serves the reputation of the Catholic Church, which is fortified by the chairs of the apostles, which follow one another, and by the uninterrupted series of bishops and the consensus of the people. He [Augustine] does not speak of the Roman Church, but of the general one, and this serves for me against the Doctor, because Augustine describes the succession in different apostolic chairs one after another and with the agreement of the people, but not the confirmation of other chairs by one chair.

Now to the matter itself.

About the saying Matth. 16,18.: "You are Peter", and to the attracted warrant men, he said, I would not have answered. I give this home to you, my listeners and readers, whether this is true. He opposed Augustine, who in the *retractationes* gives the reader the choice between the two views of one and the same saying, saying: he accepts both opinions; which pleases me, and so he proves nothing against me.

The second saying of the divine right, which was quoted by the worthy Lord, is this [Joh. 21, 17.]: "Feed my sheep", Johannis at the last, and I am glad that one finally gets to hear a testimony of the divine right after three days, on which one's opinion shall be firmly based. But we also want to look at it.

First of all, this saying seems to be understood in two ways. According to the one

1) Luther is mistaken: the passage is rather found in Hd. XI, 6. 2. contra I'uustuii Mauiedaeuru. (Weim. Ausg.)

Under the word "love", know that it is the same as trusting in yourself, and that each one is free; and under the word "feed", the same as being first and ruling, and so the meaning will be: "Peter, if you love me", that is, if you seek your own, and do everything that pleases your flatterers, then "feed my sheep", that is, be first and lord over all. I do not have this sense in my Bible. In the other way, "If you love me," that is, deny yourself, if you lay down your life for me, even if you spurn all dignities and love nothing but me, as Augustine gloriously puts it in the same passage, "feed my sheep," that is, teach, preach the word, exhort, pray, set a good example. For the Greek word in this passage does not mean to govern and feed alone, but to care sweetly and gently, and to do all that the sheep may not lack, and this sense, I believe, is the evangelical one. Therefore, I ask Doctor Eck to pray with me to the Lord Jesus Christ, that He will not only give the highest, but also all bishops, that they may believe that these words concern them. There is no doubt that the whole world would welcome such a man with open arms and tearful eyes, who wanted to live by these words. Therefore, if the excellent doctor looks carefully at the text, there is not a right and a privilege granted there, as one thinks, but a command is laid down and a nowadays unpleasant work is imposed, and an office is commanded to him who in fact is already appointed either to the first or to a lesser position, and is not first appointed. Now if he should insist that an office cannot be administered unless there is first a doctrine (loous) of authority, I like that; but then this doctrine must be founded in another way, here this word commands only the office. Therefore the holy fathers were right when they said that this passage concerns everyone. For no one can deny that if Peter is commanded all the sheep here, that he himself did not feed them all, as St. Augustine says, and the book of the Acts of the Apostles clearly states.

and so he would have been disobedient to Christ. And it cannot be said that, though he did not feed them in his own person, yet he did so through other subordinates. First of all, in order to admit that we might take it that Peter was not told in his own person to shepherd, but to shepherd through others, 1) it is clear that neither any of the apostles nor at least Paul was made a subordinate by Peter, since they shepherded many more sheep than Peter. Therefore, the understanding of the word must be taken from the whole Scripture and from the circumstances of the events, that this saying cannot go to Peter alone, or not to all the sheep. Thirdly. If by these words the supremacy will be proved, the supremacy will be uncertain and void, because the supremacy is not set otherwise than under the condition of love. For it is not necessary to tear the Scriptures into different pieces, but rather to bring them into harmony, and therefore, since it is uncertain who loves Christ, it will also be uncertain to us who our shepherd is. And if love is not necessary for him, it will also not be necessary for us to acknowledge him as our shepherd. It is not said, therefore, that this word is a command given to all the rulers of the church, that they should offer themselves for the sheep of Christ, despising riches, dignities, even supremacy, and finally life and death. Who is he, let us praise him!

I pass over what he quoted from Chrysostom about the summit of the college, and how Peter was given sovereignty over the whole earth, because I admit everything that he was the first in honor, but not the only one in administration, at least according to divine right.

From the case of Peter, Gal. 2,11. ff., where the excellent Doctor again spitefully reproached me with a Hussite article:

1) Here Walch has the Conjectur: "It should read: non esse dictum Petro ipsimet in persona propria: Pasce tu, sed: pasce per alium", which the Weimar edition has adopted. The other editions read: ...?etro PU866 P6r LÜUIN, 863 ip8iilN6t in p6r8ONL propria PU866 tu, tarN6N 6t6t.

it was not a spiritual or civil lord who was in mortal sin, if I said that Peter was not a superior for this reason, because he had sinned to death, I answer: it was not dealt with, and this disputation is "about the sea-butt". 1) I know, and know it very well, that an evil overlord must not be rejected. That is why I also condemn this Hussite article. But this is what I intended, that Peter, since he gave trouble in the cause of faith, if he had not been set right by Paul, should rightly be removed from the chief place, for a heretical shepherd, or one who hypocrites to the danger of the faith, sins grievously. For through this hypocrisy of Peter, faith in Christ was completely destroyed, as Paul says. Therefore, if Peter had not been corrected, he should have been considered as nothing, let alone the highest bishop. A mortal sin harms one's own person, but a heresy harms the common person and the community. Therefore, I thank the doctor that I have at least learned from this disputation that "to build on the rock" means: to stand under a sovereign, be he good or evil. For I confess that I did not know this meaning of building and rock before, for he said that even if Peter had fallen into mortal sin, he would still have remained the rock, that is, the first and the overlord.

That he says that in the past the bishops would not have been confirmed if they had not delivered a note about their faith, I am satisfied with that. But this has nothing to do with the divine right, because I take nothing from the pope, whatever is attached to him.

After that he dressed Nicolaus of Cusa and excused Anacletus, the holy man, that such a great science was not necessary for him. I concede that to such a holy man. But still it is disgraceful for a pope, may he be holy or not, not to know the gospels, since he is a shepherd of the sheep and a teacher of the gospel. But since "Cephas" is from the

1) a "I rUomMim, Iuvenal. IV, v. 39 soo. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1675 f., note.

Since the thunderskiud, which knows all languages, thunders like this, the vanity of the earthly smoke must rightly be silent, whether it be Nicolaus of Cusa, a Chaldean or a Hebrew. Not as if I wanted to reproach the excellent Doctor, who said that Peter means the same as "head of the house" in Chaldean according to his guide from Cusa, but I want to praise the intrepid disputator, who is so bold to enter the battlefield of the theologians, and yet has not previously studied so much in the Evangelio that he would have read the first chapter in the Evangelio Johannis. Likewise, he did not read in his book: Who is Cephas? I forgive that, but let him read the first chapter [v. 12. Cap. 3,4. f. 22.] of the first letter to the Corinthians and he will find it.

Finally, he does not want to pass judgment on the articles of the Bohemians, although he never refrains from insulting me with them. I, too, pass over it and say nothing more than that I approve of Gregorius of Arimini dist. 28, which the excellent doctor has rejected. For he is nothing other than Augustine and the holy scriptures, who contradicts all scholastic teachers, but most of all Aristotle, but has not yet been refuted by anyone.

I agree with the Doctor that the decisions of the Concilium must be accepted in matters concerning the faith. However, I reserve the right, which must also be reserved, that a concilium has sometimes erred and can sometimes err, especially in matters that do not concern the faith. Nor does a concilium have the power to make new articles in the faith; otherwise we would at last have as many articles as opinions of men.

At the end, when he cites St. Francis: we must obey the pope, I wonder against whom he said that. Likewise, I pass over the attacks on the mendicant monks. Even this wretched clothing torments the excellent Doctor. I express it as my opinion: I would like there to be no mendicant order.

Behold, this is what I had to answer to the objections of the excellent doctor against the thirteenth thesis. Therefore, after the answer is finished, it remains that I also present what moves me against the excellent Doctor.

Here Eck thundered that he wanted to answer the objections as if he had been a responder. Martin answered that in this way the disputation would never come to an end, and accused Eck's courageous will, which also tended to catch every single word. It was certainly through God's guidance that the most gracious Duke George was present, at whose beckoning and godly command Martin was allowed to attack Eck's thesis, which is opposed to the one already discussed.

Martin.

Against the opinion of the excellent doctor there seems to argue what he has so bravely skipped in his refutation and what is written in 1 Cor. 3, 5, where Paul takes the reputation of the person from all apostles and says: Who is Apollo? who is Paul? who is Cephas? They are servants through whom you have believed. Here Paul wants to completely remove the cause of strife and division; he denies that any church belongs to any of the apostles, but all are common to all, therefore he says at the end of the third chapter, v. 21 ff: "All are yours, whether Cephas or Apollos or Paul. But ye are Christ's." And the excuse is not valid that it is said that they did not dispute about the supremacy, but about the special gifts, of the persons, since the text is clear that they disputed about the dignities of the persons, that some preferred Peter to all, others Paul, some Apollo, but others Christ alone. This is confirmed by what is written in Gal. 2, where the Galatians, seduced by a similar dispute, abandoned Paul and his teaching as unworthy because of Peter's praised supremacy. Against this he proves in a long text that the supremacy of Peter or the other apostles is of no importance, saying that he was neither sent to them by a man nor through a man, that he had not even seen Peter nor learned from him, but that he had had and taught everything without Peter. If, therefore, the reputation of Peter is necessary and

was divine right, then Paul will obviously be ungodly and blasphemous in this passage, since he also does not want to be regarded as being sent by God through a man, and completely rejects Peter's reputation. Thirdly, even more clearly, since he says: "Those who had prestige have taught me nothing, and what they were like in their days is of no concern to me, for God does not respect the prestige of men. Behold, here he clearly says that the dignity (*qualitas*) of Peter and the other apostles is none of his business, which would be exceedingly ungodly to say if Peter's dignity had to be held by divine right. With the same impiety he would say: "God does not respect the reputation of men", since he commands divine right and what is divine right even under the penalty of eternal damnation. Therefore it is evident that this supremacy and sovereignty, or by whatever name one may call Peter's prestige or dignity, is not ordered by divine right.

Corner.

Since the venerable father cites three testimonies of St. Paul against me, which have long since been raised by the opponents of the apostolic see and explained by the defenders of the apostolic see, I answer him easily by denouncing the evil makeup with which he endeavors to cover his doctrine and to glue people's mouths and eyes. I say, first, that I do not, as he interprets to me, skip over the apostle's passage in the first Epistle to the Corinthians Cap. 3, 5. I have skipped over it, although he has wrongly mentioned Cephas with Paul and Apollo, because the text does not have him in the beginning, but at the end he remembers Cephas. But immediately the note (Alossa) placed between the lines confesses that he is greater than all. Therefore, the venerable father should take the holy scripture not according to his head, but according to that of the saints. And I say that the best and irrefutable solution is given, and the make-up of the venerable father, by which he listens to the simple ones, does not make any difference. St. Jerome is witness to this, who in the first book against Jovinianus, Col. 18 in my edition, expressly says that the church was built on Peter. There the venerable father bravely jumped over, and says nothing. And afterwards: so that, after the

The opportunity for division would be taken away if the head is appointed. Therefore, because the apostle Paul wanted to prevent divisions and strife, he did not thereby take away the supremacy, because the divisions cannot be better removed than by a head. Therefore, neither a word nor a tittle serves the cause of denying the supremacy. Therefore he started wrongly today, that I had hardly cited two holy fathers, and ambiguous ones at that, while I have cited certain and undoubted ones, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Leo, Bernardus 2c. But that he commends that I accept both opinions of Augustine, lid. 1. rstraet. eap. 21, which he confirms, and he himself does the same. 1)

But that he introduces Paul in the second place in the letter to the Galatians [Gal. 2, 11. ff.], as if he had written against Peter, since he wanted to fortify the Galatians in the faith, and there in the whole course indicates that he was equal to Peter and to the others, because he did not receive it from a man nor through a man, so I say that, if the venerable father were such a diligent investigator of the truth as he promises, he would have learned the right foundations and understanding of the Scriptures, and it would not be necessary for him to say so boastfully in such a large assembly that he alone would resist a thousand. This is the truth and the matter of the apostleship and the dignity of the position. The apostles were all equal. This is what the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Fathers intended. Jerome says that Paul would not have punished Peter if he had known that he was not equal to him. Thus Anacletus says can. In novo, that the apostles were gifted with equal authority; so Cyprianus, so also others. Now since Paul had been ordained an apostle by Christ, he freely said that he had not received it from a man nor through a man, and that Jacob and Peter had taught him nothing; for all this is to be referred to the apostleship.

But it is different with the power of government and administration, where the opinion of the holy fathers and the Concilium against John Hus is unanimous, that just Peter was granted such a supremacy. Therefore, he does not use the testimonies of the Holy Scripture correctly, but draws them differently according to his will.

where, contrary to what the Holy Spirit requires. For what he emphasized today, that Paul said he did not care what kind of people they were, does not mean what the venerable father wanted, but this: Peter and Jacob and others would have been unlearned and inexperienced people before they walked with the Lord, and so God does not respect reputation. But he will say, as he is bold, "This is an angular little bundle. Let him read Ambrose on this passage, who does not falsify Paul's opinion and freely testifies that the church is founded on the rock. Therefore, if he cannot bring anything more solid, I beg him to desist from his intention. Therefore, when I said today that it was a Hussite article: ecclesiastical obedience is not expressed by a saying of the Holy Scripture, he answered briefly: the article is not heretical. I would rather deal with the venerable father in an attacking way and say: this is a damned article and he holds it; therefore he holds a damned and rejected article. Likewise I ask: if the article is not heretical, it is either presumptuous, or seditious, or offensive to godly ears. Now whatever the father will accept, he will be either a presumptuous man, or a rebel, suspected of heresy, giving offense to godly ears, against the theological cause [that we intend].

I am surprised with which peacock color he decorates the words of Christ Matth. 16, 15. ff. That Christ asked all disciples, and so Peter answered for all, - who denies that? But he added from his stuff that for this reason he said to Peter for himself and the other apostles: "You are Peter, and on this rock", which I do not accept as a Lutheran confession with the holy fathers.

With regard to Chrysostom, it is astonishing what injustice he does to the Holy Father, as if he had been deposed lawfully and according to the decisions of the Nicene Council, while it is known from the histories that, according to Eusebius of Antioch, I believe a Rottir, Christian bishops were expelled along with others who were rebellious against the Roman pope, who, seeking help from the supreme see, suffered expulsion from the godless Rottians until the time of Theodosius, a very Christian emperor. At that time, when the Rottians had occupied the see for thirty years, St. Gregory of Nazianzus accepted the bishopric of Constantinople, not out of ambition, but so that other Rottians would not succeed him.

1) In passing: D. Martin denied that he had done so, as he testified above.

would like. St. Chrysostom, however, having been unjustly expelled by Epiphanius and replaced by the Rottian Arsacius, has returned through the prestige of the Roman pope. And it is not valid that the venerable father blasphemes the Roman pope of that time and the saints who adhered to him, as if they had proceeded against those Rottians by deed but not by right. This he says with his unproven words, that even so many saints, who were praised even by the Lord Father, did not agree with the Roman Pontiff. Therefore, the venerable father now begins without cause to accuse those holy fathers who lived a thousand years ago of ambition, from which vice they have been considered free by the whole Church for so many centuries.

Thus it is also captious and deceives the simple-minded that St. Gregory did not want to call himself an ecumenical and universal shepherd. For the day before he so highly exalted Platina, who, as he said, had followed the truth of history; now he rejects Platina according to his will, which, as he thinks, he is free to do everywhere.

He cites the decree for himself; when it is cited, he rejects it; and when he has quite clear texts, even the Canon Leo's *ita dominus*, 19. dist. and the like, against him, he adopts the gloss, just as the suitors of Penelope, to speak jocosely, since they could not seize the mistress, went after the maids. It is certain that also holy popes have called themselves general bishops, as Sixtus, as Victor, and as at the Concilium of Chalcedon was called to Leo: Long live the most holy Leo, the ecumenical patriarch! But the popes who followed the figure of humility and Christ abstained from this name, and better confessed that they were the servants of the servants, so that it would not be believed that they were taking away the prestige of the bishops, as St. Thomas has long since answered to those things in the book of the Controversy of the Faith.

Concerning the letter of Augustine, he makes you, gentlemen listeners, the trouble 1) that you should read the words. The words have been heard. 2) Innocentius said eleven hundred years ago that according to the custom of the ancients, in matters concerning the faith, the pope should be consulted.

1) Col. 974 f.

2) Compare Col. 961 f.

Thus the venerable father wanted to transplant the saying against the Manichaeans into his garden, but he will not do so if he reads the letter of Augustine, in which he does not enumerate the series of the entirety of the bishops, but of the Roman popes, from Peter himself to his times. 3)

The answer I gave about the twenty years, he says, is not proven by me. The venerable father is an astute disputator. I have not yet known that a respondent must prove his answer; I have always thought that the respondent offers his answer to the opponent for refutation. His Hercules has been weak, if he relies on foreign help.

But that he suffers from such a great insolence that he dares to give the most illustrious lords and you, venerable fathers, the hand, as if I had not read the first chapter of John, that is truly a tremendous presumption, since I, as a boy of not yet ten years, have read the whole Bible with the exception of the prophets. But that is not the point, how much each one has read. I have said in the defense of Anacletus that his interpretation: Kephass, that is, head, was not so ignorant, in that I know very well that in Greek means head; but because in John, whom I looked up yesterday, in Augustine and the glossa *ordinaria* Kephass is translated by Peter, so Peter, according to my guarantor of Cusa, also means head of the house. This all makes the venerable father ridiculous, about which the judges to be decreed may judge.

But this is even better, that he surrounds the saying: "Feed my sheep" with such great circumlocutions, just so that he makes the people who see there to be those who do not see. I pass over this, because he has put forward such a ridiculous interpretation invented by him. But I will come to another sense of this passage, since he has said many things. But I do not make use of the peculiarity, which is the mother of errors. Since I have followed the opinion of the holy fathers and the holy mother, the church, I have taken the word "pasture" in such a way that he has appointed him a shepherd and given him the supremacy over the whole church. This is how Gregory understood it, this is how Chrysostom understood it, this is how Ambrose understood it, Lucã the last, who was not quoted by me yesterday. To these the venerable

3) ^uAU8t. ex. 165. (Weim. Ausg.)

The father passed by very nicely and said nothing about it. However, he used a saying of Augustine about how a shepherd should be. I also accept this [Augustine], and believe that every believer prays that also the pope, every prince, every superior may seek the glory of God and the salvation of his subjects, that this is the right proper pasture, by which they, as they are princes here on earth, are also exalted to rule in heaven. Therefore Augustine does not say things that are against me, that dispute against me, but such things from which a superior should know what he is appointed to do. And it has no validity that the venerable Father said that the sheep were commanded to him under a condition, because there is no condition added, unless the Lord Father has a different gospel than I have. But, indicating how a shepherd must be, Christ demands love, and that is the LiHe of GOD from Peter, and thus has made him the shepherd of the whole Church, as the holy Mother, the Church, sings, and the venerable Father prays or reads: Thou, Head of the Church, Shepherd of the sheep 2c. Therefore, in this place, by divine right, that the Superior must love GOD, we have Peter appointed shepherd of the sheep, as St. Gregory, St. Ambrose and Chrysostom, who is also a Greek, understood. There is nothing in the very small bad reason given by the venerable father for the opposite, that Peter did not shepherd all the sheep; what is done in our name is also said to have been done by us. Clement testifies that Peter appointed elders, bishops and deacons who were to spread the gospel throughout the world, as we read in the Canon *In illis* 80 or 81. 1) äi8t. Therefore, he who was sent by the head, as St. Paul was, does not need to be sent by his governor; nevertheless, Paul went up with Titus [to Jerusalem, Gal. 2, 1. ff., and discussed the gospel with Peter, and they gave him the brotherly hand.

Furthermore, that he forges a gloss against me, which I never thought of, as if I had said: to build on the rock is to be under the Roman Pontiff, - O dreams, O whimsical words! never did this occur to me. For Christ builds the church, not those who are under him; for those who are under him must belong to the church that is built.

That of Gregory of Arimini, whose opinion displeases me, but pleases him, serves nothing for now. Therefore, I do not want to get involved in these aberrations, but rather, as we began, defend that the article of the Costnitz Concilium is true, and that anyone who contradicts it is wrong and contradicts the truth and honor of the Concilium.

Martin Luther.

Before I come to the testimonies, which are opposed by me, I want to briefly go through what the excellent doctor has put together about my yesterday's and today's answer, since he, among other things, while all his weapons are, as it were, exhausted, desperately seeks the last snip of his confidence in an article of the Costnitz Council, and repeats and defuses it in the most spiteful way, as if not enough had been answered to it above. But I will say it once again.

Since the article of the works of men is enumerated among the damned, and asserted by St. Paul and St. Augustine, then defended by Gregory of Arimini, by all universities to this day, I will not be moved by the exceedingly spiteful inculcations of this article, until the excellent Doctor has proved that a concilium cannot err, has not erred, or does not err, since a concilium cannot make a divine right out of that which by its nature is not divine right. Therefore, only that which is contrary to divine law is heretical. That to this article.

That he takes up that Chrysostom was lawfully deposed, he has not understood me, since I have said clearly today that the power to ordain and depose a bishop was lawful with Epiphanius of Cyprus and Theophilus, although I have not dealt with whether they used this lawful power at that time for good or ill. It is enough for me that without the power of the Roman pope, so many holy and very famous men of Greece, who were completely Catholic and not Rotterian, had the power to ordain and depose bishops.

He also makes a big deal of the fact that I accused the old saints of ambition, and has

Do not forget that I said that the apostles also had this infirmity when Christ was present.

That he now raises Platina so high against St. Gregory, whom I have cited as a witness, it is clear to anyone who has even a mediocre mind what this proves. For I take the histories from Platina, and no more. But that the same Platina cites some reasons, I reject because of the contradictory testimony of Gregorius.

Now I pass over the fact that Sixtus and Victor called themselves general bishops and that this was called Leo in the Concilium of Chalcedon, about which enough has been said today. It should be noted that the excellent Doctor says that the following popes, following the form of humility in Christ, abstained from this name, which cannot understand otherwise than that they violated the divine right of humility, became mendacious and disobedient when it is divine right, that is, when it was commanded that they should be general bishops.

Repeating Innocentius' letter of reply to Augustine, he says that **it was** an old custom to consult the Roman popes in matters concerning the faith. In this he says very well and I like it, especially in the Latin Church. But what has faith to do with supremacy? That is, how does that serve our cause?

He also claimed that I had demanded from him the proof of the answer about the twenty years. The excellent doctor is missing in two ways: firstly, because he has been an opponent for four and a half days and only started to be a respondent at this time; secondly, I did not demand that he should prove the answer, but that the supremacy had been transferred with Peter.

In wanting also to widen out of what is said by "Cephas," which in John is interpreted by Peter, he still insists that Peter means the head of the house, namely, as if John, since he wants to explain the gospel to the Greeks, were not

He said that he had spoken in Greek, but in Chaldean, so that he would not be understood.

He takes the word "pasture" [Joh. 21, 17.] in such a way that he wants it to mean the appointment of a general shepherd, and for this he has cited Gregory, Ambrose and Chrysostom, who were not attracted yesterday, to whom I would have said nothing. Therefore I will say it now, if I should have forgotten it, and at the same time I oppose to him the rule of St. Augustine, that the sayings of all writers are to be judged by the holy Scriptures, whose prestige is greater than the comprehension of the whole human race. It is not that I want to condemn the opinion of the most illustrious Fathers, but that I follow those who come closest to the Scriptures, and above all, if the Scriptures are clear, I seize them myself. Since it is clear that "to feed" according to the meaning of the word and the use of Scripture means nothing else than to teach, to take care of the sheep (Peter 1 Ep. 5, 2: "Feed the flock of Christ as you are commanded"), it is not necessary to make the word ambiguous and not to leave the simple meaning without necessity.

He also refutes that I said there was a condition in Christ's words, "If thou lovest me," since I hold that there is not only a condition but also a contract between Christ and Peter, since the latter says, "Dost thou love me?" and the latter answers, "I love thee." I leave the dialectic, in which the Doctor is very skilled, also the conditional conjunction "if". I would like to hear what he would have to say about the Decretale de elect. c. significasti, where the pope Paschalis clearly says that here is a condition, namely, if the prestige of the Roman pope has such strong validity, as he has claimed so far; for he speaks according to the sense.

He has refuted my reason that Peter did not teach all of them: For, he says, what is done in our name is also said to have been done by us. But I do not believe that the doctor intended to satisfy my reason here, since he cannot say that Paul preached in Peter's name, which is not true.

In the letter to the Romans in the first chapter [v. 5] he says that he is an apostle under the name of Christ. I assume this from the fact that he says, according to Clement, that Peter had appointed bishops, elders and deacons to spread the gospel throughout the world, among whom he does not list Paul. But this seems to serve the purpose that he who has been sent by your head does not need to be sent by his governor. I allow this; if it was first proved that Peter was governor. But now Paul is no less a governor than Peter, as it has already been said that he is an apostle in the name of Christ, and so there are as many governors as apostles.

Now to the matter at hand.

Regarding the testimony of Paul 1 Cor. 3, 5, he first says that "Cephas" is not in the beginning of the text, but he is mentioned at the end, where the gloss confesses that Peter is greater than all. This is something quite minor; I pass it over, since in any case Cephas is placed in the beginning of the first chapter.

Secondly, he says nothing else than that neither a word nor a title is full of the denial of the supremacy in the text, and so he wants to have eliminated this testimony. But he has cited the "testimony" of Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Bernard, Leo 2c. who say that Peter is the rock. Against this I say and reply: This second statement does not serve the purpose, and it is sufficiently discussed above whether Peter is the rock. Similarly, it is not a correct answer that he says that there is not a word, not a shake of the denial of supremacy. If Jerome also puts a head so that the opportunity for division would be taken away, the clear text argues quite strongly against it, which takes away the head so that the opportunity for division would be taken away. For he says Cor. 3:5, "Who is Paul? Who is Apollo?" in that he wants Christ alone to be the head, through whom in truth all division is taken away. This answer is not enough for me.

Regarding the testimony of Gal.2,1.ff.he says that all apostles are equal, which is also testified by Jerome and the Canon In novo, but that it is

The power of government and administration is something else. That such a great testimony should be disproved with these three words is quite wondrous to me. But I also do not yet understand how he could separate government and administration. But that he said that Paul went out to Peter with Titus to discuss the gospel with them is clear from the preceding and following texts, as Jerome himself interprets that Paul did not do this to consult Peter about the gospel, which he had already preached for more than fourteen years, and boasted that he had not received it from a man, but to shut up the false apostles and to reassure the Galatians that it was the same as what he and the other apostles had preached.

Corner.

That the venerable father mixes the article of John Hus about obedience to the church with the other article about the works of human actions according to the testimony of Gregory of Arimini, which is to be defended by all universities, I have not yet heard that it has been defended in any university, although I have been to very many. But he asks me to prove to him that a concilium cannot err. I do not know what this request is about, whether he secretly also wants to hold the laudable Costnitz Concilium suspicious. I tell you, venerable father, if you believe that a lawfully assembled concilium can err and has erred, you are like a heathen and a tax collector to me. What a heretic is, I will not discuss now.

Regarding Chrysostom, he does not want that he justified his expulsion, but that he praised the ordinance of the bishops instituted by the Nicene Concilium. This pleases me because of the deference to St. Chrysostom, and always the Roman popes in different nations have allowed different ways to elect the bishops. But through Gregory of Nazianzus and Chrysostom's reinstatement, it is sufficiently clear that the Roman pope's power has taken the means, as witnessed by St. Athanasius of Alexandria, St. Paul, and other Eastern bishops who appealed to the Roman pope for reinstatement.

That he indicates that there was also something of human frailty in the apostles, we know. But since they held a public office, one must not disparage such holy men without consideration and cause.

He says of Platina that he accepts his historical testimony; and I, too, have quoted from Platina not a testimony, but a history.

Regarding the letter of Innocentius, he answers that it does not serve the cause, because he allows it to apply to the Latin church, but not to any other. But because this is a Lutheran gloss that is not based on any testimony or evidence, we despise it just as easily as it is cited.

About the twenty years he answers that I have been an opponent for three days now. I should have been in any case, if the venerable father had not, by his precautions, sometimes made the opponent a responder. For I did not object to this ground of proof, but he himself put it forward, and certainly Peter did not take that chair with him to Rome, but transferred the supremacy there.

Regarding the word "pasture", he wants to let Gregory, Ambrose and Chrysostom go, because the simple word should not be made ambiguous. I say: Who does not know that the word "shepherd" is an official name, a name of honor and also of burden! Therefore, he received both the office of the headship and at the same time the burden of shepherding.

I do not accept what the venerable father said about the condition, because Christ, as he is always attached to the letter, did not attach a condition to the pasture. For this would confirm the Hussite error that one who is not in love cannot be a bishop, a prelate, a shepherd 2c.

From the Canon *significasti, de electione* I know that Gerson and other teachers waver in the matter whether a concilium is above the pope. But because the words of the *Decretale* have not been consulted, cannot say anything, but assume, without wanting to bind myself by it, that Paschalis took "condition" for "quality".

As for Paul, who is said not to have acknowledged Peter's supremacy, but to have been an apostle of Christ (we are all Christ's, I believe), he nowhere took away Peter's supremacy of the regiment, but, as it is written in the Epistle of the Apostles' Entry, while still dying, he gave the apostle's supremacy of the regiment to Peter.

Peter as the head of the Church. I am not quite sure whether this letter is from St. Dionysius or not.

He said that Paul was a governor of Christ, but not a general one. For also in Revelation [Cap. 21,14.] twelve foundations of the church are laid, and yet [1 Cor. 3, 11.] no one can lay any other foundation, namely the main foundation, than the one that is laid, namely Christ.

Of the second, he said that it did not belong to the matter whether Peter was the rock, and yet this is all our bargain. But the answer I gave the day before, to which I referred, he concealed, since it is literally expressed that Paul disapproved of the quarrel. But I do not know by what perspicacity the venerable father may come to the assumption that Paul for the sake of this had put in abnegation the supremacy, in order that he might resist the schism. Perhaps he has not been in a country that had no prince, because he would have experienced the opposite, how many disputes, quarrels and disunity arise where there is no prince and head who judges and recognizes things. And it seems strange to him if I want to refute such a great testimony with so few words, namely the apostleship and the regiment; the elements (*principia*) are very small in size and very great in power. If the venerable father had paid attention to these two small words apostleship and regiment, the supreme head and the next after the same, which now dispute against each other, as it seems to him, he would have united the opinion of the holy scriptures and the holy fathers with each other; since this is neglected, strange and foreign doctrines must follow.

July 8.

Martin.

To the testimonies that I have brought from the letters of Paul to the Corinthians and to the Galatians, the excellent doctor, as is his way, has answered nothing, only that he repeats the Costuican Concilium and the Hussites, by which the testimonies are not refuted to me. For, as I have said, the Nicene Concilium, which is much holier and more famous, has established other things. Therefore, as much as he bases himself on his own, I base myself on mine, and say, as I said yesterday: however much a concilium may be attracted

If one becomes a divine right, then one does not receive a divine right thereby yet. Of this alone is the question; therefore a concilium does not serve the cause.

Secondly, in order rather to escape the testimonies than to refute them, he has brought forward the distinction of apostleship and government. Since this is invented by human will, and is neither contained in the holy Scriptures nor in the holy Fathers who interpret them, I am not satisfied that it has been made to me, especially since apostleship is not, as he with his own thinks, the name of a dignity, but of an office, as the apostle is clear in the Epistle to the Romans [Cap. 1, 5.] and everywhere, since he says that he received grace and apostleship for the obedience of faith. For an apostle is a messenger of the word, and apostolate or the office of the word, and so in the holy scripture apostleship or administration are generally the same, unless he wanted to understand by administration the dispute in court because of temporal church goods, which is not really an apostolic administration. I confess, if this freedom to invent were allowed, I would also like to invent that St. John is the chancellor, 1) and another apostle something else. But all this is not divine right. Therefore, that element disappears of which, although it is very small in size, it is said to be very great in power, and I am very surprised that the good Lord so shuns the holy scripture and flees from its face, turning away to those dark caves invented by men.

Therefore, the testimony to the Corinthians [Cap. 1, 12. ff. 3, 5.] still stands that Paul, in order to abolish the division, takes away the reputation of Peter, Paul, Apollo 2c. and leaves only Christ, leaving him, of course, the ministry of the word, which is indeed the apostleship and the government of the church. And it is not true that he wanted to destroy this exceedingly strong testimony by this dull similitude that a kingdom without a head is subject to divisions and many dangers.

be exposed. For there can be no church without a head, while there can be many bishops without the pope, as we see happen in federations (federibus), where the commonwealths are administered the more beautifully the less they have a common head. For this is before our eyes, that the kingdom of France, "England, Britain, Gaul, and innumerable others in the world, are without a common head, and yet they do not clash, each kingdom being satisfied with its king. Now if in these temporal, fluctuating things, with so many different minds and customs of men, who have neither in heaven nor on earth a common head, there is peace and concord among the countries, how much more can this happen in spiritual, permanent things, that is, among men endowed with One Faith, with the same love, the same customs, then having a common head in heaven, as the apostle says, "One Faith, One Lord," in the Epistle to the Ephesians [Cap. 4, 5.]. Therefore, if there were ten popes, if there were a thousand popes, there would not be divisions for this reason.

Therefore, I still wish that the Doctor would better refute Paul's testimony; likewise also that in the letter to the Galatians [Cap. 2, 6]: "God does not respect the reputation of men" 2c., where Paul rejects everything that can only ever be a personal reputation or what is called a personal reputation in Peter and the apostles. This is' not yet touched, let alone refuted.

To end the disputation, I also add that Paul in the first letter to the Corinthians Cap. 12, 28, when describing the body of the church, names in the first place the apostles, in the second place the prophets, in the third place the teachers, and almost in the last place the governors, whom the Lord Doctor calls administrators. Therefore, if Peter's supremacy were such a great and necessary thing according to divine right, Paul would have described the church insufficiently, since he has omitted the most important thing that is in it.

2) It seems from Eck's answer that rather: "Spain, France, England, Hungary" should be read.

1) As one can see from the following answer of Eck, Luther added here: "Marcus the seal-keeper".

Furthermore, it is still certain that neither Peter nor all the apostles could ordain Matthias, Apost. 1, 15. ff., nor give him the administration. Therefore, the Roman Pontiff presumes more with the bestowal of administration over the whole world, which he does not find in the apostle who is his predecessor.

In the same way I judge the ordinance of Paul and Barnabas Apost. 13, 2. 13, 2. The Holy Spirit, not Peter or the church, segregated. Therefore he boasts [Gal. 2, 6.] not unjustly that he received nothing from the great apostles. Yes, when he writes to the Corinthians, he says [2 Cor. 11, 5. Vulg.] that he did nothing less than the other apostles.

But even this saying restricts Peter still more narrowly, since he writes to the Galatians [Gal. 2:8], "He that was strong with Peter for the apostleship among the circumcision, the same was strong with me among the Gentiles"; and afterwards [v. 9 f.], "They gave me and Barnaba the right hand, and became one with us, that we should preach among the Gentiles, and they among the circumcision; only that we should remember the poor." If I were to rely on this saying, neither the Lord Doctor nor any man could enforce that Peter's apostleship by divine right extended further than over the Jewish land, and that for this reason all the sayings on which he relies [John 21:17]: "Feed my sheep" 2c. and [Matthew 16:18]: "You are Peter" 2c. must be referred to the boundaries of his apostleship. Alls this way Christ Joh. 10, 16. clearly separates the sheep of the Gentiles from the sheep of Israel by saying: "I have other sheep, they are not of this fold."

And finally, what the Doctor also touched upon yesterday, Revelation 21:14, the new Jerusalem is described with twelve reasons besides the main reason, Christ, and yet no distinction is made among the twelve reasons, which would have had to be done if so much were to be thought of Peter's supremacy. Many figures in Scripture refer to the same thing, such as 1 Kings 7:25, the twelve oxen of the brazen sea, the twelve lions at Solomon's throne, the twelve stones, and the twelve lions of the kingdom.

at the Jordan [Jos. 4, .] and the like, in which a complete equality of all apostles is described. And against this no inequality can be proven by divine right.

This shall be said for this thesis, of which I believe to this day that it is quite true, yes, I know for sure, I also do not hope that it will ever be overturned. Therefore, I ask that the excellent doctor, since he has not yet produced any testimony of divine right for his opinion, should at least refute some clearly and without detours, otherwise I will not consider him a theologian who has a right opinion of Scripture, and leave it to the judgment, not of envy nor of the great crowd, but of the judges to be decreed and of every understanding reader and sincere listener.

Corner.

I do not know what the venerable father may want, since he says at the beginning of his speech that I have answered nothing, and yet in the further course of the same he endeavors to overturn my unconquered and exceedingly strong answers given yesterday: whether this rhymes with each other, let him see for himself.

Then, that he does not want to be bound by the reputation of the Costnitz Council, he may see for himself, the judges may see how right he has done it. I do not reject the Nicene Church Assembly in matters that are based on faith and morals, as the ordination of bishops can be changed according to the nature of times and places.

He demands from me that I teach him divine right. Although I have often done this, there is nothing about it in my thesis, but only because the venerable father said in the "Explanations" 1) that the Roman Church was not higher than others before the times of Silvester, which I deny in my thesis: but I confess that the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, according to what I have taught, is from divine right.

Then, in order to reject my answer, he says that my distinction is invented by human will, as if in theology it were not allowed to

1) Compare Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, col. 174, thesis 22. The Weimar edition correctly notes: "Luther had certainly not expressed himself in this way."

would be to make distinctions. Thus Arius wanted to mock Athanasius (for he held too tenaciously to the letter, and said that the Son was a creature) by the word [Joh. 14, 28.]: "The Father is greater than I." This Athanasius refuted by the distinction: The Father is greater than I according to humanity, but not according to divinity. Because Arius did not distinguish the sacred Scriptures, he did not accept this [refutation] 1) and remained obstinate in his error. Thus, in the present trade, since those who expound the sacred Scriptures will have eternal life, distinctions must be made by comparing the various passages of Scripture, lest a contradiction be allowed in the sacred Scriptures, lest one who clings too closely to the letter be killed, but rather be made alive by the Spirit. And because Peter is often preferred to the others in the Scriptures, often found equal to them, it is necessary, in order to avoid contradiction, to make a distinction in accordance with the Scriptures. This is also stated by Jerome and Cyprian, whom I have mentioned, in the fourth book of the ninth epistle, who also confess the equality of the apostleship and yet attribute supremacy to Peter, which cannot happen if it is not referred to different pieces.

It pleases me that he says the apostolate is an office, but only in such a way that he also says it is an honor. For these are names both of honor and burden, as I have said, which the apostle indicates in the Epistle to the Romans Cap. 10, 15. "How shall they preach, if they be not sent?"

With regard to administration, I again agree with the venerable father, namely, that in temporal matters it is much less than in spiritual matters. Let us pray to God that our bishops may recognize this, and not, through their deputies, neglect the spiritual and the temporal themselves. I have indicated the administration of the regiment in spiritual things according to authority (potestive), and it is not opposed to this that the venerable father says, so he too can invent that John is the chancellor, Marcus the seal-keeper 2c., because, as Augustine says, the philosophers use free words, but for us it is proper to speak according to a certain rule. Therefore, one must teach such things as receive their reason (fundamentum) from sacred Scripture, as the first member of the apostleship in the equality of the apostles,

the other member of the government in the supremacy of Peter. Therefore, I confess that Paul's testimony is exceedingly strong, but that it does not contradict me in one letter.

The venerable father disregarded the simile I mentioned about the divisions in a country when there is no overlord, because it is like that in the kingdoms of the faithful in Spain, France, England, Hungary, which are without a head, and yet peace exists because there is unity among them. I wonder how the venerable father can have forgotten so many murders, wars and battles that he must know about. I do not want to say about the so long disunity and the constant hatred between the French and the English, also the deep-rooted hatred between the French and the Spaniards, who have so often waged wars for the Kingdom of Naples with very great shedding of Christian blood, and yet God would that there would finally be a constant and lasting peace! I acknowledge one faith, one Lord, Christ, with the apostle, but I worship the Roman pope as Christ's governor. Therefore, the previous answer stands unconquered and firm, at least according to my poor judgment. Scholars may judge about it. 2)

Moreover, the reverend father says that the words of Paul [Gal. 2, 6.]: "God does not respect the reputation of men", are not touched by me and therefore even less answered. Perhaps he overheard it because I indicated both from Ambrose and Jerome the opinion of these words. For John and Peter were unlearned men and could not read (analphabetici) in the law, Paul, on the other hand, was learned and took to above many of his contemporaries, as he testifies of himself. Therefore, Paul did not want to take into account what kind of people Peter and John would have been, because God does not respect the reputation of men. For He chose the fisherman as well as the learned scribe, but this does not abolish Peter's supremacy. But God cannot be blamed for the reputation of the person, even if He chooses one before another, as Peter confessed of Cornelius [Acts 10:34]: "Now I learn with truth that God does not regard the person."

Now let's move on to what Venerable Father was referring to.

He cites the apostle in the first letter to the

1) Thus supplemented by the Weimar edition.

2) In passing, "Because we are all blind, Eck said." - The Erlangen edition notes, "It is to be read: Luther."

Corinthians, Cap. 12, 28, which, in describing the spiritual body, lists the apostles, the prophets, the teachers and finally the government. I say that the apostle did indeed describe them well, but that he neither denied nor taught the supremacy. Therefore, the reason for the proof is without force: Here Paul did not think of such a supremacy, therefore there is no supremacy in the church, both because even children know that a doctrine from a saying has no validity in a negative way, and also because even in the holy Scriptures what is not expressed in one place, according to the teaching of Augustine in the book "Of Christian Doctrine", must be taken from another place, as we have done. Similarly, I answer the word Revelation 21:14. I confess that there are twelve reasons. These may also be represented by the twelve oxen, by the twelve lions, by the twelve stones of Jordan. But in this the twelve number of the apostles is taught, but for this reason the supremacy is not denied. But I have quoted this passage because it is necessary to show that the various pieces of Scripture agree with each other, and since the apostle [1 Cor. 3:11.1] laid one foundation, Christ, and no one can lay another, it is not necessary for this reason to deny Peter as the foundation of the church, because John, who is also holy, laid twelve foundations. If one does not accept the distinction between the foundation of the reasons, which is the most important one, and the one that is put in its place or the one that is put in second place, then one will not be able to unite Paul and John.

In the second place he mentioned that Peter could not have ordained Matthias, so the Holy Spirit had ordained Paul and Barnabas. I answer: Since the apostles were bishops, I do not remember to have found in the Holy Scriptures that bishops were ordained by Christ, since he first ordained them priests at the Last Supper. Therefore, I can also refer this to Peter as far as the ordination to the bishopric is concerned. But because I allow that the office of apostleship was conferred by God alone, it is not surprising that they asked for divine assistance. For they did not cast the lot in a common way, but, as St. Dionysius testifies, that lot was the visible appearance of the Holy Spirit. Therefore this passage serves for the supremacy of Peter, because he exercised the supremacy granted to him [Apost. 1, 15. ff.]: "In those days Peter stood up among the disciples" 2c., as also with Ananias and Sapphira [Apost. 5,

3. ff]; so in the apology of the apostles [Apost. 2, 15.] that they were not full of sweet wine; so in the answer and defense before the assembly of the Jews [Apost. 4, 8. ff] and in other things contained in the Acts of the Apostles, where he exercised the rule of the higher position. Thus I believe that Matthias received the apostleship from the Lord and was ordained bishop by St. Peter. I have also long since admitted that Paul received the apostleship from God; I confess that he worked more than the others.

But let us come to the third, which among the other things mentioned by the venerable father seems to be the most relevant, Gal. 2:8: "Who was strong with Peter." And I say that Paul did not make known a divine right there, but tells a fact, because Peter also received the command in the Acts of the Apostles [Cap. 10] to instruct the Gentile Cornelius in the faith, and presided over the Gentiles in Antioch, where he had his highest seat, and likewise in Rome, where he was finally crowned with martyrdom by the Gentile Nero, 1) and taught at the same time as the Jews who had been converted to the faith and were to be converted. Therefore it is clear that Paul told a fact at that time. I pass over that St. Paul does not think of the office of the regiment or the supremacy of the first place, but of the exercise of the apostleship, according to which the apostles were given different lands, in which also Peter was equal to the other apostles, according to Anacletus eun. in novo, according to Jerome against Jovinian and about the epistle to the Galatians, according to Cyprian in the ninth letter to the Pope Cornelius, in the fourth book. On this matter, the Scriptures must be understood with precision, so that we may be careful when they speak of the apostleship and when they speak of the regiment of authority or the supreme authority.

There is nothing in the fact that the venerable father still denies that I have cited divine law for the supremacy and have not refuted the testimonies that he has cited, because I could say the same about him. But none of the holy fathers has understood the testimonies which the venerable father has cited in such a way as to deny the supremacy of Peter over the others, as he has cited them. On the other hand, the holy fathers have in many places the testimonies,

1) As an aside, that's not true, Martin said.

which I have quoted, so that they speak of the supremacy of Peter. Therefore, if I have sometimes spoken somewhat bitterly and harshly against the venerable father with respect to this thesis, do not think that it is said against his person, but the matter being treated seemed to me to be so weighty and necessary that sometimes harsher words had to be used; with the other theses you will always experience the corner modesty.

Therefore, I will end this thesis for now by repeating that St. Peter held the supremacy over the whole church from Christ, from the promise given to him Matth. 16, 18. f., as Jerome, Ambrose, Cyprian and others understand it; from the naming, because he is called the first, Matth. 10, 2. according to the gloss there; from the payment of the interest Matth. 17, 24. ff, where he alone was likened to Christ, according to Augustine and Ambrose; from the fact that Christ pleaded for his faith not to cease, and commanded him to strengthen his brethren, Luc. 22, 32. according to Chrysostom and St. Leo; from the fact that he was appointed shepherd of Christ's sheep Joh. 21, 17., according to Chrysostom and Gregory; that Christ [John 21, 19.] says to Peter, "Follow me," not only in the manner of martyrdom, but also in the rank of mastery, according to Theophilus; that [Matt. 14, 29.] Peter alone received the command to come over the sea to Christ, that thus the world, which is signified by the sea, is entirely subject to him, according to Bernhardus de consideratione to Eugenius, and by the other passages quoted above, I hold that this thesis, which has been approved by so many holy fathers and last of all by the Costnitz Concilium, is true. However, I do not want to rely on my own insight, but I am ready to give my mind in these and in all other things captive under the judgment of the judges to be decreed, the apostolic see and other insightful and pious men. Glory to God alone!

Two o'clock.

Martin.

We are forced to add another conclusion, because the excellent doctor, since he refutes my rebuttals, at the same time has objected to very many things and has again forced me to answer. And although I would have wanted to let this pass, I answer the

I will say this in a few words in order to make my opinion clear in all matters to the judges who are to be appointed.

First he interjected that Peter [Apost. 1, 15. ff.] gave a speech before the election of Matthias and admonished the apostles 2c. But I believe that even the Doctor does not think that Peter's preaching proves Peter's supremacy, since he himself answered me in the foregoing that the apostleship is something different from the administration of the government. Therefore, he did not correctly say that Peter, by preaching in this way, exercised the administration of the governmental office. Otherwise, Stephen would also be the first and a pope, because he also preached and did many things among the people. And that he believes that the apostle Matthias was ordained bishop by Peter, I am satisfied that he believes what he wants; I do not believe it if he does not prove it. Likewise, that Peter [Apost. 5, 1. ff.] exercised his supremacy by striking Ananias and Sapphira can be said, but it is not proven; for he raised the dead, which the other apostles also did. Likewise, that he excused the apostles [Apost. 2, 15.] that they should not be considered drunk, this is also no sign of supremacy, since, as I said, the excellent Doctor always distinguished supremacy from all other common works and activities. Likewise, that Peter walked on the sea, and Bernard interprets "the sea" through the world, I admit, but this has nothing to do with supremacy, since we too should trample the world underfoot.

I gladly ignore the promise that faith should not cease, since Christ asked for it [Luc. 22, 32...] because I admit that Peter's faith never fell away, even though he fell away from faith. For at that time the thief believed with the faith of Peter, since Peter denied, as Augustine says. The faith is something completely different than the supremacy. Likewise also that [Matth. 17, 24. ff.] that Peter gave the stater for Christ and himself, from which it is added that he was likened to Christ in it, I admit; but that does nothing.

to the supreme authority, is rather against the supreme authority. For it follows immediately (Matth. 18,1. ff.), as Jerome also interprets it, that the other apostles were angry because they assumed that Peter would be the greatest. They began to talk about who would be the greatest; therefore Christ called for a little child and thus curbed their ambition. And so the following in the text argues more strongly against the supremacy than the preceding for the supremacy.

The word Joh. 21,19., that only to Peter is said: "Follow me", should be understood according to the interpretation of Theophilus not only from the kind of martyrdom, but also from the rank of mastery. I lengthen Theophilus, since only Augustine seems to have a better opinion, who thus says: Follow me in enduring temporal evils; and if Augustine did not say it, the text of the Gospel itself would prove it. For a discourse had gone forth among the disciples that this disciple would not die, since they had heard Christ say: If I want him to stay, what is it to you? You follow me. Therefore it is quite obvious that this following is to be understood in the way of martyrdom and suffering.

Therefore, I ask the Doctor to refrain from introducing new things and especially those that do not serve the cause, since I could also introduce the word Apost. 8,14. where the apostles sent Peter and John as a lower; and Apost. 15, 13. Jacobus confirmed Peter's speech and changed it. But I did not want to bring in this and similar things, since I have long since conceded the supremacy of honor to Peter and have only denied the supremacy of authority over the other apostles. For this is the prestige (yes, also the supremacy of honor), which God does not respect, as I have stated above, but not the prestige of the fisherman and the poor, as Ambrose has interpreted it according to the report of the Doctor. For Jerome interprets Paul better from the glorious character by which the false apostles wanted to overthrow him among the Galatians by means of Peter's reputation. For I am very well satisfied with the fact that the Doctor supports his thesis with testimonies of Jerome.

nymus, Ambrosius, Bernhardus, Leo, besouders about this saying (Matth. 16, 18.): "You are Peter", if only my opinion, as stated in the foregoing, is considered better confirmed with the same and greater testimonies, and which speak more to the matter, and also place this to the judgment Heini, as above.

Corner.

Today, the venerable father opens again what he has closed, and what he has added in the conclusion, as it were side things and ornaments in the thesis, he strikes back again as main things, and brings about a transformation to such a degree that I do not know whether I am transformed into an opponent or a responder.

To the point in short words.

Never have I dreamed of the conclusion: Peter preached, therefore he was the first.

Then he disapproves of my credulity concerning Matthias (Apost. 1, 15. ff.), and yet he does not refute my reason. Matthias and the other apostles were bishops, and were not ordained by Christ, nor did they ordain themselves; therefore they are not ordained other than by Peter, whom Christ appointed as shepherd. Therefore let him believe with me or answer otherwise.

Regarding the apology of Peter (Apost. 2, 14. ff.) he imposes something on me, which I never thought of, that I would have separated the supreme office from the works of the administration of the other apostles; this never occurred to me, yes, I quoted St. Gregory, that the other bishops were called to participate in the care, but not to the fullness of authority.

He says of St. Bernard about the passage of Peter over the sea that this has nothing to do with the supreme power. I wonder how he could say that when he has read Bernhardus. For according to his intention, Bernhardus wanted to prove from this the supremacy of Eugenius over others, and that the whole world must be subject to him, but not in such a way to the other bishops or apostles.

About the stater (Matth. 17, 24. ff.) he wants to bring out the opposite from the following letter, but he did not do it, but Christ muffled the murmuring of the apostles. But I do not take the words of the holy Scriptures according to my own head, but according to that of the holy fathers. For by these words St. Ambrose wished to indicate that Peter was higher than the apostles.

than the others, which Augustine also testifies quite explicitly in the evangelical questions; the question is not present to me now. Therefore, we should not base ourselves on our opinion, but on the holy fathers.

About the faith that should not cease [Luc. 22, 32.], the Father has passed over, citing, however, the word of Augustine, that the thief on the cross kept the faith which Peter denied. - I, too, pass over this saying; but let the venerable father know that St. Cyprian, supported by the words of Christ, willed that no heresies should have arisen at Rome or in other churches, as I said the day before, that in the Roman see there have been two hundred and twelve popes 1) and yet that before their deposition 2) none has erred in a determination and in passing a sentence in the faith.

With regard to Theophilus, whom he denies at his will, without citing any testimony or reason, I am surprised that he despises the Church Fathers so much, since he is very hostile to the Sophists. He has attracted Augustine, who is not opposed to Theophilus, that Christ spoke of the kind of martyrdom; but let him teach where Augustine denied the rank of mastery, since he confesses in the 124th tract of Peter that he had more abundant grace and was also the first apostle; and in the 162nd epistle he says: in the Roman church the supremacy of the apostolic see has always flourished. Therefore, may he not ask me not to defend our thesis, which I believe to be true.

And he has quoted his own from Peter, who is sent to Samaria, and by this the supremacy is taken away from him; as if we do not know that someone sends himself, as the Son of God, who is sent by the Father and by himself. It is not only recently that one has begun to discuss this, but it has all long since been brought to a conclusion by Alpharus, John de Turre Cremata and others. Even if Peter gave way to James at the Jerusalem Council, taking into account the place and its

high age, it does not deprive Peter of his supremacy.

But in order to appear to be doing something, he ascribes to Peter the supremacy in honor, perhaps as an ambitious one, while he has heard from me Cyprian, Jerome and Anacletus that the apostles were equal in honor. Therefore, the venerable father ascribes to Peter the supremacy in honor, which the holy fathers deny, while he denies to Peter the supremacy in dominion, which the unanimous opinion of the holy fathers and the Costnitz Concilium ascribes to Peter. Therefore, I ask him to refrain from boasting that against such holy fathers, against such a famous council, he relies on greater testimonies, because I have often shown that the testimonies he has cited, according to the opinion of any holy father, do not deny the supremacy. Therefore, let him rather with the Greeks, who late become wise, as it is said of the Trojans, finally become wise that the Roman Pontiff, the true governor of Christ, holds the first place in the whole world, as even the Greeks, the emperor, the patriarch and the sovereigns confessed this and rendered obedience to the Roman Church in the year 1439 on November 22, and so let there be peace in our time. I leave all this, as above, to the judgment of those whom it concerns or will concern. Glory to God alone!

Martin.

I do not exactly dislike everything that the excellent doctor said, especially Augustine's word that the supremacy of the apostolic see has always flourished in the Roman church, if he had only added the one word, namely the supremacy of authority over all bishops. And I think that Bernard is twisting the text [Matth. 14, 29.] of Peter's walking on the sea, since what follows clearly attributes this walking to faith, not to supremacy, since Christ says when Peter began to sink [Matth. 14, 31.], "O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?" And that he wishes me to believe with him that the other apostles were ordained bishops by the apostle Peter: to be at his will in this, I do not like, since all of them were bishops in the same way as Peter, as the text about Judas quoted by Peter [Apost. 1:20] proves: "And let another receive his bishopric." So much about this.

1) "In his writing *Os primatu kstri lib. II. c-np. 29*, Eck counts 229 popes except for Leo X." (Weim. ed.)

2) Walch makes here the remark: "arnotionsm, I understand their change after Avignon; or one would have to understand some deposition in the Costnitzerconcilio." The latter will probably be the more correct, because in the Roman Church, almost as Eck states here, one counts 209 popes except for the Concilium at Constance. Hrsulius iVtuual, Laltimors 1863, p. 572.

Corner.

About the bishopric that Judas was also a bishop according to the words of the Psalm [Ps. 109, 8]: "And let another receive his bishopric", I say that bishopric is taken there for apostleship and not for the episcopal state. For with most it is doubtful whether Judas was also only a priest. But that does not matter. But Judas went out after he had taken the bite. Therefore, since Christ ordained the disciples priests at the Last Supper, Judas was not an ordained bishop. This I submit to the judgment like the other.

From Purgatory.

Eck disputes the ninth thesis.

Not only in bad theologians (theologi- stas), but also in the Holy Scriptures and in the Holy Fathers, it is found that this present life is the state and time limit for merit or debt, for which reason those who are in purgatory cannot merit more and thus do not receive greater grace.

That this is so, I prove by Jer. 25:14: "I will recompense them according to their works, and according to the deeds of their hands." So also Paul says [2 Cor. 5:10 f. Vulg.], "We must all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ, that every man may receive according to his life what is due him, according to what he has done, whether it be good or evil. Knowing therefore the fear of the Lord, we counsel men."

I add Jerome to descend gradually, as he understands the apostle in this passage: This he says, I say, as long as we, being in this world, have our pilgrimage from the Lord, let us do it in a good walk, that we may please him in the future, not, as some think, that after we have departed from the body, we can still earn anything there by works. The same is confessed by the glossa ordinaria. In vain, therefore, does man promise himself this after the life of the body, which he has failed to procure here. This is how Ambrose understood it, that only the deeds of life are rewarded elsewhere.

From this it is clear: since the grace is increased according to the merits, and the souls in purgatory will not be able to work anything in a meritorious way, then according to the mentioned grace will also not be able to be increased in them. This is clearly stated by Augustine in the *Enchiridion*, Cap. 109 and 110, and he repeats

The same words mainly quæst 2. about the eight questions of Dulcitius, where he says after many things: Therefore, all merit is brought about here, by which someone can be either relieved or burdened after this life. But let no one entertain the hope that what he has missed here he will be able to earn after his going to God. Therefore, after death, the increase of meritorious works ceases; the increase of grace corresponding to meritorious works also ceases.

Martin.

The excellent doctor has opposed me with two testimonies of the Holy Scriptures and four of the Holy Fathers.

First of all that of Jeremiah [Cap. 25, 14], where God says: I will repay them according to their works. I am very surprised that the excellent Doctor is of the opinion that this and similar things argue against me, since in my "Explanations" 1) I have cited and explained many more testimonies to this effect, as they do not argue against me, or argue just as much against purgatory. For since the whole of holy scripture contains absolutely nothing about purgatory, but everything speaks either of hell or of heaven, I want to have answered this with an answer to all testimonies, that they do not serve the cause, consequently also the interpretations of all fathers, if they do not expressly think of purgatory, for it is to be believed that when they act the holy scripture, they also follow the sense of the holy scripture. And therefore it must be taught with other reasons and testimonies that the souls are certain and that they do not increase in love.

Corner.

Since the venerable father says that he has cited and interpreted more testimonies in his "explanations": so we have seen them. We have also seen that his gloss on the text does not add anything, which we will now show. We also do not accept that there is nothing in the Holy Scriptures about Purgatory. This statement would certainly be favorable to the Greeks and Picards, but contrary to the Christian faith, as he correctly noted in his "Explanations". But we want to use his One answer to the

1) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 147 ff.

Battlefield, in which he says that the dressed things do not belong to the matter. How appropriately he answers! The apostle says [2 Cor. 5:10] that every man will receive after he has acted in the body. The Lord Father says that man also receives according to what he has done in purgatory. Augustine says that every merit is brought about here, and the Father contradicts this, saying that merit is also brought about in purgatory. Jerome says that after we have departed from the body, we earn nothing from God; the Father, on the other hand, says that after we have departed from the body, we still earn in purgatory. This is how it is written in relation to Ambrosius. Now may the most illustrious sovereigns, and your respectable and dignified ones, judge whether what I have said does not serve the cause, in which there is precisely nothing contrary to the sayings of the Fathers. I therefore ask that he may refute in truth or show how it does not serve the cause, and he may not be surprised, as I will also show him more testimonies, that it should become evident that this is not a matter of bad theologians (theologistarum), but of right theologians.

Martin.

I, who firmly believe, yes, would dare to say, I know that there is a purgatory, am easily persuaded that it is mentioned in the Scriptures, as Gregory in his dialogue cites the word of Matthew [Cap. 12, 32: "It is not forgiven, neither in this world nor in that," since he wants some sins to be forgiven in Purgatory. I also admit this in the second book of the Maccabees [Cap. 12, 45. f.]: It is a good and salutary thought to pray for the dead 2c. But I will this, that in all Scripture there is no such mention of sweeping fire as could stand and convict in controversy. For even the book of the Maccabees, since it is not in the Canon, is powerful for the faithful, but does nothing against the obstinate, and the saying of Gregory can easily be nullified, that neither here nor in the future life will sin be forgiven, that is, never. Therefore, I do not want the suspicion to be harbored against me that I am favorable to the Bohemians and Greeks. This for the first. In response to the doctor's reply, I will say nothing other than what I have already said to you.

before; because he repeats the same, therefore I will also answer the same. For I have said that there is nothing about purgatory in the Holy! For I have said that there is nothing in the Holy Scriptures about purgatory, so neither they nor their interpretation can be applied to the trade of purgatory. After death, however, either good is repaid to the good or evil to the evil. Those who are in purgatory are in the middle; the testimonies do not speak of them. Neither good nor evil has been repaid to them, and so the purgatory has always passed through the middle of the testimonies.

Corner.

That he excuses himself, that he believes and knows that there is a purgatory, I accept well and have known it before, but that he denies that purgatory is proved in the holy scriptures, I reject as something false and taken from the Greeks and stick to the matter at hand, even if neither the same nor other much greater things could be proved against insolent and stubborn people, as happened with Arius and the other fathers. But that it is said for this reason that it is not found in Scripture, because it cannot be convincingly demonstrated against obstinate people, is quite dangerous and contrary to our religion.

As for the books of the Maccabees, of which he says that they serve for the faithful, but are not in the Canon, I say that this is also false. For although they were not in the Canon among the Hebrews, yet the Church included them in the Canon, as the Father of the Lord Father, Augustine, testifies in the book *de civitate Dei* lib. 18. and St. Ivo (Ipho) inserted in his decrees the decree according to which the Church included these books in the Canon.

That the venerable father wants to insist on his presumption that what I have mentioned does not serve the cause, - it is nevertheless virtually contrary to him. For, first of all, that he says that those testimonies have their purpose in heaven or hell, does not help him, because they just mention the state of merit and demerit, and establish that this state has an end with death. On the other hand, the venerable Father, without relying on a holy teacher, dares to prolong the time of merit for the souls who are out of the body, and to reward the merits of the purgatory in heaven: and yet the apostolic

He said that only the works that man has done in the body will be rewarded. Therefore, I have considered the statements in his "Explanations", but could not accept them as insufficient, so that he could eliminate these contradictions beforehand.

Martin.

First of all, that the excellent doctor says that it is not necessary to deny something of the Scriptures because the obstinate cannot be convicted, he says this very well and true, but I am talking about the obstinate who can pierce us with our own testimony and our own bullet. It is clear that the Book of the Maccabees belongs to the Old Testament. Now, since St. Jerome has recorded the Hebrew Canon and states that only the books belonging to the Canon are valid in the dispute, and in this his opinion has been generally accepted, we will easily be beaten with our own weapons if we do not persuade the faithful.

Secondly, he proves that the Book of Maccabees was included in the Canon. He is arguing about an ambiguity, and we will easily agree. I know that the Church has accepted this book, and I have said so. But the Church cannot give more prestige or firmness to a book than it has in itself, just as it approves and accepts the works of other Fathers, but does not therefore make them stronger or better. I therefore pass over that which is called Canon and Canon by many.

Thirdly, he says that the testimonies cited just mention the state of merit, and that it is terminated by death. I answer as before: because they mention nothing of purgatory, but only of heaven and hell, therefore a dying man deserves nothing to heaven, and a dying man nothing to hell, and so in both the state of merit has an end; otherwise from the same testimonies purgatory could be quite clearly proved.

Fourthly, he says that I do not rely on any warrant and prolong the time of earning; likewise, he claims that the merits of the purgatory are recompensed. I admit it, because this I have done in order to zn

and to hear better than I know. For I know nothing more about purgatory than that souls suffer there and that we must help them with our works and prayers, and I am willing to be instructed if anything more can be said about it. Therefore the passage of the apostle [2 Cor. 5:10], which has been invoked against me, that only the works done in life are recompensed, is taken by the Doctor with reference to purgatory, as I have already said that it could not be taken, but only with reference to heaven or hell. If this relation is observed, it is evident that it does not argue against me, or it will prove purgatory.

On the ninth of July. 1)

Corner.

First of all, since the Father says that the testimonies mentioned are not to be understood of purgatory, I like that because the merit is only in this life, therefore they exclude purgatory in this life. Then it is certain that Augustine also speaks of purgatory in the *Enchiridion*, because he proves there that the souls are relieved by the help of the living, and Jerome scolds those who think that the souls stripped of the body deserve what Isa. 66, 24. teaches about purgatory.

But that he says that his thesis is a disputation, as if he had no great confidence in it, I am very surprised, since he has been considering it back and forth for more than a year now, and has entitled the disputation with the pompous title: "Wider neue und alte Irrthümer" ("Against new and old errors"), also claims that the opinion of the newer theologians is not likely even to a simple-minded person (*stulto*), and contemptuously calls them bad theologians (*theologistas*).

But that he expresses the opinion that the word Canon is ambiguous, I do not suffer, because Augustine in the 18th book *de civitate Dei* could not take this expression, especially in a controversial point, ambiguously, since he says that it was not in the Canon, with the Hebrews, but with the Church. Then this is established, since several

1) The Weimar edition notes: "In the manuscript according to Lösscher for it: Lapatlic" D. Marci; presumably a reading error instead: Kadatllo 8. Marias." This means: on Saturday, the Octave after the Visitation of Mary, which is July 9.

The preface (prologus) testifies that the books of the Maccabees were included, but they are placed by the church among the histories of the holy books. But better to the point.

Since he bases himself on the fact that Purgatory is not expressly mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, this is contrary to what the decree of the Council of Florence determined, which the Greeks also accepted after they had renounced their error. Then several passages of Scripture, such as this word [Ps. 66:12.], "We have passed through water and fire, and thou hast brought us through to refreshment." The word of Ecclesiastes Cap. 4, 14. [Vulg.], "Out of the dungeon and bonds some come to the kingdom." The word Matth. 5, 25. f., where the Lord said, "Be willing to your adversary soon 2c., lest you be cast into prison. I say unto thee, Verily thou shalt not come forth thence, till thou pay the last farthing." There he understands by the dungeon the place of the sweeping fire, from which a man is not released, if he has not done completely enough, as St. Gregory interprets it in the corresponding passage about Lucas [Luc. 12, 58. f.]. But Gregory's reason for proof, which St. Bernard takes up again in the 66th Sermon on the Song of Songs, is strong: that Christ indicates that some sins will be forgiven in the world to come.

But extremely clear is the text in the first letter to the Corinthians Cap. 3:15: "But if any man's work be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, even as by fire." And [v. 13]: "The day of the Lord will make it clear, for it will be revealed by fire, and what each man's work is, the fire will prove," and there [v. 12.] is said of the stubble, hay 2c. where St. Ambrose says that the apostle expressly spoke of purgatory. The same testifies the gloss between the lines (inter-linear), also the ordinary gloss. St. Jerome signs this in the second book against Jovinianus, also St. Gregory takes this from Purgatory, what also St. Bernard does about the Song of Songs. And lest someone oppose me Augustine in the *Enchiridion* 6. 67. who says that those words could also be understood from the fire of the present time, let him read the same more completely there and the second question of the eighth

questions of Dulcitius, and he will find that Augustine understands these words of the apostle also, as they are quite evident', of Purgatory.

Therefore, not only in the books of the Maccabees, which would be bad enough for the Church, but also in other passages of Scripture, purgatory is taught, unless Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Bernard belong to 'the number of bad theologians; otherwise I do not know how the venerable father could confess that he knows that there is a purgatory, since he wants to rely so strongly on the letter of sacred Scripture, and the testimonies of Scripture are exceedingly clear to the more recent theologians, he also cannot indicate A passage in Scripture where it is asserted that merit or grace is increased in the purgatorial souls (in purgandis ---- in those to be purified), while on the other hand the wise man, Eccl. Sal. 11, 3, says: "And when the tree falls, let it fall about noon or midnight, on which place it falls, there it remains." The *glossa ordinaria* says: That is, the place which thou shalt have prepared for thyself here, thou shalt have then, for, says Christ [Hoh. 14, 2.], "in my Father's house find many mansions." A certain dwelling is assigned to the dying, beyond which he cannot ascend by his merits in purgatory.

Thus Damascenus testifies in the second book Cap. 4: But it must be known that with men death is that which is the case with angels, and explains this in relation to the goal of earning. Thus says the wise man, Ecclesiastes 9:10: "All things that come into thy hand to do, do them fresh," as the devout and worthy minister of the church, John Capistranus, put it in this sense. The apostle taught this in Gal. 6,7-10: "Do not be deceived, God is not mocked. For whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. For those who sow to their flesh will reap corruption from the flesh. But let us do good and not grow weary. Now that we have time, let us do good to everyone." The gloss says: "What a man sows", namely by the work of the present life. Therefore, merits are not sown in purgatory, but in the present life. Chrysostom also confirms this by the word John 9:4: "I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day; the night cometh, when no man can work." "The day," says Chrysostom, is the present life. Therefore Augustine exhorts us that we should work while we live, lest the night overtake us. To this may St. Ambrose also come as a witness.

Who wants the apostle to speak of the time of the present life, which is allotted to us, that we may walk righteously. Therefore the excellent psalmist says in the 104th Psalm, v. 23: "So man goes out to his work and to his farm until evening."

Finally, apart from what has been mentioned above, Augustine's saying is clear where he nevertheless thinks of the fire of sweeping. His saying is Cap. 3 de fide ad Petrum: The time to attain eternal life, God has given to men only in this life. Jerome also shows in the third book on the word Gal. 6, 5: "Every man shall bear his burden," how men attain help only in this life through their merits, but when they are called before the judgment seat, which happens in death, then neither Job, nor Noah, nor Daniel can stand up for anyone, but every man shall bear his burden. For, as St. Bernard teaches beautifully, at the death of every man a special judgment will be passed on him, which could not happen if he still had a time to accumulate his merits in purgatory and to increase grace, because, as he says through the prophet Zechariah [Cap. 4, 7. Vulg.], he will make grace equal to grace, will repay grace with glory in proportion to the grace of faith.

Even if these testimonies were not so clear, which are very clear, this one thing should deter the venerable father, that a theologian without theological foundation wants to extend the period of merit of the departing souls at his will, since he is not a judge nor an assessor of the judge. Therefore, in relation to this piece, it seems to be concluded that the souls in purgatory suffer enough and are cleansed of their transgressions, but do not deserve greater grace.

As for the second main part, where he denies that the souls in purgatory are certain of their bliss, again this is my opinion, that this is not substantiated by any testimony of the holy scripture. But for now, I cite the word Revelation 5:1 ff. as proof that they are certain of their blessedness: "And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book 2c., and no man in heaven, nor in earth, nor under the earth, was accounted worthy to open the book." In hell there is undoubtedly no worthiness to open the book, therefore he speaks of purgatory, in which there are also sometimes holy men who shine by miracles. This is what St. Gregory testifies about St. Paschas in the fourth book of the

Dialogues, and the history of St. Severinus, who was bishop of Cologne, but according to his origin a Swabian. The same teaches the revelation also further down [Cap. 5, 9. 13.]: And all sang who were in heaven and on earth and under the earth. But those who, as it were, despair of blessedness, do not sing. Therefore, the holy soul, by assuring that there is singing, confirms that the souls are certain of their blessedness. Moreover, in the Canon of the Mass, where prayers are said for the departed in purgatory, we say thus: Remember, O Lord, thy servants who have gone before us with the banner of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace 2c. To them and to all who rest in Christ. If, therefore, according to the Most Holy Canon of the Mass, souls rest in Christo, how can they be in such alarm and terror, which is, as it were, despair, as the venerable Father explains in his "Explanations" from the 14th to the 20th thesis 1)? For I do not see how in such terror, trembling, disquiet, and, as it were, despair, all of which expresses the highest unrest, it can be said of the souls to be purified that they sleep in the sleep of peace, because all that has been said before is contrary to peace. But then they will be rightly considered by the true Christians as resting in peace, when they safely await the end of their purification.

This is partly what has moved me and still moves me today to disagree with the venerable Father, but I am willing to leave this to the judgment and instruction of others.

Martin.

The excellent doctor has defended three things in turn against me with many words: first, that the Canon of Scripture also understands the books of the Maccabees; second, that Purgatory is also proven by other passages of Scripture; third, he has endeavored to show that souls are certain of their blessedness.

I answer: About the first two pieces there is no dispute between me and the worthy gentleman, therefore it would not have been necessary to bring together so many testimonies about this matter, which I perhaps assert more firmly than he, since I have confessed that I know that there is a purgatory. But that is what our

The purpose (*scopus*) is whether it can be proven that the souls in purgatory deserve something and whether grace is increased in them. But let us go through it one by one.

First of all, he said that by the testimonies mentioned yesterday it is established that merit only takes place in this life, therefore it is excluded in the future life, which he understands as purgatory, and thus refers the testimonies to purgatory. But I admit it of the future life, either in hell or in heaven. He also cited Augustine, who speaks of purgatory in the Enchiridion, and Jerome, who scolds those who claim that the departed souls deserve it. Both I admit.

He also rebukes me for saying that I dispute this thesis as if I had no confidence in it, while I wrote with a pompous title, "against new and old errors" I will dispute, claimed that the opinion of the newer ones is not likely even to a simple-minded person, and contemptuously called them bad theologians. I say, as I said yesterday, that I do not yet know anything about the matter of souls and purgatory, and that I call it an error that some people presume to assert what they do not know, and proclaim the opinions of the Fathers, as of St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and the like, which they themselves have not asserted, as certain articles of faith; these I call bad theologians, and not theologians. Opinions must be treated in the schools, among the people the words and works of GOD must be preached, Ps. 19, 2: "The heavens tell the glory of GOD" 2c. Therefore, I do not condemn the opinions of the pious fathers, but resist those forges that make articles of faith out of the opinions of men; this is not the office of a good theologian.

That I have made the Canon ambiguous against Augustine, lib. 18. 6. 36 [*de civitate Dei*], St. Jerome encouraged me to do so, as did Eusebius in the History of the Church, where he also lists the testimonies of the ancients. Therefore, the ambiguity is certain.

since Augustine holds the older ones differently from the Canon than Jerome, and consequently no strong proof remains in the dispute. Whether the preface of Jerome lists the books of the Maccabees among the divine writings, I do not remember. 1)

I pass over that the four Evangelia are accepted by the prestige of the Church, for this will be another matter.

Then he says that it is against the Concilium of Florence that purgatory should not be expressed in Scripture. I answer: A concilium cannot make that belong to Scripture which by its nature does not belong to Scripture, just as the Church could not make an Evangelia, even though it approved the Evangelia.

That is why we want to look at the testimonies.

First, Ps. 66:12: "We have passed through fire and water." I answer, This has no application to purgatory; he speaks of the persecutions of the saints, as in many other passages; Ps. 17:3 [Vulg.], "Thou hast tried me with fire." Likewise Ps. 26:2 [Vulg.], "Burn my kidneys and my heart." And 1 Pet. 1:6 f.: "Ye that are now a little while sorrowful in divers temptations, that your faith may be found righteous, and much more precious than gold tried by fire." And in short, this is a very common and foggy way of speaking in the Scriptures, that by fire and water tribulations are understood; therefore, he who takes fire for purgatory is too much attached to letters and syllables, which the Lord Doctor interprets to me.

Likewise also the passage of Ecclesiastes [Cap. 4, 14], that some come out of prison and bondage to the kingdom. This is a very clear text of that which deals with the vanity of this world, that by change of fortune he who is now a servant becomes king, and he who is king becomes a servant. If we were to argue with these and similar testimonies against those who deny purgatory, we would accomplish nothing, except to give the adversaries cause to make fun of us.

1) Jerome, after enumerating all the canonical writings in his preface to the Vulgate, adds, "All that is besides these is to be placed among the Apocrypha."

I do not want to make fun of us and the church, although I am very happy to allow all this and what is like it.

So is the word Matth. 5, 25. f.: "Be willing to your adversary, so that he does not hand you over to the tormentor" 2c., where he says that according to Ambrosius by "dungeon" the place of the sweeping fire is understood. I gladly admit it; but because other fathers have interpreted it differently, especially Augustine, about hell and the one who will never come out, the testimony becomes doubtful, that it can well persuade the faithful, but not convict those who resist, not to mention that the context of the text does not even suffer it to be understood of purgatory, for it speaks of the willing and the unwilling adversary, and wants the unwilling one to sin damnably and against Christ's command. This belongs to hell, not to purgatory.

He says that the reason of Gregory, since Bernard agrees, is strong, that God forgives some sins in the world to come. I answer: This is true with the faithful, but invalid with those who oppose.

After that he says that the text 1 Cor. 3,15. is exceedingly clear: "But if someone's work is burned 2c., he himself will be saved, but as by fire", and it is understood by Ambrose and Jerome, the ordinary gloss and those between the lines, Gregory and Bernard the apostle of purgatory, although Augustine says elsewhere that these words could be understood by the fire of the present world. I answer: This text is so not at all very clear that I confess today, since I have searched many things, that I do not yet know the right meaning of Pauli, since the exegetes differ so much from each other, although I gladly admit him for myself of Purgatory. But since the apostle says quite clearly that the work of every man is proved by fire, and in this fire, he says, the day of the Lord shall be revealed, which shall make manifest the work of every man, as the words are clear, it seems to me, according to my little judgment, that he is speaking of the fire of complete burning and of the last judgment, or, as Augustine thinks, figuratively, of the fire of temporal persecution, by which faith in the Lord shall be judged.

steu is proven, and the doctrine of faith and all that is built upon it.

Therefore, there is still nothing clear from the holy scriptures about purgatory that could be valid in the dispute. Therefore, I do not consider the holy fathers to be bad theologians, because I confess purgatory with them, and they also did not put up their opinions and their ignorance about the state of souls as articles, as the bad theologians do.

The doctor wonders how I can know that there is a purgatory, and I also do not have a passage in the Scriptures for me, while these, as he says, exceedingly clear testimonies of the Scriptures, according to his opinion, serve for the newer theologians. I answer: It is not necessary to confess in which way I got to know Purgatory or anything else. Then these very clear testimonies are given for Purgatory, not for the state of the souls in Purgatory.

As for the saying of Ecclesiastes Cap. 11, 3, "on which place the tree falls, whether at noon or at midnight, there it remains," where the ordinary gloss understands it thus: the place that you will have prepared for yourself here, you will have, I do not know how it can reasonably be applied to the present transaction. For if by the place prepared for thee and thou hast kept it be understood purgatory, then thou wouldst have to abide eternally in purgatory; but if "the place which thou shalt have prepared for thee here" be understood, if thou shalt have merited it, then it does not belong to the saying of the preacher, who speaks nothing of merit, but of the death of man.

I pass over the fact that Christ says [John 14:2] that in his Father's house are many mansions, and that a dying man is assigned a certain dwelling, beyond which he cannot ascend; all this is for me. I know that a dwelling is assigned to everyone after death, but he does not come to the dwelling immediately after death, unless one takes "dwelling" again as purgatory, and so it excludes the dying from the eternal kingdom.

Likewise also the word of Damascenus: This is death with men, which is the case with the angels. I answer: If

he therefore fell into purgatory after death, it follows that he will be purified for all eternity, or Damascene, like all the preceding, must be understood of the two last dwellings of damnation and blessedness, and not of purgatory.

So also the passage Ecclesiastes 9:10: "Whatever comes to your hand to do, do it freshly, for in hell, where you are going, there is neither reason nor wisdom." If he understands it of purgatory, purgatory will again be hell. Therefore, the passage speaks of hell alone, without thinking of purgatory.

I will gladly leave the Johannes Capistranus, but outside the dispute.

That he says zero, the apostle speaks Gal. 6, 7. against our opinion: "What a man sows in the flesh, that he will reap", and the word Joh. 9, 4.: "The night is coming, when no one can work", which Ambrosius interprets of the life of the present time, as we deserve: so it is clear that it serves nothing for the matter. For the apostle does not speak of purgatory, but of the last judgment, and Christ understands by the night, yet without prejudice to the deference to Chrysostom, unbelief, as is clear from the next following text [v. 5.], "Because I am in the world, I am the light of the world," and will that without faith in Christ no one can do good works. But I admit Chrysostom because he has the last judgment in mind.

It is permissible that the saying Ps. 104,23: "So man goes out to his work until the evening", is referred to the life and death of man in a figurative sense, but according to its proper sense, which can also argue in battle, it speaks of the admirable arrangement of God, that He has created man in such a way that man goes out to his work until the evening of the natural day.

And Augustine cap. 3. de fide Petrum rightly judges that the time to attain eternal life is given to man only in this life; because, as I said, they always have the future life in mind, not purgatory.

And Jerome on Gal. 6, 5: "Every man shall bear his own burden" 2c., also shows very well that men only obtain help in this life through their merits, but when they have been called before the judgment seat, which happens in death, then neither Job nor Daniel can stand up for anyone. I answer that this testimony is very strong against the excellent Doctor, if it is true that a man is called before the judgment seat in death and then neither Job nor Daniel can stand up for him. In vain the church prays for the dead, and thus purgatory is denied. That is why Jerome speaks of the last judgment seat after the end of purgatory.

He also cited St. Bernard for the fact that a special judgment is held in the death of a man, which would not happen if he still had a period of time to deserve. I answer: Whatever it may have to do with the special judgment, the conclusion does not apply.

I pass over the saying in Zechariah [Cap. 4, 7. Vulg.], "He will make grace equal to grace," because it is interpreted in a figurative and good sense, but not in a proper sense.

At the end of this article he says: Even if these testimonies were not so clear, this should still deter me as a theologian, that I so without foundation, according to my liking, since I am neither judge nor assessor, nevertheless extend the period of merit for the departing souls. I apply the same to the doctor, since he himself is neither judge nor assessor, and yet determines a certain condition for the souls according to his delusion, without a basis, especially since he does not want (which I would gladly allow) that it is only an opinion, but a certain knowledge.

At two o'clock the disputation was continued by the same D. Martin, who said that he would declare himself to be correct and honest about the Scriptures.

And because my opinion does not seem to be sufficiently understood by the excellent Doctor, I declare more clearly that the

In their sayings, the Scriptures and the ancient holy fathers have in mind the future life in which souls will be either blessed or damned, not thinking of purgatory. Therefore, the many testimonies that deny the state of merit after this life do not refer to purgatory. If this is not yet understood, imagine that there is no purgatory, just as there was no thought of it in their minds. Then all the testimonies mentioned above will still stand and be true, that before death there is life, which must be earned.

Then I do not speak of the merits of the souls in purgatory in such a way that they work something, but that they receive greater grace, since it is established with all that the debt is not forgiven, not even the venial, without an increase of grace, and St. Gregory writes, in the 4th book of the Dialogues, that in purgatory the debts are remitted; and this is stated dist. 25. 6. dualis cited. But I assert this in such a way that I consider it an opinion, nay, that I confess it to be an ignorance. I believe that only GOtte knows the state of the souls in purgatory.

With regard to the third main part, about the knowledge of their blessedness, where he first introduced the fifth chapter of Revelation, v. 3, that no one is found either in heaven or on earth or under the earth, who would be worthy to open the book, by wanting "under the earth" to be understood as purgatory, since in the same there were sometimes also holy people, like Paschasius and Severinus, I say that this gloss has no testimony for itself, therefore it is just as easily despised as approved. I do admit that saints have been in purgatory, indeed that no one is in purgatory who is not a saint. Therefore, a pious person could say that "under the earth" is the same as hell or something else, since neither devils nor men nor angels can open the book, as it is said that the threefold structure of things (*trina machina rerum*) honors God, and in the apostle [Phil. 2:10] it is said that both what is in heaven and what is on earth, as well as what is in hell, bows the knee. For they also tremble

Devil [Jac. 2, 19.], yes, as is the custom in the same book [of Revelation], "under the earth" also means the dead, as it is said in another chapter [Revelation 20, 13.]: The earth gave its dead, and hell gave its dead again.

But what he states in the following [Rev. 5, 9. 13.]: All sang in heaven and on earth and under the earth, but those who despair cannot sing, I say: I did not say that souls ever despair, but since according to the unanimous opinion of the church the punishment of hell and purgatory is the same, I said that they are similar to those who despair, as it is read that also in this life some have been afflicted with despair, as it is said in many places in the Psalter [Ps. 102:3], "Hide not thy face from me," and [Ps. 28:1], "I will be like them that go into hell." Then, "to sing to the Lord" is not always to rejoice and be glad, yes, a new song is the song of the cross, that is, to praise God and to please Him in the midst of tribulation and even in death.

Thirdly, that he has cited the Canon of the Mass, where, praying for the departed, we say: They sleep in the sleep of peace and rest in Christ, he does not see, as he says, how it can be said of them that they sleep in the sleep of peace, when they are in such anxiety, trembling and the greatest restlessness, therefore, interpreting this rest of peace, he says that they surely await the end of their purification. I answer, It is not enough for me this gloss, and the same is proved by the same. For that they are in unrest is proved by what follows in the Canon: Grant to them, O Lord, and to all who rest in Christ, the place of refreshment, light, and peace; and that which we all pray: O LORD, grant them eternal rest; likewise, Grant them peace, which cannot be so understood: Grant them that they may safely await the end of their purification, which, as the Lord Doctor has interpreted it, is peace. More correctly, therefore, in my opinion, they rest in peace as far as the body is concerned. For to sleep in peace means in the Holy Scripture: to rest in the grave, and so it is clear,

that the excellent Doctor has not proved the certainty of their blessedness, indeed, in a sense, he cancels the penalties of the purgatory, since he attributes peace to them.

Corner.

Since the short time we have is determined to finish this matter today, so that I cannot refute the invalid answers and touch on other points of the purgatory, I will add a few things, so that it can be easily recognized that the venerable father has avoided the core of our matter and sought diversions.

Therefore, when I first quoted Augustine: All merit is accomplished here, and no one should hope that what he has neglected here, when he has passed away, he can earn with God; likewise also Jerome; he says that he admits both: but what is it then for obstinacy, when he admits Augustine, that all merit is accomplished here, that he says that grace in souls is increased also in purgatory? Nor does his eye-salve apply in the present case to all the testimonies of which he says that they do not speak of purgatory. For St. Augustine says just that, when speaking of the souls in purgatory, both in the Enchiridion and in the book "Of the Care to be Taken of the Dead," Cap. 1. For after death we cannot work that which is useful, but we receive that which we have worked. For Augustine had run into the difficulty of how the intercessions could be of use to the dead, since they deserved nothing, and resorts to the idea that they deserved in this life what could be of use to them after death. Therefore he tried in vain to instruct me about his view, which I grasped well enough. Also, his bad persuasion has no force among Christians that venial sins should not be forgiven without increase of grace. Let the venerable father prove this; it is not supported by any testimony, indeed, it is false, since a venial sin, according to God's mercy, causes no offense to God. No new grace is necessary for its redemption, but it is sufficient that someone suffers enough for it.

But secondly, since he excuses himself for error, and since I do not see that even one letter has been cited by the Lord Father in support of his new doctrine, it must therefore rightly be considered suspect, while the opinion of the more recent theologians is based on such

many testimonies of the holy scriptures and the holy fathers. Nor does it excuse him that he interprets some to make the opinions of Thomas or Scotus articles of faith; I know nothing of this. I have not cited Thomas or Scotus, but the brightest lights of the Church with the sacred Scriptures; he may see for himself which ones he accuses of being bad theologians.

Thirdly, he speaks of Augustine in relation to the books of the Maccabees, opposing him to Jerome as the stronger. But Jerome nowhere denies that the books of the Maccabees belong to the Canon of the Bible in the Church, indeed, in the Prölogus he constantly maintains that itH is listed among the histories of the sacred writings; therefore, it should not be equated with the works of the holy fathers in the Canon *Sancta Romana*, 15. äist. But since I had held this against him from the Florentine Concilium, he replied: a Concilium cannot make that something belongs to sacred Scripture, which does not belong to it. This is true, but what is this? That he defiles such a praiseworthy council with such a great insolence that it decides something so inconsistent! But since there were very learned men at this concilium, I would rather believe the concilium that is governed by the Holy Spirit than Mr. Luther, not because I believe that a concilium makes something into Scripture that it is not, but because I believe that the concilium has better knowledge and understanding in deciding about Scripture, that belongs to Scripture what is found in Scripture.

His excuse that an interpretation can always be found, so that the quoted text should not apply in the dispute against the stubborn, is powerless. For this would be a hiding place for all heretics, who can always bring some pretense for their interpretation, with which they would like to claim that the Catholic truths are not expressed in the Holy Scripture. Thus, the heresy of the godless Arius would still continue today, because the homousia could not be proven from the holy scripture with such explicit words that a stubborn person could not escape with any pretense in the dispute.

Likewise, we know well that the Church cannot make Gospels; yet the Church makes us, leaving aside the Gospels of Nicodemus, Bartholomew, Thomas, and others, believe only four without doubt.

1) This will refer solely to the first book of the Maccabees, which Jerome notes in the prologus that he found in Hebrew.

The same applies to the understanding and interpretation of the Scriptures. This is also the case with the understanding and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

Furthermore, since he accepts the testimonies that I mentioned at the beginning, he thought that this [citing of the testimonies was done without necessity because he also believed that there was a purgatory. He does not remember that he wanted to wriggle out of so many testimonies that put the goal of earning in the present life, because purgatory would not be proven from the holy scriptures. I have had to refute this statement in order to prevent the Picards and other Rottians from taking it up for themselves, who do not know that there is a purgatory. Leaving some things aside, let us look at least at two passages more closely.

Matth. 5, 25. He did not want the dungeon to be understood as purgatory, since Augustine also understands hell by the dungeon, which was not hidden from me. I also add, apart from what the Father has done, that Chrysostom understands the present life, but that the opinion of Ambrose is more correct, or at least not to be despised, who understands purgatory by the dungeon. The words of Christ indicate that he must pay to the last penny, but in hell there is no payment, just as there is no redemption. Nor can the dazzle added to Ambrose's interpretation disprove that he who is to be thrust into the dungeon has sinned unto death, because they are punished in purgatory both for venial and mortal sins, which are nevertheless repented of, which we learn from the books of the Maccabees, where it is said [2 Macc. 12, 45. f.]: "It has been a holy and wholesome opinion to pray for the dead, that their sins might be forgiven them." For those who had been slain, and for whom Judas Maccabaeus offered sacrifices, had sinned unto death by the spoil taken from idols, though they are believed to have repented when they were slain, as the ordinary gloss there says, and the word of the Psalm [Ps. 78, 34.], "When he slew them, they sought him."

Fourth. Since I had referred to the very clear passage of the apostle Paul in the first letter to the Corinthians, Cap. 3,12. ff., which Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Bernard, Isidore, together with the ordinary gloss of Purgatory understand, the venerable father confesses that he does not have the right sense of this passage; therefore, he

he respected so many holy fathers and brought up a new opinion that the apostle speaks of the fire of complete burning, because the apostle thought of the day of the Lord, and because the fire will prove the work of everyone. But I, who have always heard that one must believe the ancients, especially the saints, accept the opinion of the holy fathers with reverence, and I do not accept the new gloss and the words of Mr. Luther, unless he proves them by the testimony of the holy Scriptures. Therefore, what he asserts here is of no use to him, since the holy fathers have also read this very well. For although the day of the last judgment is especially called the day of the Lord, as Bernard also reminds us, nevertheless, since the judgment takes place at the death of every one, this can be called the day of the Lord, and he does not make such a precise and subtle distinction with the little word "every one," as the Sophists are wont to do, but takes it to mean those who have built stubble, wood, and hay upon it, as Augustine also summarizes this figure of speech (*distributionem*) in the first chapter of John [V. 9.]: "It [the light] enlightens all men who come into this world." Therefore, the apostolic opinion is insurmountable, that those who build on the ground wood, hay and stubble will be blessed, but by the fire of purification, so that in such a way no evil remains unpunished.

To the word of the Ecclesiastes [Cap. 11,3.] about the falling of the tree he answers: if the same speaks of the purgatory, then it would be proven that the souls remained eternally in the purgatory. I say that the gloss has understood it very well in such a way that by the "tree" man is understood (therefore it [the tree] denotes also in Ezekiel Cap. 31,8. a rational creature: "There was no cedar tree like him in God's garden" 2c.), and by the "fall" death, and that nevertheless it does not follow that for this reason he remains eternally in purgatory, but that he [Ecclesiastes, as St. Jerome aptly interprets it, designates by the "noon" the good, by the "midnight" the evil and damnation. Therefore, the wise man did not understand those places, but the state that when he falls, either he is good, and will remain so, without increase of grace because of the redemption of sins, [or] if he is evil, he will remain evil.

He said about the dwellings in John [Cap. 14,2] that soon after death the soul will be assigned a certain dwelling. Now how can it be a certain one, if a greater one is to be found?

Grace is to be added? For then a higher dwelling will necessarily be added. It would also follow that he who enters purgatory with many venial sins would be better off than he who descends with few, or than he who dies with none, because a greater grace would flow to him for the redemption of the many venial sins. I add that it would be harmful and damning to pray for the dead, and that it would be more beneficial for them if they remained in the punishments of purgatory, because of the addition of greater grace, as the venerable father has written elsewhere that a soul that is freed by foreign aid receives less bliss than if it suffers enough for itself alone in purgatory. This is not only against the holy scripture [2 Macc. 12, 45. f.]: "Therefore it has been a holy and salutary opinion" 2c., but also against the custom and the godly conduct of the whole church, which we must show towards the dead, as St. Augustine explains exceedingly beautifully in the book "Of the care that must be taken for the dead" and in the book "Enchiridion".

Furthermore, he answers Damascenus that he does not speak of purgatory, because then they would have to remain in purgatory forever. I also hold that neither Damascenus nor the other testimonies speak of purgatory, for otherwise they would be against me and would benefit the Lord Father; but since they speak of the present life, in which they place the goal of merit and demerit, the time of merit cannot be extended beyond the ordered goal, namely death. Therefore, I do not accept any other interpretation than that which the author himself wants, who speaks of the goal of earning in the passage cited.

I can say the same about the others, and not be heaped with the same reproach as the venerable father, because according to the testimony of the holy fathers and the holy scriptures, I end the course and the limit of merit with death. He, however, without being based on a testimony of the holy scriptures, stretches and extends the limit against Augustine and Jerome, although he has the modesty to call this opinion his opinion; but then he should not call the opposite an error.

As for the testimony of Jerome, for he has endeavored to hurl the same back at me, that neither Noah, nor Job, nor Daniel can vouch for anyone after death, because there of the recent Ge

He does not prove it by the letter of the law. For not only in the last judgment, but also soon after death, each one will bear his own burden [Gal. 6:5].

Finally, as he approaches another piece, he answers the word of Revelation [Cap. 5, 3. 9.] that by "under the earth" hell is understood. But then the following about singing cannot stand, because the devils and the damned do not sing, but blaspheme and howl. Therefore, "under the earth" must necessarily be understood of purgatory, and cannot be understood of hell, although I do not deny that in the Holy Scriptures also the devil is mentioned in hell, in the apostle [Phil. 2,10.]: "Who are in heaven, and on earth, and under the earth." But this does not serve the point. 1) But he has added a gloss on the word "sing," that it is to bear the cross and to praise God in tribulations. This gloss I despise as one invented by the Lord Father in this place as easily [as he puts it forward].... Yes, John does not suffer it to be so interpreted, for he says [Revelation 5:9], They sang in heaven, not: on earth. Now in heaven they do not bear the cross, nor do they praise God in tribulations, for God wipes away all tears from their eyes, now there is no sorrow nor pain 2c. Now even if his interpretation were admitted and true, while it contradicts the letter, it would not overturn this matter. For those who praise God in tribulations after death would have a certain sign of future blessedness, whereas the damned, out of complete hatred for God, constantly blaspheme the Creator. Therefore, the souls to be purified surely sing and praise GOD, awaiting the end of their purification.

But since I had cited the Canon of the Mass, in which it is affirmed that they sleep in the sleep of peace, he does not suffer my conclusion: if in the sleep of peace', therefore they are safe because of their blessedness, and not in horror, trembling, despair and as it were in despair. He has given a twofold reason: 2) First, because it follows: Give them the place of refreshment, light and peace; secondly, because they are in the sleep of peace.

1) *āā Itdornduiri*. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1675.

2) In all Latin editions: *āāāuxi*, which, as the old translator already recognized, is to be changed to *āāāuxit*. For it was not Eck who added this twofold reason, which would be against him, but Luther. Compare Col. 1025 f.

t because we often pray: Lord, give them eternal rest, and: Give them peace. Therefore, he has given another gloss, that they sleep the sleep of peace, namely, concerning the body. I am not satisfied, neither by his interjection, nor by his new gloss, which has no semblance, nor reason. For the Canon says, Remember them that sleep; and afterward, And all that rest in Christ. He does not say: to those who rest in the grave. Furthermore, what does it matter to the soul whether the body has peace or not, whether it is tossed to and fro by the sea or torn apart by wild beasts? as St. Augustine testifies. And what man can suffer that a body that is dead and dead should sleep in peace? Therefore, he does not like to admit the distinctions of the newer theologians, and yet he distinguishes here very well between the peace of the body and the soul.

Therefore, one must accept the more correct opinion that the souls to be purified both sleep in peace and rest in Christ. Therefore, this rest and peace excludes the disturbance of the soul, horror and, as it were, despair, since the souls are in the greatest restlessness, which are moved by such disturbance of the mind that they, as it were, despair.

To the unimportant objections, however, we answer that we pray and implore God to give them peace, not the peace they already have, namely, the security of their blessedness, but eternal peace, because, as St. Bernard testifies, there is peace both from guilt and from the unhappy state (*miseria*). May God therefore give the souls in purgatory peace from the punishments, just as He has given them grace against the sins.

Therefore, it is still the right and unshaken truth that the souls in purgatory do not, as it were, despair of their blessedness.

Martin.

Against the answers the excellent Doctor replies from Augustine, who says: All merit is accomplished here; and since he deals with purgatory, that after death we receive only what we have acted. I answer very briefly: So there is no purgatory, or purgatory will be what one receives for the past life. Therefore, it is evident that Augustine could not be understood of purgatory. Because they did not act that in the past life.

that they would like to receive purgatory. But also this testimony comes to me that they have earned the merit by which they deserve. They have earned the merit of receiving help here. But I confess that I cannot understand how the souls in purgatory are helped and how they are freed without any gift of grace, only by taking away the punishments; understand it, whoever can!

Then he says that it is false that venial sins are not forgiven without increase of grace. Since the Lord Doctor wants venial sins to be forgiven without increase of grace, I will not allow this until he proves it; indeed, it is contrary to the explicit text Rom. 7, 14.24. f. and Gal. 5,17. where the apostle says: "I am sold under sin. Who will deliver me from the body of this death?" He answers, "The grace of GOD through JEsu Christum." But it is certain that the apostle has not been in mortal sin. The other I leave to the future disputation between the excellent Doctor Andreas 2) and Johann Eck. And this is erroneous, that a venial sin does not offend God, since God dislikes everything that is impure, and he rejects the one who dissolves even the smallest [commandment], Matth. 5:19, nor has the Doctor proven that it is enough that they suffer enough.

Secondly, he accuses me of not having cited even one letter for my opinion, while he has brought so many testimonies of the Scriptures and the Fathers for the opinion of the newer ones. I answer: The more he has produced, the more his opinion is suspect to me, because he has pulled them [the testimonies] by the hair and twisted their necks, as I have said sufficiently in the foregoing. Less sinful is he who doubts in his thoughts than he who seeks to raise his doubtful things with the words of God.

1) At all Latin editions: de mortis sorporis ūjns instead of de corpore inortis ūnjus, as it should be, also according to the Vulgate. - The answer that follows is according to the Vulgate, v. 25.

2) It should be noted here once and for all that in this disputation between Luther and Eck, Carlstadt's name has been erased everywhere in the Wittenberg and Jena editions and "N." has been put in its place.

He also says that it is not known to him which people have set up the opinions of Thomas or others as articles of faith, because he has cited the lights of the church with the Scriptures; therefore he warns me to beware of those whom I call bad theologians. I have said today and I say again: I let opinions be opinions and do not impose this on anyone as an error, but if one draws the scripture that is in conflict with it to a foreign meaning in order to confirm the opinions and insists stubbornly on it, this, I say, is the doing of bad theologians.

With regard to the other, the Canon of Books, where, based on the testimony of Jerome and the Concilium of Florence, he prefers to believe the Concilium, which is governed by the Holy Spirit, rather than me, I thank him. For he has a godly opinion; I have never wanted to be believed. But I answer briefly: let him first reconcile with himself Jerome, who in the *prologus galeatus* 1) the books of

of the Maccabees and several others are obviously counted among the Apocrypha. By this testimony it comes that the book of the Maccabees is dear and valuable to me, but the disputants are free to reject it. I have said enough of Council today, yes, as the Doctor himself says, a Concilium does not err; but if it errs, it is not a Concilium, and that I speak according to my sense, I believe that a Concilium and the Church never err in things pertaining to the faith; in others it is not necessary that they should not err.

But that he exclaims that this is a hiding place for the heretics, who, trusting in it, may reject or accept any interpretations of the testimonies, I answer: Why did St. Augustine, Jerome, and other exceedingly victorious triumphants over the heretics not complain of this, but abandoned ambiguous passages, and endeavored to contend with certain and clear passages? Let us do the same with regard to the souls in purgatory.

1) That is, in the preface to the Vulgate. Compare Col. 1019, where Luther says he does not remember it. Meanwhile, he reread the prologus. - "with himself," that is, with Eck, who had asserted the opposite.

To the point.

Regarding the answers to the testimonies, he said that I had despised Augustine, Ambrose, Bernard, Jerome, Gregory, Isidore, together with the proper gloss; he said this according to the Eckian modesty, rather arduousness, 2) being all too eager to arouse hatred against me. I have said today and say again that they have not been despised by me; but that he does not accept my gloss, I do not care about that; but he himself also proves his own, since the text is clear about the day of the Lord and the fire in which the day of the Lord will be revealed. Although this can be applied to purgatory, as I have said, and thus have not rejected the opinion of the doctor, namely that there is a purgatory, the mouths of the disputants cannot be shut with this opinion.

Likewise, I have not despised the word Matth. 5, 25. about the prison, as it is according to the opinion of Ambrosius. That the Doctor adds that Christ's words indicate that payment must be made to the last penny, therefore they must not be understood of hell, I answer: This is sufficiently refuted by St. Jerome, who against Helvidius interprets this expression "to" correctly, so that there is no need for it to mean what Ambrose and the Doctor here put it. For it is also written of Joseph in Matth. 1, 25: "He did not recognize her until she gave birth to her son," and yet it does not follow that he recognized her after the birth. So it does not follow here that he will go out after paying, but he will pay and not go out.

But that he has adduced in refutation that he has not sinned unto death who is not willing to his adversary, and that even mortal sins, if only they are repented of, and venial sins are purged in purgatory, to this I say that this text does not speak of mortal sins repented of, for a repented mortal sin is now no longer a mortal sin, and a penitent is no more

2) In Latin, a play on words: modestia- modestia.

one who is not willing to his adversary. Therefore, Christ speaks of one who is not willing and remains so.

I pass over that of the falling of the tree in Ecclesiastes [Cap. 11, 3], where he says that Jerome understands by noon the good state, and by midnight the evil state: both I admit, and it has nothing to do with purgatory.

Regarding the certain dwelling in John [Cap. 14, 2.], where he speaks pointedly in this way: how it could become a certain dwelling, if an increase of grace took place, to which a higher dwelling was due? The same can be said of every believer after baptism, who has a certain dwelling provided for him from eternity. Then those who are in purgatory are so ordained that they come to a certain dwelling in this way. Nor does that human argument imply that it should follow that it is better for him who goes down with many sins than for him who goes down with few. If this reason is valid, then it is to be feared that a whore would be better than the holy virgin: as if there were not different degrees of souls in purgatory, since today he himself assured that the saints, who are more excellent before others, are in purgatory.

Then he states the reason of New Year's Eve ¹⁾ that it would benefit them if they remained long in the punishments, because in this way it would also be useful for the martyrs to die and suffer until the Day of Judgment: Day of Judgment to die and suffer. As if the Lord Doctor did not know that the punishments are assigned to the souls according to a certain measure. Therefore, it is not reprehensible to pray for the dead, just as it was not reprehensible that the apostle prayed for himself and desired to be prayed for, while his strength increased in weakness. So every believer should pray for every need of every believer, he should help him, regardless of the fact that he deserves more and more through this need.

By this I also want to have answered that it is against the custom of the church and godliness that I said that a soul, which is freed by foreign help, receives less beatitude than if it suffers enough for itself in purgatory. This he took as a corollary from my sayings, since I expressed the opinion that one must come to the aid of souls, as much as it is a more perfect kind of merit to do enough for divine justice in every way.

I pass over the Damascenus with the goal of earning and refer to the preceding.

Likewise, he again pulls me through, that I, without being based on a testimony, extend the period of earning, but he bases himself on many, and denies it. I answer: He also bases himself on none, except on those who are forced by force to his opinion, as has been sufficiently said.

Since he also wants to catch me in my words, he says that I called my opinion an opinion, therefore I would have called the opposite an error quite badly. I say as before: I call my opinion not only an opinion, but also an ignorance; I did not call the opposite opinion an error, but that one sets up an opinion as truth.

Then he says that the testimony of Noah, Job and Daniel is not only valid for the last judgment and I cannot prove this from the letter. I leave this to the judgment of the one who has a better insight, since the text clearly states that neither Job nor Daniel pray for a man who is brought before the judgment seat (which happens in death), which must definitely be understood from the last judgment, or at least not from purgatory, because Noah, Job, Daniel and all churches pray for the dead in purgatory.

To the saying of Revelation [Cap. 5, 3. 9.) he correctly says that the devils in hell do not praise God, but blaspheme.

The rest Doctor Martin wanted to write down on a piece of paper, because the time had passed, and show it to the doctor and the notaries. However, on the following day he handed over the following in writing.

1) From the "Dialogue of Silvester Prierias" against Luther's 17th thesis. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 321. Compare "Luther's Response to the Prierias Dialogue," ibid. Col. 374, § 59.

That the devils in hell do not praise, but blaspheme God, I know. But that for this reason "under the earth" denotes purgatory, in which the souls sing, does not follow. First, because they are in tribulation and torment, and God has not yet wiped all tears from their eyes. But the Lord Doctor denies that singing is praising God in tribulations. Therefore, he speaks against himself, since he sets praise under the earth in purgatory and the punishments in which they cannot praise at the same time. But I also deny that the souls sing for the sake of having a certain sign of blessedness, because this certain sign should have been proved. Next, I did not say that "under the earth" means hell alone, but also other things, everything that is always under the earth, in which all the praise of God is superfluously present. For everything is full of the glory and praise of GOD, who is praiseworthy in all his works. Otherwise, the Lord Doctor must understand purgatory not only under the words "under the earth," but also a fourth place in the words "under the sea," since there in Revelation [Cap. 5,13.] also "under the sea" is indicated, "and all that is therein." Therefore we understand it more correctly in such a way that by this quadruple all creatures are indicated, as what the Lord Eck imagines.

But that praising God in tribulations is "singing," I prove that it is not invented by me, as the Doctor says; for Rom. 5:3 [Vulg.] says: "We praise in tribulations", and Ps. 42:9: "The Lord has promised His goodness by day, and by night (that is in tribulation) I sing to Him." And Jac. 5:13: "If any man be in tribulation, let him pray with a good heart, and 1) sing psalms." Likewise Ps. 34:2: "I will praise the Lord always." At all times, he says, even in adversity. On the other hand, he is reproached of whom Psalm 49, 19. Vulg/ says: "He will thank thee when thou hast done him good." I confess, however, that I did not say this of the damned under the earth, but to exclude the opinion of the Doctor.

who wants the singing to take place only because of the certainty of bliss in purgatory.

Regarding the Canon of the Mass, he is not satisfied that I have referred the "sleeping in peace" to the body, because the Canon says: "to those who rest in Christ", not: to those who rest in the grave. Furthermore, what does the soul care whether the body is in the sea or in the air, and does not rest? Likewise, he says, "Who will say that a body that has been disembodied sleeps in peace? I answer: This quibble is not valid, because those who rest in the grave, or wherever they are thrown around after the body, rest in Christ, that is, as the Revelation Cap. 14, 13. says, they rest from their work, namely, because the soul separated from the body now does not toil in the body in the various troubles of this world. Otherwise, how will he deny that Christ's body sleeps in peace in the grave and rests in God? since the Scriptures speak of Him in such a way in so many places, and the church sings [Ps. 4, 9.]: "I will lie down in peace and sleep." 2) And Ps. 16:9 [Vulg.], "And my flesh shall rest in hope." Likewise Revelation 14:13: "Blessed are they that die in the Lord." Likewise Stephen, Apost. 7, 59, "died in the Lord," which is undoubtedly said of bodily death, according to the flowery language of Scripture. If for Eck the disembodied body does not sleep, let it sleep, I pray, for God who will raise it up, and according to the testimony of Scripture.

At the end he says that we are asked for peace, not that which they have, but that which befalls those who have been purified from the misery of punishment. I answer: This is an unproven assertion, 3) because that peace of safety which they are to have has not yet been proven. Therefore, it only remains that they are in punishment, and we should pray that they will be released from it and have peace.

I want to have said all this in such a way that I wanted to show that in relation to the things

2) Thus Luther gives it in his first Psalter translation, St. Louis ed. vol. IV, 7; compare *ibid.* col. 383.

3) *pstitio priueivii.* Compare St. Louis edition vol. VIII, 1130 f., 885.

1) Here Luther read instead of 68t: st, and after oret no punctuation mark.

I am ignorant of what God is doing in purgatory; that those who, impatient with this ignorance, would rather invent than confess that they do not know, are taking too much liberty. I cannot prove what is mine, but neither can they prove what is theirs. Therefore my thesis quite rightly intended only this: that it is neither proved by Scripture nor by reason that souls are certain, at least all of them, of their blessedness, and that grace is not increased in them. It is enough that we know that they suffer and that we should come to their aid. The rest we must leave to God alone.

This happened on July 10 in the presence 2c.

Eck replied by note on July 11. 1)

The answers of the venerable father seem to me insufficient, mainly that he says that Augustine does not speak of purgatory, since he speaks of it above all things, namely of purgatory. And it cannot be denied that the souls of the departed are refreshed by the godliness of their own who are alive, since the sacrifice of the mediator is offered for them, or mild gifts are made in the church. But this is of use to those who, when they were alive, deserved that it might be of use to them hereafter. For the way of life is neither so good that it should not need this after death, nor so evil that it should not benefit it after death. Therefore, all merit is brought about here by which someone can be either relieved or burdened after this life. Now go, Luther, and say that Augustine did not speak of purgatory here.

Moreover, he does not prove that an increase of grace is required for the redemption of venial sin. I admit that an increase of grace sometimes takes away venial sins, but a venial sin is also taken away by sufficiency. Therefore, the mentioned apostle Rom. 7, 14. 24. f. does not speak of venial sin. Furthermore, if he were speaking of it, he would not exclude the suffering of satisfaction. But of his agreement, since it does not serve the matter, I say nothing for now. The venial sin, I admit, offends, but venially, because it does not lead man into hatred against God.

1) Löscher's manuscript adds: "at one o'clock".

nor does it make an enemy of God out of him, because otherwise he would not be able to stand 2) with grace. Therefore, in purgatory they have venial sins, but without enmity against God.

As for his claim that I am dragging the testimonies by the hair to the point, I will die if he has cited even one testimony in the entire disputation that serves the point as I have cited here. But that is for the judges to judge, not Luther.

He is annoyed why Augustine and Jerome did not also claim this hiding place of the heretics, of which I have spoken. Dear God, as if Augustine and Jerome did not cry out everywhere against the Pelagians, Cyprian and Ambrose against the Arians and Novatians, that they interpret the Holy Scriptures as they please!

He asks that I prove my opinion, while he cannot prove his; but that mine is proven, I leave to the judgment of the judges.

The "until" has a different meaning in Jerome to Helvidius, because elsewhere it is proven from Scripture that Mary has always remained a virgin. Therefore, the "until" does not indicate the consummation there, which it cannot do here.

Furthermore, I do not dwell on my reasons for the sake of brevity. But that he says that I have made it certain from his sayings that the souls liberated by the help of the living receive less bliss, he puts this on me wrongly. For I do not imagine dreams. For one will find in the refutation of my remarks 3) that Paschalis did not want his reward to be reduced, therefore he preferred to burn. But I let this go and order it to the judges.

Furthermore, I do not deny that someone may praise GOD even in tribulations, but this cannot be assumed in this passage, because it is said [Revelation 5:9] that they sing in heaven, and [Revelation 21:4] that GOD will wipe away all their tears 2c. Therefore it becomes clear to the reader how he twists my opinion. Therefore, according to John, the souls in purgatory sing GOTte, and I demand that he give the cause, if it is not to be the certainty of glory; therefore.

2) This HON has been added by the old translator, as it seems to us, puffing; in the Latin editions it is missing.

3) This is in Luther's refutation of Eck's 14th obelisk, in Luther's "Asterisks," Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. XVIII, 566.

he quite falsely invents that I speak against myself. Therefore, I do not deny that the pious boast and sing in tribulations, but I have denied the gloss which he invented that "singing" is as much as praising God in tribulations; otherwise, the angels and the blessed would not sing to God.

That he endeavors to defend the quite obvious error, namely, that souls sleep in the sleep of peace, namely, as far as the body is concerned 2c., because the soul separated from the body does not toil in various troubles, - see the mischievousness, since, while in his answer he had referred to those resting in the grave to the body, he now goes to the rest of the soul from the toils of the body. But listen, good man! Does this mean resting from work, because it does not suffer hardships in the body, but it feels incomparably greater hardships in the soul apart from the body? What use is it if I have rest from fever and am plagued by stone?

With Christ's rest it is something else, who expected the resurrection without decay. Blessed therefore are they that die in the Lord [Revelation 14:13]; but who shall say that the body is blessed, except by the soul overflowing into the body? This is the case with St. Stephen, who died in the Lord.

Finally, he says that I make the unproven assertion: they are at peace, and yet we ask for peace on their behalf. But because it is ridiculous to refer the peace one has to the body, it follows that in the soul it is the knowledge of security.

That he says that he cannot prove his own, I consider to be quite true. Others, however, prove theirs, although an obstinate and stubborn man cannot be brought to rest even by proofs, that he should not always argue that it is no proof, as Gregorius of Ariminum and Petrus Aliacensis do it with Aristotle in the reasons of the first mover in the 7th and 8th book *Physicorum*.

Therefore, I conclude with the common opinion that grace is not increased in purgatory and that the souls are certain of their bliss.

From indulgences.

On July 11, which was a Monday. 1) Corner.

First of all, before I enter into this disputation of indulgences, I testify that it is not my mei-

1) InLöscher's manuscript fst added: umsieben Uhr.

It is not my intention or intention that by this disputation of mine I want to contravene the commandments of the pope, in which he commands in the decree that begins *Cum postquam*, 2) that one should not defend or preach anything that is contrary to certain points of the indulgence, under the penalty of banishment, but rather that it is my intention to defend the truth that has been approved in this decree. Having said this, I now proceed to attack the eleventh thesis 3).

To say that indulgences are useful to Christians is right and godly, nor is indulgence an affliction for a good work; therefore it does not seem to be well said that those who assert this are nonsensical. This is proved: because the Church does not err in matters concerning faith, which are intended for the salvation of souls; indeed, as St. Cyprian says, God does not allow the greater part of the clergy to err, but in the general conciliarities and by the entirety of the clergy, indulgences have now been considered useful and godly for Christians for three hundred years. This became evident at the Concilium of Vienna, where the indulgence given by Urban IV for the observance of Holy Communion was approved. For the Concilium added this moving reason, that the faithful of Christ would be more ready to pay the sacrament the due reverence and honor.

Thus Innocentius III, at a general concilium where he issued the extremely useful decree *Omnes utriusque*, adopted by the whole Church, also made a decree concerning indulgences for the hospitals: For the remission of sins, we charge you to make charitable offerings to them from the goods given to you, so that by your support their lack may be remedied, and by this and other good things which you do by the Lord's gift you may attain to eternal joy.

At the same council, the power of the lower prelates to grant indulgences was limited, which was subsequently approved at the council of Lyons. But if indulgences were an affliction on a good work and useless to Christians, what need would there be to limit the granting of indulgences on a good work?

2) This is the new Decretal of Leo X of November 9, 1518, No. 234 in this volume, which is found in Walch's old edition Vol. XV, 760 ff.

3) Luther's 11th thesis is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 720, Eck's counterthesis idiä. Col. 714 f.

Works to diminish at a lower prelate, and transfer it to the fullness of power?

In addition, the laudable Concilium at Constance, which among the errors also condemned the contempt of indulgences, granted indulgences to all who were at the Concilium and fasted on Friday, which would have been as much as defiling and corrupting the good works of such great fathers.

And Gerson, whom the venerable father calls an excellent theologian, as he has been very careful about truth and respectability, has certainly declared that the granting of indulgences is not to be underestimated or despised, but must be received devoutly in faith, in the hope and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has given men such power of the keys of the church. For it is certain that the doing which is based on such an indulgence is more fruitful and more pleasing to God than another, and which, all other things being equal, is not based on it. This is what Gerson says.

So also other holy and highly esteemed men stood at the time when indulgences were given, which were also given by St. Gregory nine hundred years ago, and by Paschasius six hundred years ago. Therefore, only the prestige of such a great father must move any Christian to believe that the indulgence is useful to Christians, although I know very well that William Altisiodorensis 1) tells that there was no lack of people who even during the lifetime of St. Gregory contradicted the holy father in matters of indulgences.

Furthermore, I will add this: If indulgences are an affliction of a good work, I think that I can chiefly suppose this from the fact that they are sufficient. But by a sufficient work we deserve no less than if it were not sufficient; otherwise it would be better that we did not do sufficient works, lest we diminish our merits for this state. But if we sow in blessing, we shall also reap in blessing. But about this I want to hear the venerable father.

To this may be added the great unanimity of all Christendom in the Jubilees celebrated by the Popes, Boniface VIII, Clement VI, Urban VI, Nicolaus V, an exceedingly honest and very learned Pope, Sixtus IV, and that with the common consent of the most Christian kings and princes of the

Pope has often given the fullest indulgences for holy journeys (passagiis) and crusades.

Since the faith of the Church cannot cease, for which Christ prayed that it would not cease, Luc. 22:32, and promised that He would be with us always, to the end of the age, Matt. 28:20, it cannot be admitted that the Church has erred for so long to the perdition of souls. And because the decrees of the popes must be accepted by all who stand in the communion of the holy church, as Gregory says in Canon praeceptis, 12. dist., likewise Canon omnia decretalia, 25. quaest. 1.2) under the penalty of the sentence of excommunication pronounced, that indulgences are useful for the expiation of the penalty for sins, which is due to those who are members of Christ through the bond of love, and because such an indulgence is paid for by the merits of Christ and the saints through the power of the pope: I want a believing Christian to have the firm conviction through all this that indulgences are not an affliction of a good work, nor that to say that indulgences are useful for a Christian is to be nonsensical, which is nothing other than to say that all the clergy in the church have been nonsensical for so long.

Martin.

The excellent doctor attacks my eleventh thesis with twelve reasons. Before answering this, I will first explain what I have called a nonsense, what it is that indulgences are considered good for a Christian, and that they are an affliction of a good work. Therefore I say: since the prophet in the 40th Psalm, v. 5. [Vulg.], dares to call even the statutes of men "false unisunies," and Ps. 119, 85. [Vulg.] How much more nonsensical it is that indulgences, which are neither commanded nor advised, nor necessary for salvation, but rather an indulgence of many good works, are considered to be a good of Christians!

1) William of Auxerre.

2) Leo X in the new Decretale. Walch, Vol. XV, No. 234.

Commandments and the covenants. 1) Yes, I say even more: since the extremely salutary law of God, according to the testimony of Ezekiel and the apostle Paul, Rom. 7,11. f., is not good for man, but rather a cause of sin, but grace alone is a good for the Christian, how much less must indulgences, which can in no way be compared to grace, but also not to the goodness of any law, since they are nothing and a kind of deprivation of good works, be considered a good! not as if I thought they were harmful or corrupting, as we will say.

Since the excellent doctor says first of all that the church does not err in matters concerning faith, nor in those which are intended for the salvation of souls, he is right in this; but indulgences are not of this kind, as has been said.

But that Cyprian says that God does not allow the greater part of the clergy to err, let him see what he has said. It is certain that at the time of the Arian faithlessness the greater part of the most eloquent bishops and the most learned men erred in such a great article of faith, so much so that almost no Catholic bishop remained on his chair.

That he says that at the general Concilium and for three hundred years indulgences have been considered useful and godly for Christians, and that at the Concilium of Vienna the indulgences granted by Urban IV, I answer that I have never denied that indulgences are useful, but not for Christians, that is, for those who act with fervor, loving and seeking Christ according to their name. For to them the abatement of works is disliked, but the imposition of works is loved. Secondly, I say that in these matters no one's person must be considered, neither that of a council nor that of a pope, but what is said must be seen, especially since this error concerning indulgences is seen as in

The first thing is that a man is not dangerous to a thing that is not necessary, but when all else is equal, that is, when he knows that he is not necessary and does not put his trust in it.

To the second of the general Concilium and Inuocens III, who ordered for the establishment of the hospitals that they should give mild contributions 2c. for the forgiveness of sins, I say that I do not yet understand this word of the pope, since the forgiveness of sins seems to me to be something different from the indulgence, and if it were the same, I say as before.

Thirdly, with respect to the Concilium of Lyons, at which, as is said, the limitation of the power of the lower prelates in granting indulgences is also approved, I admit the whole. But what follows: if it were useless, it would not have been necessary to reduce the granting of the indulgence of a work to the lower prelates, to this I say that the indulgence has been called by me the indulgence of a work, according to that which I have been attacked by the Lord Doctor in my 42nd thesis in the explanation of it, 2. Thesis in the explanation of the same, 2) where I said thus: not that the indulgence is evil and harmful, but because the wrong abuse harms, in that they would not do such a work if the indulgence were not, for thus the indulgence itself becomes the purpose of such a work. And it is quite clear that people would rarely contribute if indulgences were not promised. Therefore, there is always the danger of at least one defective work.

Fourth, he cited the laudable Costnitz Concilium, which, among other errors, condemned the contempt of indulgences. I answer: I have never despised it, or taught that it ought to be despised, unless contempt be understood in this way, that we can do incomparably better things with the same cost with which indulgences are purchased, or than indulgences themselves are. Therefore the preference of the better is not a hasty contempt of the lesser, just as gold is not a contempt of wood or hay, though it is more excellent.

Likewise to the fifth, where he cites Gerson, that the granting of indulgences is not to be disparaged, I add, "in its way," or, as he himself said, "if all else be equal." And I do not think that the Doctor is at all pleased with this statement that indulgences must be received in faith, hope, and love, since he has stated that even those who are beyond grace can have their indulgences fulfilled and remitted. I would allow that the action based on the indulgence is more fruitful than another which is not based on it, if everything else is equal, if only this "everything else equal" is applied correctly, just as I do not deny that a layman's Our Father can be better than all the canonical prayer hours of a priest.

Sixth, he states that St. Gregory gave indulgences nine hundred years ago, Paschasius six hundred years ago, although, as William Altisiodorensis relates, some contradicted St. Gregory. I answer: I do not yet have a credible history of the indulgences of Gregory. But, however this may be, it does not follow that the indulgence is anything other than an indulgence, that is, a remission of good works, which no one can call good for Christians, no matter how holy conciliarities or how holy men may have given or approved it. Therefore, may the Lord Doctor not act against me with the mere names of testimonies, but also with the truth of the matter itself.

Seventh, he says that indulgences are a defect in a good work because they are sufficient. I say that it is not sufficient, but an indulgence of satisfaction, and not to be considered a sufficient work. Therefore, by this reason, indulgences are compared very badly with works that are sufficient, as if for this reason our merits were diminished if indulgences were allowed to stand; rather, the opposite is more correct: merits are increased if indulgences are allowed to stand.

Eighth, he says that through the unanimity of the faithful, the Jubilee of Boniface VIII, of Clement VI, of Sixtus 2c.

had been accepted. I answer: Who knows whether the unanimity of the faithful has accepted it. Nor is Boniface held in such high esteem that whatever he has done can immediately be regarded as something well done, especially in a matter that is not good nor necessary for salvation, since he has also committed other monstrosities that have set an evil example in necessary matters.

As for the ninth, that the Roman popes, with the consent of the most Christian kings and princes, have given indulgences for holy journeys, I say as before: It is no wonder that God despises this, and allows to be done and to be done what does not serve salvation, who watches over us in this, that he teaches what is useful, as the apostle to Titus Cap. 3:8, that is, his commandments and counsels.

Tenth, he concludes that the faith of the Church cannot cease, and Christ is with us, therefore the Church could not have erred for so long to the ruin of souls. I say: not the whole church has erred. Then, even if she erred in these trivial things (I am always talking about the Christians), there is no danger if the faith remains unharmed. To differ in opinions and to err in temporal things does not annul the Church of Christ.

Eleventh, he claims that one must accept the decrees of the Roman popes. I answer: Without a doubt, they must be accepted, but with good judgment, as dist. 19. c.

Anastasius is written: because the Roman popes were men and had men around them, they could err. Then there is no decree that commands the purchase of indulgences, nor is there one to this day that clearly explains the value of indulgences.

Finally, with regard to the determination of the present pope that indulgences are useful and derived from the merits of Christ and the saints, I answer: He himself does not express it sufficiently, nor does he prove what he says with a single syllable. I have spoken more abundantly about this in my Augsburg Acts. 1)

1) In this volume you will find No. 176, 177. 200. 203. 204. 224. 225 and 226.

It does not follow, therefore, that the whole clergy in the church was nonsensical for such a long time, since in the meantime there were always people who disliked indulgences and who also, at least privately, contradicted them, as the well-known saying testifies: Indulgences are a divine fraud. 1)

Corner.

I have heard that the opinion of the venerable father is in many things milder and more lenient than the words of the theses seemed or other of his writings seemed to indicate to me, and it is not my purpose to defend the immodest proclamations of indulgences or the abuses, but to assert the truth and how much the indulgence granted with reason can be of use. And, to be brief, I give no discussion of the excuse of his thesis; but since he supposes that the indulgence is not commanded, not necessary, we admit that. But in all this, it seems to me, in my little judgment, that the difficulty of our disagreement is mainly that the venerable father says that indulgences are only a remission of good works. I do not remember to have found this interpretation in anyone who gives or allows indulgences, for then indulgences would in truth be harmful, dangerous and damning, since in such a way conciliaries and popes would remit these good works that man would either not deserve such great blessedness, which is contrary to the salvation of souls, or men, deceived by the remission of good works, would be sent to purgatory to suffer there the punishments which they have not paid here, which is indeed damning. Therefore, the unanimous opinion of all who either give or allow indulgences is that the indulgence is not a remission of good works, but the remission of the temporal punishment for the repented sin that is still owed and not paid, as Leo, the present pope, expressly declares in the aforementioned decree, which was done before him by Sixtus IV at the time of his Jubilee in an exceedingly definite manner. Therefore, I cannot reconcile that the venerable father says in his "Explanations" 2) that the indulgence is given only to lazy people, which he also asserts in his German Sermon 3) who do not fulfill the canonical penances.

and yet in the same "Explanation" says that the canonical penances are imposed on the lazy, because the otherwise zealous people repent throughout their lives. Therefore, the indulgence would be quite unfortunate if it were the remission of good works.

In refuting this, he answers the first: indulgences do not affect the salvation of souls, while it is indeed very important for the salvation of souls whether they promote or hinder salvation. Our faith is also interested in whether the pope, as the governor of Christ, can remit and extinguish the punishments due to sin by paying for them with the merits of Christ and the saints.

With regard to Cyprian, he reproached me with what also occurred to me when I read Cyprian, although I am not completely sure whether, as in Greece, so also in other areas of the church, the greater part of the clergy was corrupt.

Then he replied to the conciliar that indulgences are not good for Christians, that is, for those who follow Christ in faith and love. This certainly destroys the pronouncements of the Conciliar and the granting of indulgences, because they are granted only to the faithful of Christ and to those who have repented and confessed, according to the common form. Therefore, according to the general opinion, indulgences are not good for the wicked, because they do not obtain them, but for the good and those who are truly Christians.

I do not suppose that the venerable father here invokes Seneca's saying that one should not pay attention to who speaks, but to what is said, since, especially in matters concerning the faith, one must also pay attention to who says it, and a concilium that has been lawfully assembled must be heard by every Christian.

He says that it is not a dangerous error to err here in regard to indulgences; but it seems to me that the opposite is true, because it has been judged a dangerous error to disparage your holy order of mendicant monks from the beginning.

About the ordinance of Innocentius in the general Concilium, he says that he does not understand how that has validity, or whether the indulgence is the forgiveness of sins. I say as always: I will not admit that such a solemn and lawful Concilium could have erred, since it is not abandoned by the Holy Spirit, and the forgiveness of sins must be understood in terms of punishment, because the name "sin" is

1) Thus Luther gives in this volume No. 448 in 4^{em} 18th article (before? 167) the saying: Ināul'sutias 8UNt Pius ä666ptic "N68.

2) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 218.

3) "Sermon on Indulgences and Grace," St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 273, ? 14.

is not always taken for the guilt, but also for the punishment due to the guilt, as in the books of the Maccabees [2 Macc. 12, 46.]: "that the sin might be forgiven them," which cannot be understood of a guilt to death, but of the punishment due to the guilt. And when it is said of indulgences that they are given in order that those who obtain them may be absolved from punishment and guilt, let no one think that indulgences absolve guilt, but that, since the pope grants them, they are absolved from guilt by means of the sacrament of penance by the commissaries appointed for this purpose, and thereafter obtain indulgences, that is, the remission of punishments.

Here Eck continued at two o'clock on July 11, 1519.

1)

But that he excuses himself for having said that indulgences are an affliction of a good work, because he also wants that, all else being equal, a good work with indulgences is better than without indulgences, but as it is wont to happen, because men thus buy indulgences, that they would not do those good works without the indulgence, - although a great deal could be said about these sayings, as in a parable, when neighbors come together more out of friendship against neighbors for the sacrifices and the offertories (offertoria) 2) than in regard to the dead: it seems to me, however, always without prejudice to a better opinion, that this is not the infirmity of a good work, first, because the holy Concilium intends by indulgences to arouse people to good works; secondly, because, though it may be that they do or give something of the kind in order to obtain indulgences, yet these works are not corrupted by this purpose, because this purpose of indulgences is not different from the last purpose, so that the remission of penalties is appropriately assigned to GÖtte. Otherwise, if the subordination of the purposes were cut off, there would be very few or no good works.

About the fact that the contempt of indulgences was condemned by the Costnitz Concilium, the venerable father says that he did not despise them. I freely confess that if he had always used such moderation as he has declared today, perhaps one would agree with his statement, even in conscience, without any in

restriction, but his written German Sermon 3) offers the layman a different view. But that is none of my business.

With regard to Gerson, he answered in a permissive manner, but he thinks that Gerson is against me, since he considers indulgences to be useful when they are received in faith, hope and love, because otherwise I would have held that repentance can happen in a mortal sin. I say that even the most Christian chancellor holds that someone in a mortal sin can do enough in terms of penance, otherwise those who hear confessions would be acting extremely unwise if they impose a continuing penance. But whether someone in mortal sin obtains indulgence is not the point. The reason for the difference is clear, because only those who have repented and confessed tend to be granted indulgences. Therefore, it is not surprising if sinners are not able to obtain it, because the indulgence is valid only as much as it says. The venerable father added that the Our Father of a layman is worth as much as the canonical prayers of a priest; if all else is equal, I will not allow it.

About St. Gregory, he says that he has not yet seen an authenticated history. But the very constant rumor, as St. Augustine says in the book "Of the Trinity" of Alexandria, does not allow to deny this. However, he denies that the indulgence is sufficient, but it is only a remission of good works. I believe that we disagree on this main point, and that a large part of the dispute has its basis here. But before I reminded you that indulgence is not a remission of good works, as the venerable father believes, but a remission of the punishments due to sins. Therefore, a true Christian who receives the indulgence does not less but more good works than if he did not receive the indulgence. I understand it, however, that the indulgence is sufficient, as Pope Sixtus IV, Clement VI and the present pope have declared, not that he who has obtained the indulgence is sufficient, but because no evil remains unpunished and no sin unavenged (cān. sicut primi, de peni. dist. prima), the governor of Christ, the steward of this treasure, where man does not pay for the punishment of sin, pays for it himself out of the abundant treasure ordered to him with the merit of Christ, and does enough for him.

3) A Sermon on Indulgences and Grace, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 270 ff.

1) This caption is missing in Löscher.

2) Compare Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 1053, § 40.

Therefore I have admitted in the foregoing that indulgences do not in themselves cancel guilt, but punishment; and that such a cancellation of punishments is in indulgences, and not the cancellation of good works, is evident from the words of Isaiah ^Cap. 61, 1.]: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, therefore he hath anointed me. He hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, and to preach an indulgence 1) to the captives, and an opening to them that are shut up." Since Christ applies the same words to himself, he used the term *remissionem* [discharge] instead of the word *indulgentias*. Thus says Theophilus, as St. Thomas recounts to him: For before the souls of all were kept from hell, until he came who preached remission to the captives.

After that, the venerable father claims that the merits are increased if *mdn* keeps the indulgences pending. I do not see this, because, as I have said, those who do not buy the indulgence or leave it pending, sometimes wanting to consume this money in good banquets, do not increase their merits. I admit that someone could sometimes do a greater meritorious work with this money than if he bought indulgences. The case need not be applied to each individual. 2)

With regard to the celebration of the Jubilee, he does not want to admit that it was done with the agreement of the faithful, and the suspicious life of Boniface could also make his Jubilee suspicious. I say that the unity of the people is very great, and that at a Jubilee the faithful of Christ from the whole Christian world come together. How he could prove the unity of the believers in any other way, I do not see.

That I said that with the unanimity of the princes for the holy voyage and the crusades indulgences had been given by the pope, to this he replies that it matters little if they were mistaken here in this insignificant matter, as if it were nothing to deceive the believers in Christ, and that the unanimous unanimity of the Christian princes and kings should stoop to such a deceitful deception of the faithful!

Moreover, he says that there is no explicit and clear decree on indulgences. I counter him with the declaration of Sixtus and the now recently issued declaration of the oppo-

He says that the Roman Church, which the others are obliged to follow as their mother, has delivered that the Roman Pontiff, Peter's successor in the office of the keys and JEsu Christ's governor on earth, by virtue of the keys, to whom it belongs to open, by removing the obstacles in his Christ-believers, namely, the guilt and punishment that one owes for the real sins, namely, the guilt through the mediation of the sacrament of penance, but the divine punishment, which, according to divine justice, one owes for real sins, by means of the indulgence of the Church, for important reasons, can grant indulgences from the abundance of the merits of Christ and the saints to these same believers in Christ, who are members through the bond of Christ's love, whether they are still alive or in purgatory, and have also been accustomed to distribute the treasure of the merits of Christ and the saints by granting indulgences by apostolic power, both for the living and for the dead 2c. He then clearly states that indulgences are not a remission of good works, but a remission of punishments, which takes place through the payment with the merits of Christ.

And when I gave the reason that the church had not erred for so many years, he replied that not the whole church had erred, because in the meantime there had always been people who were suspicious of this trade, hence the common saying that indulgences are a pious fraud for the faithful. To this I say: If one wants to judge any matter, one must listen not to what anyone says, but to what pious, learned, honorable and the best people teach. For how many very proven and honest men have been in the whole Christian world in three hundred years, and of whom some have been placed in the register of the saints, who nevertheless have not disapproved of indulgences in such a way, 3) even though, as in all things, the abuse displeased them. Thomas is a saint, Bonaventure, Albertus the Carmelite, Bernhardinus and other great men, Hales (Ales), Gerson, Capistranus 2c., who nevertheless did not reject the granting of indulgences. Therefore, there is nothing in the fact that Johann Wiklef and Ulrich Kalteisen in England, the Lord Johann von Wesel (^688a1ia), who, however, took this back at Mainz, did not ask the Bohemians to like the granting of the indulgence.

1) In the Vulgate: *inānīmīārn. Inūlssntīae* -- indulgence.
2) Bet Löscher *speiūcārī*, in the other editions: *spseivoenri*.

3) In Löscher: *irnprokAvsrun*, in the other editions: *xrodaverunt*. We have assumed the former.

"Therefore, let us conclude that the indulgence given in a reasonable manner for the glory of God and increase of faith is not useless to the devout believers in Christ, not to the presumptuous, but to those who receive it with humility and thanksgiving, with abstinence and defense against abuses, that we thus rather want to thank God for such a great gift than to despise it in hope, always having in our hearts that the best indulgence is true repentance. But to speak of the matter in general, I would rather have wished, if the opinion presented today had been the mind of the venerable Father, that he had said this clearly and had not given the simple a cause to think otherwise, because there is no one among all the listeners who would have understood the meaning given today in the eleventh thesis: "To say that indulgences are a good for the Christian is to be nonsensical, for they are properly infirmities of a good work." But I am well satisfied with his interpretation, as far as I am concerned.

Martin.

Against my answers, the excellent doctor counters, first of all, that indulgences are not a remission of good works, and he has not seen anyone who claims this; it also follows from this that indulgences are truly dangerous, harmful, and damning; rather, according to the unanimous opinion of those who give and permit them, they are the remission of the punishments due for sins. I answer: I wonder very much what these words of the doctor mean, since by the punishments due for sins, all undoubtedly understand the difficulties of atonement, which is the third part of penance, to which certainly also belong the good works of almsgiving, prayers, fasting, vigils, and the like. With regard to this, there is an explicit text lib. 5. o. Cum ex eo, where the pope says that by improper indulgences the penitential satisfactions are invalidated. And all indulgences in general have this clause: We release from the imposed penances. But now, granted that they were penalties and not works, I say that it is worse that penalties should be remitted than works, since a life of suffering and punishment promotes or benefits more than a merely active life, as the apostle says in 2 Cor. 12:10: "When I am weak, then am I strong." For it is a purer work,

which is accomplished by God's action alone when we suffer, than that which is accomplished with our cooperation, according to the words of Deut. 32:39: "I can strike and I can heal, I can kill and I can make alive. Therefore, there are more inconsistencies in the opinion of the excellent doctor about indulgences than in my opinion, and I really do not know whether I am speaking quite right.

Secondly, he cannot make it up that I said that indulgences are given only to lazy people and that the canons are also given only to the lazy. I say: I do not remember that I said that the canons are given to the lazy. But if I have said it, then my opinion is that the brave and the ardent or penitent do more than the canons require.

Third, he argues that indulgences are necessary for salvation because it is useful to know whether they promote salvation or not. Although he does not exactly say that it is necessary for salvation, it is useful to know whether it promotes salvation or not. I answer: This, too, is not necessary to know, but whether he may be harmful to salvation. For it is not necessary to know things that are not necessary to salvation.

Likewise, that it was important whether the pope could remit through the merits of Christ. I do not know if this is the case.

Of the merits of Christ hereafter.

Then he says that my opinion destroys the pronouncements of the conciliar authorities and the granting of indulgences, which according to the common form grant [indulgences] to those who have repented and confessed. I answer: Therefore my opinion does not destroy the pronouncements of the conciliar, because those have repented and confessed who are lazy in making amends. The Scripture also calls these weak, and for their sake indulgences are not to be condemned.

He also rebukes me for using Seneca's saying, "not who, but what is said," because in matters concerning faith, one must also consider who says it. I answer: This does not serve here, because the matter of indulgences is not a matter of faith. Furthermore, in matters of faith it is exceedingly more of-.

It is necessary to pay attention not to who is speaking, but to what is being said. For one does not have to consider the persons, as the Lord clearly says Matth. 7,15. and 24,5.: "Beware of false prophets who come to you in sheep's clothing" 2c., likewise: "Many will come under my name and say: I am Christ"; and Joh. 10,27.: "My sheep hear my voice". Accordingly, one must not believe the Pope at random, so that the rule of the apostle John [1. Ep. 4, 1.] may stand: "Beloved, test the spirits, whether they are of God."

Then he says that there is danger in error about indulgences, because the error of those who disparaged the orders of mendicant monks from the beginning was considered dangerous. Whatever may be the case with the disparagers, this does not prove that an error in indulgences is dangerous, and it is not immediately an error what the orders of mendicants or the priests of the churches have considered an error.

In the same way, I add to what he says that a concilium does not err because it is governed by the Holy Spirit: namely, in the things in which it is governed by the Holy Spirit, that is, in matters of faith. And that I finally say it once: I have not said that a concilium has erred in giving indulgences. But of that hereafter.

I pass over the fact that he understands the remission of sins as the remission of punishments, since sin is often taken for punishment, 2 Maccabees 12:46. I do not often find that sin is taken for punishment, unless, for instance, it is written of Christ that he himself bore our sins, of which I do not dare to say that it is simply taken for punishment. But these are external things.

Since he wants to refute that I said that the indulgence is an affliction of the work, he says that it is a subordination of the purposes in the works, therefore the indulgence does not spoil the work if one refers it to God. I answer: give an example to prove it! For I have said today that such people are seldom found, who

They give for free and only for the sake of God as much as they give for indulgences. Therefore you shall know them by their fruits. Yes, if they hear that they can do something better than buying indulgences, it is likely that they will not buy indulgences.

About the contempt of indulgences he says: if I had used such moderation, "one would have to agree with his explanation, but his German sermon [on indulgences and grace] indicates to the laity a different conception". I answer: the excellent Doctor will look at this sermon more carefully, and he will find that I have said in explicit words that indulgences are not to be despised, but to be left free; no one is to be deterred, just as no one is to be urged to do so, for it is a consolation for the lazy. Therefore, it is not my fault that they do not understand this explanation and even moderate opinion.

I pass over that of Gerson, where he says that it is something else to be sufficient in sins and to release indulgences in sins, because in it the form of granting is opposed, which only allows indulgences to those who have confessed and repented. Johann Gerson also agrees with him on this point. I say: I leave this as something that goes beyond the capacity of my understanding. For indeed I do not understand how a sinner can do enough in sins and also receive permission not to do enough, since more seems to be required for the performance of works than for their omission.

He says of Gregorius that even if one does not have an authenticated history, he does not allow the rumor to be denied. I say: no one should believe a rumor lightly, and I pass over it.

Finally I come back to that, that the indulgence should be sufficient, and not a remission of good works, but of punishments. Perhaps we are arguing about something that is ambiguous, for the Doctor calls it sufficient, since by the power of the indulgence one is permitted not to do enough, and this permission not to do enough is taken for a satisfaction. But I call "doing enough" that which fulfills the satisfaction, not refrains from it.

He also quoted the saying Is. 61, 1. where Christ Luc. 4, 17. ff., reading from Isaiah, says: "The Spirit of the Lord is with me, because he hath anointed me to preach the remission to the captives", where Christ said "the remission". He added Theophilus, who interpreted that the souls were kept 2c. until he came who preached salvation to the captives. That this saying does not serve the cause is shown by the words themselves and the context of the text, because Christ says there [v. 21.], "Today this scripture is fulfilled in your ears," then because he speaks of the right jubilee, that is, of the fullness of time, of the crown of the year of grace, and not of the remission of sins, but of the forgiveness of sins, of which all Scripture speaks, while the jubilee of Boniface began so long after.

Likewise, I pass over the fact that he denies that the merits are increased by keeping the indulgences pending, because this is not refuted by the fact that they sometimes want to consume this very money in banquets.

About the celebration of the Jubilee years he says that there is a great unity of the people, because the faithful in the whole world come together for indulgences, but with the exception of Italy and Rome, and he does not see how I can prove the unity of the faithful in any other way. I answer: I would prove that this is a consensus of the faithful, which, after the matter had been made known and the truth of indulgences had been explained, moved the faithful to flock together: but now those flock together who do not know what and why, since the greater part believe that they are doing something necessary and meritorious.

After that, the excellent Doctor, referring to the holy journeys and the crusades, says that it is not a minor matter that so many are deceived, especially the great ones. I answer: It is also not a matter of great concern, since St. Jerome also says of the blood of the prophet Zechariah, Matt. 23:35, "We condemn the blood of the prophet Zechariah.

If the people do not commit the error that comes from the godliness of faith, this error is also without harm to the soul, even without a gain in money, which they hand over to the leaders of the churches in honor of the holy church.

Since I have said that there is no decree on indulgences, he has held up to me the declaration of Sixtus and the recently issued one of Leo, in which the power of indulgences is explained. I say: This is another question. I have said that there is no decree requiring the purchase of indulgences, therefore they are not necessary.

At the end he says to the saying "Indulgences are a pious deception of the faithful", by which I wanted to say that not the whole church has erred: one should not listen to what each one says, but to what pious and righteous men teach, but now also some do not approve of indulgences, who have been placed in the register of the saints. I answer: Neither do I, of course. But I add that the Church, when she accepts opinions, does not therefore make truths out of opinions. Therefore I say to this declaration of Leo X, as I said in the [Augsburg] "Acta"): it is not proved by mere words, especially words of men, that indulgences are taken from the treasury of Christ and pay the penalties required by divine justice, though I do not condemn opinion. For, to say what I mean, since Christ's merits, whether they be taken as a help or in any way and under any name, are nevertheless Christ's merits, and suffer no change by use or application. But if they are Christ's merits, they are grace and truth, according to the words of Ps. 25:10: "The ways of the Lord are goodness and truth;" and John 1:17: "Grace and truth were made by Jesus Christ;" and there [v. 14]: "We have seen him full of grace and truth." Therefore, even if an angel from heaven teaches otherwise

I will not believe that it is in the hands of any man to give grace and truth, that is, to distribute the merits of Christ. But I do not resist the pope, but refer to my explanation in the "Acta".

Corner.

Because, as I have said, a great part of the disagreement lies in whether indulgences are the remission of good works or of penalties, where I have said that the teachers of the Church and the Roman 1) popes who have hitherto written about indulgences take my side, but this the venerable father refutes in a perceptive and learned manner, because to remit the penalty would be to remit the burdens of satisfaction, among which are good works, contrary to the decree of Innocentius in the Canon Cum ex eo, of penance, that the satisfaction of penance should not be invalidated. I say that the burdens of penance are indeed remitted, but for this reason not the good works. For although prayer, fasting, 2c. For although prayer, fasting, and other penances are atonements, they are still good works, even if we do not do enough with them. In addition, repentance is not only the work (labors) of good works, but also of repentance. Therefore, many do not want a confessor to be forced to take the penance upon himself, according to the common saying: "It is better that a confessor send a confessor to purgatory with a small penance than to hell with a large one. And it is no wonder that the pope has limited the plenary indulgence to the redemption of penances, if it is given everywhere by the prelates. So the piece of the bull says about the imposed penances, that is, which should be imposed according to the divine justice, as the teachers of the Church, who write about the indulgences, declare.

Furthermore, that he claims that it is worse to impose punishments than works, I do not accept, because the punishments are useful only in so far as man is instructed to do good, and thus the power becomes powerful in weakness. But* I refer this to the judges. And because it would be dangerous for souls to err in indulgences, as I have stated today, therefore the churches do not err when they want only the indolent who have repented to receive indulgences.

1) Instead of Romani in the Weimar edition, Romanos should probably be read. In the other editions: Rom.

Certainly to the Carthäuser one does not have to come.

In matters of faith, he says, one must pay special attention to what is said. I consider auctoritatem in theology to be the greatest thing, and that we are commanded to listen to those who sit on Moses' chair [Matth. 23,2. f.]. Therefore, we must be careful who speaks, so that, according to the commandment of the apostle [2 Cor. 10:5], we may take our reason captive to the obedience of faith. For this reason also the conciliar churches were kept, so that through their reputation the errors would be eradicated.

I'll pass over the one about the mendicant monks.

To the fact that he says that a concilium does not err in those things in which it is governed by the Holy Spirit, I say, following the opinion of the older Fathers, that it must always be assumed that a concilium is governed by the Holy Spirit, as long as the opposite is not established, namely that it has not been lawfully assembled.

But the venerable father still stands firm regarding the infirmity of the good work, that he who gives money because of indulgences would not otherwise give it, as if that were an infirmity in a good work! I would like to ask the venerable father: if he holds the anniversary of some prince or nobleman with his brothers with thirty masses, because good gifts are given, otherwise they would not hold the anniversary: whether that would be an infirmity of the good work? 2)

Those who have read the German Sermon [on indulgences and grace] may judge whether he did not despise indulgences.

Furthermore, the venerable father, having become my interpreter, says that indulgences have perhaps become sufficient in this way because someone is not required to do enough for the sake of it. This is not my opinion, but because man should do enough of his own sins, even those that are repented of, and through indulgences he does enough of others, because the pope gives him from the treasury of the church what he can pay with, so that, according to the common opinion of the fathers, even with indulgences sin does not remain unpunished, with the reservation that he could not do enough of his own if the merits of Christ were not added.

2) In the margin: Martin doubts. Eck: And so no flesh will be just, neither in the cap nor out of it.

From the consensus of the faithful I believe that no one is so foolish as to believe that the indulgence in a jubilee year is a necessary thing; and if he believes that the journey to Rome is meritorious, he is not mistaken in this either. For it is certain that a work by which one obtains indulgences is meritorious, and yet indulgences themselves are not meritorious.

Furthermore, I do not do violence to the words of Sixtus and the present pope, because I follow the chair of Peter and his opinion, who sits on the same, as long as he should not (that be far!) have fallen into a heresy. I know that he does not prove, but decides, whom I consider as Christ's governor, whose faith does not cease in the moment of a decision.

But all this I order to the judgment of those to whom it is incumbent, and I am ready to let go of errors if any are proven to me.

Martin prompted [the Notares to add: Me too.

On the twelfth of July Eck opposed and Martin answered.

Of repentance.

Corner.

In your name, sweet JEsus.

Against the thesis of the venerable father and a part of his sermon on repentance 1) I intend to prove, in defense of the pious fathers, the preacher monks, that true repentance begins with the fear of punishment, and that someone can well prepare himself by deliberation, doubts 2c.

First, because the Lord Jesus and his forerunner, Saint John, observed such a way of preaching. For Luc. 15, 11. ff. the prodigal son gives an example of a penitent, according to Augustine "on evangelical questions", according to Ambrose lib.2.de penit. 6.3., according to Chrysostom, Jerome and others. But Christ presents Him to us in such a way that He went into Himself and said [v. 17. f. Vulg.]: "How many peons in my Father's house have bread in abundance, but I perish here in hunger. I will turn myself out, and go to my father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned in

the heavens and before you" 2c. By describing here the way of a penitent, the Lord Christ first shows that the penitent is moved by the greatness of the rewards, namely "they have bread in abundance", and by the fear of the punishment, namely "I perish here in hunger". Encouraged by these stages, he began to be intent on true repentance, namely, "and will say, Father, I have sinned." And Basil interprets this in this way: There are three stages of repentance: the hope of reward, the fear of punishment, and the sincere love of paternal kindness, and so he who was an enemy first becomes a servant before he becomes a friend of GOD. This is how John started with fear [Matth. 3, 7.]: You generation or breed of vipers, who showed you that you will escape? 2c.

So it happened also in the whole old testaments that the people were drawn by the fear of the punishments to the obedience to the commandments, as one finds this in the law books, histories and prophets everywhere. Let it be enough. To cite one passage, Ps. 89:31 ff: "But if his children forsake my law, and walk not in my statutes, if they profane my ordinances, and keep not my commandments, I will punish their sin with a rod, and their iniquity with plagues," and other things that agree with this.

Therefore, the preacher monks who followed the holy Scriptures have so far observed the good way of preparing repentance by considering the gravity of the sins, the eternal punishment 2c.

In addition, there is the reason of Dionysius, because God governs things in such a way that He leads the lowest to the highest through the middle. Therefore, since the sinner is in the lowest, because he is not worthy of the bread he eats, and wants to ascend to the highest, the grace, he must do this through the middle, the fear. It would be a good thing for perfection if someone who has sunk into the mud of sin could raise himself up to the grasp of grace through the mere contemplation of God's love and through the love of righteousness; but who is he? and we want to praise him. Rather, St. Augustine praises the way of our time in preaching by expressly teaching that no one attains to love and true grace unless fear precedes it, not filial fear, but even servile fear. Augustine says in the 9th Tractate: 2) Therefore fear makes the

1) Luther's 3rd thesis is found in Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 718, the sermon on repentance ibid. Vol. X, 1220.

2) The Interpretation of the Epistle of John (Weim, ed.).

Beginning, because the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom [Ps. 111, 10]. But when love has begun to make its dwelling place, the fear which prepared the place for it is cast out. For as much as the latter increases, the latter decreases, and as much as the former becomes more inward, fear is driven outward; the greater the love, the smaller the fear; the smaller the love, the greater the fear. But if there is no fear, there is no way for love to enter. (He gives a similitude:) Thus we see that through the bristle the thread is led in with which one sews; the bristle first goes in, but if it does not go out, the thread does not follow: thus fear first takes the heart, 1) because it went in for the sake that love led it in. He cites the word of the Psalm [Ps. 30:12.]: Thou hast turned my mourning into joy. And after that: The judgment is pronounced according to the Scriptures: for he who is without fear cannot be justified. Therefore it is necessary that fear come in first, through which love comes; fear is the medicine, love the health. From this it is quite clear that repentance serves as a medicine, and fear is the remedy according to Augustine, and love enters in no other way than through fear.

Therefore, it is well preached that repentance begins from fear, and I do not accept that the venerable father tells at the beginning of his explanations 2) that the voice of the venerable father Staupitz was sent down from heaven, as it were, that repentance begins from love and esteem [of God] (*dilectione*). For St. Ambrose, the good physician of souls, expressly contradicts this in his letter to Studius: "Where punishment is decreed, there must be repentance for sins; where forgiveness is given, there is grace. Repentance precedes, grace follows. Therefore repentance is not without grace, nor grace without repentance, for repentance must first condemn sin, so that grace may put it away. For the same thing Chrysostom testifies in the whole book "of the contrition of the heart" and in the 80th homily "of repentance" and in the 29th sermon. I also add Isidore in the 2nd book "Of the Supreme Good", Cap. 12: The contrition of the heart is the humility of mind, which begins with tears through the remembrance of sin and fear.

1) According to Augustine here would still be: but the fear does not remain there (Weim. Ausg.).

2) In his letter to the resolutions, in this volume No. 132, Col. 414 ff.

before the judgment; and in the whole book "of the repentance of the heart". And in the "Mirror of Sins" Augustine does nothing else, indeed, he admonishes the sinner who wants to repent that he should remember three abysses, namely his sins, the punishments and the judgments of God. St. Bernard also teaches "on the high song" in the 16th Sermon and in many other places, Gregory in *moralibus lib. 2. and 5.* and likewise on the 29th chapter of Job, also in the 2nd book on Ezekiel, where he says in the 19th homily: It is written [Ps. 111, 10.]: "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord." There is no doubt that one ascends from fear to the Lord, but does not return from wisdom to fear. The prophet, therefore, speaking from heavenly things [descending] to the lowest, he 3) began from wisdom and descended to fear. But we, who strive from the earthly to the heavenly, count the same steps ascending, so that we may be able to go from fear to wisdom. He said the same thing in the first book of Ezekiel: there are two wings, fear and repentance, which are said to cover the body, that is, the sins.

From all this, I want to conclude with regard to the one piece of fear, that in our time and in earlier times, preachers have preached that repentance begins with fear, and that they strive to sow the fear of God in the people through their preaching, so that the seed of the devil is eradicated, according to the words of Origen in the 3rd book of Job: "The fear of punishment and judgments is good; if the devil has not cast it out, he cannot sow the seed of sins. The fear of punishment and judgments is good; if the devil has not cast it out, he cannot sow the seed of sins. It follows, then, that repentance does not begin with love and the desire for righteousness; although I confess that if it began in this way, it would be more praiseworthy and perfect than if it began with the fear of punishment. But our infirmity does not suffer that to which the Lord Jesus and the preachers condescend, preaching fear as a stage by which we attain the true love of righteousness.

Martin.

This is not a way to understand or interpret the divine Scriptures profitably, when sayings are picked out of various passages without taking into consideration

3) Here we have left magis untranslated because it did not seem to fit in the context.

It is a very common way (*canon*) to err in the holy scriptures. Therefore, if a theologian does not want to err, he must have the whole Scripture before his eyes, and compare what seems to be contrary to another with it, and, like the two cherubim, standing face to face, find the correspondence of the difference of both in the middle of the mercy seat; otherwise the face of each of the cherubim will turn his following eye far away from the mercy seat, that is, from the true understanding of Christ.

Therefore, the excellent Doctor has never seemed to me more distant from the Holy Scriptures than he does today, and all the more so since he confesses at the end that repentance, if it starts from the love of righteousness, is more praiseworthy and more perfect than if it starts with the fear of punishment, as if we do not have to make an effort to bring forth righteous fruits of repentance in a praiseworthy manner, as John says [Matth. 3, 8]. For this I do not at all suppose that he says our infirmity stands in the way, that we cannot begin repentance from love of righteousness. If we had to act according to our infirmities and interpret the Scriptures, we would never repent, but would grow angrier day by day. Therefore, before I answer his objections, I will first explain myself:

All good life must be established according to some law. Therefore, the law is the basis (*principium*) for repentance, for every good work. Therefore, in the case of a penitent, first of all the law must be revealed or given to the hand, against which he has done, and according to which he must do. But as soon as the law is made known or remembered, the increase of sin follows immediately, if grace is lacking. Therefore the will of Natnr hates the law, as the explicit testimonies of Paul to the Romans and the Galatians state. Rom. 5, 20. "The law came in next to it, so that sin might become more powerful." Gal. 3, 19. [Vulg.]: "The law was given for the sake of transgressions". Therefore St. Augustine says

"Of the Spirit and the Letter," Cap. 3: For free will, before grace, can do nothing but sin, but not repent, as the Doctor says, "for that is Pelagian. Augustine follows: "And if we have begun to realize that we know what to do, yet, unless the Holy Spirit pours love into our hearts, we do not love, we do not undertake, we do not live well. 1) Augustine clearly says that the law of God cannot be loved except by the grace of the Holy Spirit. But if the law is not loved, its antithesis, sin, is not hated. Therefore, it is impossible to repent before the love of the law. This is what the apostle Rom. 4, 15. wants: "The law only causes wrath", that is, it shows sin, but does not give grace for sin to be hated. Therefore, the hatred of the law and the love of sin remain, no matter how much man is shaken by rebuke from without or inwardly by servile fear. For even though he abstains from the work of sin, he cannot abstain from the love of sin. This is also taught by Christ John 6:44, where he says: "No one can come to me unless the Father draws him." Therefore, I admit that the law, the remembrance of sins, the view of punishments can frighten the sinner, but never make him repentant.

I therefore answer the first objection of the prodigal son Luc. 15, 11. ff. that he began repentance with the remembrance of the greatness of the reward, since he says: "The day laborers have bread in abundance" 2c. I. say that this prodigal son in truth began with the love of righteousness, because he struck within himself and first recognized the good, and from the recognized good he understood his evil. But this beating in himself he did not have out of his own

1) The whole passage is in Augustinus III. opp. sä. karis. 1541. p. 182^o: And if that which is to be done and towards which one must strive has not begun to be hidden, then, if there is not also desire and love for it, it will not be done, it will not be undertaken, it will not be lived well. But in order for it to be loved, the love of God is poured into our hearts, not through free will, which comes from us, but through the Holy Spirit, which is given to us.

n infirmity, or from fear of punishment, as the Lord Doctor says, that he considered the fear of punishment according to the greatness of the rewards, therefore it did not begin with punishment and fear, but he had it, since the father drew him inwardly and instilled in him love for his father's house, saying, "How many peons in my father's house!" For since he had lived in sins before, he neither recognized nor loved the good, nor hated sin, although sin could not be unconscious to him. Therefore, a different attitude was necessary, that is, the love of good.

Secondly, he cited John the Baptist, Luc. 3:7, as having begun with fear, saying, "Who then hath shewed you that ye shall escape the wrath to come?" 2c. I answer, It is something else to preach repentance than to begin repentance; something else to preach a good work than to begin a good work. The preacher reminds, frightens, entices 2c., but nothing follows unless grace moves the will.

The same I say to Ps. 89, 33: "I will punish their sin with the rod" 2c. The sinner can be beaten, but if grace does not cooperate, nothing is accomplished, as it is said in Jer. 5:3: "You beat them, but they do not feel it," and Isa. 1:5, 6: "From the sole of his foot to the head there is nothing healthy in him; what else is there to beat in you?" For he has done nothing with the smiting.

And I am very surprised at the excellent doctor that he has forgotten the light of nature, of Aristotle, and that he presumes to place the beginning of any virtue in the urging of fear, while the latter, with so many extremely well-known words, endeavors in the third book of ethics to teach that a good work must be willing and must be done of free will. But the will is certainly love or the sister of love. Therefore, it is also said that a good work must be done by free will.

I add also this, that Christ never forced sinners to repentance by fear, but kindly attracted all those whom He called, as, Zacchaeus, Magdalene, the apostles, and all, as He also

in Jeremiah Cap. 31, 3. says: "I have always loved you, therefore I have drawn you to myself out of goodness. I say, therefore, that the fear of the Lord is necessary, but a childlike fear, because without love it is impossible to endure His smiting, in which the sinner is terrified, contrite and humiliated, according to the words of 1 Sam. 2:6: "The Lord leadeth into hell, and out again." I believe, however, that the opinion of even the excellent doctor and all scholastic teachers is with me and against his objections, since they all agree that repentance must be done in love if repentance is to be good and meritorious, which I certainly understand to mean that repentance is done on the impulse and command of love, so that repentance in such a way is willing, joyful and loving. Therefore, although John scolded and terrified the Jews, it does not follow that the penitent also begin from terror, or if they begin from terror, they are hypocrites rather than penitents, unless grace is added.

The Lord Doctor added the reason that God governs things in such a way that He leads the lowest through the middle to the highest. He applied this to fear, wanting sin to be the lowest, fear to be the middle, love to be the highest. I pass over this and do not accept it.

He also says it would be a perfection if man could raise himself up to the grasp of grace by the mere beholding of GOD and by the love of righteousness, "but who is he? and let us praise him." I answer: Neither by fear nor by love can man raise himself to the grasping of grace, but grace precedes him and moves him to the mere beholding of GOD and to the love of righteousness.

To Augustine, who is said to teach that fear precedes grace, and that when love enters, fear is driven out, I say: If it be rightly understood, I allow it, that is, that repentance is not yet begun when fear precedes love, but when love enters, repentance is begun, that is, love of righteousness and hatred of sin. But if love did not enter, fear would be

only cause greater sins. Therefore, the simile of the bristle and the thread is approved by me, if only it is not understood to mean that fear leads love in, which I take from the words of the doctor, that if the bristle does not go out, the thread does not follow, that is, if fear, which hinders true repentance, is not driven out by love going in, then atonement will never be rightly made, (penitetur,) that I say so.

Ambrose, who is quoted in the letter to Studius, that repentance precedes and grace and other things follow, likewise Isidore "of the highest good", likewise the three abysses of sins to be remembered, Bernard on the Song of Songs, Gregorius in *moralibus*, and other fathers who teach that one must ascend from fear to wisdom, and begin repentance with fear, I readily admit, but do not understand them against the apostle Paul, who teaches of the law and the fear of the law. I also say that when one has love, at the same time man is moved to the fear of God, and so repentance begins with fear in love. Otherwise, the saying stands firm [1 John 4:18] that fear has pain, does not work good, but hates the law.

Therefore, the excellent Doctor does not prove (non concludit) that repentance does not begin with the love of righteousness, however good the fear of punishment may be according to Origen 1); for it is not with the fear of punishment, but with the fear of God that one must repent, because the latter is a maidservant who will not remain in the house, but the latter is a child and heir. Therefore, I do not allow the word Proverbs 1:7, "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord," to be understood as the fear of punishment, which before grace torments man without fruit, since it expressly says, "the fear of the Lord," not the fear of punishment. The fear of the punishment is rather the beginning of the un-

Wisdom. Therefore, the excellent doctor should see to it that he does not throw servile fear and childish fear together in one desolate heap, lest he himself close off the understanding of the Scriptures and the Fathers.

Corner.

The venerable father is trying to wiggle out of the so clear testimonies of the holy scriptures and the holy fathers with apparent words, and in order to convince you of this, he has taken the liberty to say that I was far away from the understanding of the holy scriptures, looking for a side way through the cherubim looking at each other. But those to whom it is incumbent may judge which of us has a more correct opinion concerning the holy scriptures. But to remove his quite improper answers: he frequently mentions two things, which I have not thought of when preaching a sermon in the common way, and which none of the preachers, as far as I can remember, has denied, that this fear, too, if it prepares for true repentance, is worked beforehand by divine inspiration. For it is beyond doubt for a Christian against the false teaching of Pelagius that we have the beginning of our salvation through God's action. Therefore, it was not necessary to mention this, and because of it to blame the way of preaching. But in the one piece he seems to me to be deceived by an ambiguity, that he believes that this grace by which God advances in moving the hearts of men is love, while it is another gracious gift of God, and by this the opinion of St. Augustine in his book "Of the Spirit and the Letter" against the godless Pelagians is sufficiently explained. The other, that he says that fear is unfruitful unless grace is added, - who of the scholastics or the preachers has ever denied this, who all follow the opinion of the apostle Paul in the letter to the Corinthians [1 Cor. 13] about love?

Furthermore, when I said that repentance beginning from love is more praiseworthy, he assumed that we must do it according to the words of John [Matt. 3:8]: "Do righteous fruits of repentance," because if we had to act according to our infirmity, we would never repent. I say that we can also do righteous fruits of repentance, even if we start from fear and come to love. And I marvel that the Lord Father wants to make us angels, and to take away our infirmities.

1) Only the Wittenberg edition has the correct reading: ex OriZene. The Jena, Löscher and Erlangen editions have: ex OriYine; the Weimar edition: exoriMne; the old translator: "zuallererst". Compare the conclusion of Eck's previous speech.

He has forgotten that the prophet descended from wisdom to fear, since St. Gregory, in the second book of Ezekiel, expressly declared that we, climbing the same steps, descend from fear to love, just as many other things are attributed to our frailty. Since he wants to explain his opinion, he shows how the love of the law must precede repentance, because [Rom. 5, 20.] through the law sin became more powerful, and in the Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. 3,19., 2c. I say: It is true, as St. Augustine testifies in the 22nd book against Faustus, a sin is done or spoken against the law, therefore it would not be sin if the forbidding law were not there. But just as sin becomes powerful through the transgression of the law, so merit is increased through the observance of the law. Therefore these byways are not at all helpful to the matter, and that the answers given are contrary to the right understanding of the Scriptures, we shall show after lunch.

At two o'clock, Eck continued his unfinished speech.

We want to follow up on what we started today.

The venerable father answered to that of the prodigal son [Luc. 15,11. ff-1 that the love for righteousness had preceded, after the word: "he struck within himself", because he had his fatherly house in his memory. But this does not cancel out the objection that this beating in himself was done through the contemplation of punishment, since he had no one to fill him with tears. For as long as the money lasted, he did not beat within himself, but since he suffered hunger, he beat within himself. In addition, St. Augustine says that his words were those of a man who was intent on repentance, but did not yet do it. If he had been smitten with love for righteousness, he would have already begun repentance, against Augustine. Therefore, his answer does not invalidate my assertion and clearly contradicts Basil.

To John [Matth. 3, 7. f. Luc. 3, 7. f.] he answers that it is to start something else and to preach something else, and elsewhere he said that the preachers frighten but do not make repentant by the torment of the punishments. Again, a powerless answer. For since John preached in this way, he certainly intended a fruit of his preaching, and since he struck fear into them, this is a sign that repentance begins in this way.

And our preachers preach: how they may begin, God knows.

Further, that he attributes the beginning of repentance to grace, and our preachers and teachers have never denied that GOD precedes by His giving.

Moreover, he does not want to accept Aristotle in the theological schools, and yet he dares to oppose him to me. But I say that it is the constant opinion of the pagans that if one stops at the fear of punishment, there is no perfect virtue according to the words: 1) The wicked hate to sin for fear of punishment; the good hate to sin for love of virtue 2c., and the work of virtue must not be forced but free. But it is another thing for free will to be induced, and another thing for free will to be compelled. I confess that Christ called the apostles, Zacchaeus, Magdalene with kind words, but that he sometimes calls in a harsher way gives us to understand the story of Paul, of whom Augustine says, 23. quaest. 4. can. quis: To whom Christ did violence, whom he compelled, 2) and in the Gospel of the calling to the Lord's Supper [Luc. 14, 23.] he says: "Compel them to come in." St. Gregory continues this in many words in the Homily. Therefore, I beg to remain silent, the venerable father, who claims only a kind calling.

Furthermore, he thinks that only a childlike fear is necessary for a penitent, which I am very surprised about, since he has admonished me today to the right understanding of the Scriptures, because he has not corrected himself first. For St. Augustine, too, in the passage on John cited today [1 John 4:18], speaks of the servile fear that drives out love, and of this, he says, the wise man speaks [Proverbs 1:7]: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," and so the gloss on the Psalm [Ps. 111:10: "The fear of the Lord" 2c., understood it from the servile fear: the fear of judgment is the door to conversion to God; and it is the gloss of Cassiodorus. So the gloss says about the word of the apostle Rom.

1) Horace Lpist. Ud. I, XVI, 52. f. somewhat different (Weim. ed.).

2) For better understanding we give the quoted passage more complete: Ilbi est, quod isti olawars oon8U6V6runt ,lid6rum 68t orsaers vs1 non ersders: oui vim Okristus intulit? nusm oo6Mt? ,Lt>66 kudsnt kauium Vpostolum. Eck took the questions as relative clauses and drew them from Paul." (Weim. ed.)

8,15: "For you have not received a servant spirit, so that you should fear again", the servant fear is good and from God. Paul testifies that it is good, 1 Tim. 5:20: "Let them that sin be punished above all, that they also may fear others." Thus Augustine says about the Psalms and Lombardus cites him in 3, [Buche]: Servile fear is when man restrains himself from sin for fear of hell, by which he fears the presence of the judge and the punishments. And afterwards: This fear is good and useful, although insufficient, by which a habit of righteousness is gradually formed. Beda also interprets this as follows: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom", namely the servant fear.

Therefore, he seeks another protection and gives another answer, because it does not agree with the holy fathers. If he does not want to stand by the sayings of the saints, he will have the passages of the holy scriptures against him. For while the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, yet love casteth out fear; but filial fear, according to David [Ps. 19:10.], abideth for ever and ever. Therefore it is another fear by which wisdom is begun, another which abides with the increased wisdom. Therefore, since the venerable father denies that fear introduces love, he expressly contradicts St. Augustine, who says all this in the passage cited, namely, that servile fear is the beginning of wisdom, and that it is in turn cast out by love. The opinion of Augustine is subscribed to by the sweetly speaking Bernard in the 52nd Sermon on the Song of Songs, which I do not mention for the sake of brevity. But I say even more: that love does not cast out fear as one thing that is incompatible with another, but gradually, with the increase of grace, the servile fear is diminished, and through the increased grace fear is completely taken away.

There is nothing wrong with the fact that the Lord Father today emphasized that "the fear of the Lord", not the fear of punishment, "is the beginning of wisdom", because both the fear of punishment and the fear of reverence are of the Lord and by the Lord. Only the means of fear are different, as Beda and others, whom Lombardus cites, testify, except Augustine, who is cited above, and it is sufficiently clear from the words of Christ, if we had nothing else, Matth. 10, 28: "Do not fear those who kill the body and do not kill the soul.

may kill, but rather fear him who may destroy body and soul into hell." For if servile fear were damnable, as the venerable Father says, why should Christ call us to it? And that Augustine and others understood it in this way, I leave to the judgment of those to whom it will be incumbent.

Moreover, he says that all scholastics agree that repentance is of no use if it is not done in love. This is true, of course, but according to Augustine, one cannot arrive at love in any other way than through fear. Fear is the medicine, love is the health. Therefore, if love is not added, all know very well that fear is insufficient; therefore they put it on the way, not at the goal.

He went to the reason taken from St. Dionysius, but the Father did not reveal that sin is the lowest and love is the highest, which is the middle, by which one can go from sin to love. And truly! he cannot specify any other than Basil, Beda, Augustine and Bernard, namely fear.

Then he assumes that grace precedes fear and love. If he speaks of the grace of divine inspiration, through which God precedes us by inspiration, then I freely admit it; but if he speaks of the grace of love, I do not accept it, because the beginning of what is rightly called wisdom in Scripture is the fear of the Lord, although this fear is unfruitful without love.

Furthermore, that he admits Ambrose, Gregory and other teachers, but not against the apostle of the fear of the law, I do not know what kind of fog he is protecting here. He clearly states whether these holy fathers, whom I have quoted, contradict the sayings of the apostle or not. If they contradict the words of the apostle, let him prove it, which, I believe, can never happen, since they were well versed in the Scriptures and full of the Holy Spirit, and understood the apostle Paul as well as we do; If they do not contradict Paul's sayings, he agrees with their opinion, and does not disapprove of preachers who teach the aforementioned way of repentance and penance, and does not take away from sinful people such servile fear, which is a useful and, as it were, necessary means. It does not help him that he thinks that if one has love, the mind will be moved to fear, because that would mean going the way of the crab, against

the opinion of St. Gregory, in the 2nd book in the 19th homily on Ezekiel. There is no doubt that one ascends from fear to wisdom, but does not return from wisdom to fear. Therefore, fear has pain, which is diminished and completely consumed by increased love.

For the sake of brevity, I will pass over other things contained in the same sermon 1) which should certainly be discussed if today were not intended to conclude this subject, such as the point about the confession of all individual sins in hope, as Chrysostom thinks about the 12th chapter of Matthew. The point that the scholastics put three parts of penance, namely, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, which Chrysostom first set forth in the 29th Sermon on Penance; the twofold way of confessing, the great and the other sins to the priest, with other points, all of which could be widely treated and examined. But now that the foundation has been laid, I at the same time leave the whole sermon and what I have stated for my part to the judgment of the judges to be chosen.

Martin:

I hoped that the excellent doctor would refute my answers, especially what I had quoted as a basis from St. Paul about the law, which only works wrath and increases sin before love. I am silent that it may prepare for grace; just as servile fear, the fruit of the law, works wrath and increases sin. But he has bravely leaped over these things, and has sung the same little song again, and seeks to impress this upon us, not as a sap, but as the marrow of Scripture. I will go through it one by one.

First, he says that it would not have been necessary to state that the beginning of our salvation is through God's action. There he also expresses the opinion that a preparatory fear is given. I answer: This is all quite erroneous because of the word of Paul [Rom. 8:3 ff.], who says that it is impossible for the law to be fulfilled, indeed for sins not to be increased, unless the Holy Spirit pours out love into our hearts. This

He would have had to refute such explicit testimonies and that of St. Augustine Cap. 3 "of the spirit and the letter": If one has begun to know how to live, this is not undertaken, it is not lived well if grace is not given. Therefore, let him take hold of his servile fear, which only works hatred against the law and against God and is wrongly called preparatory to grace.

He also invents an ambiguity of grace: another is love, another is the gift by which we are first moved. Away with it! This distinction does not serve the cause, it is a mockery in Paul's words. Paul's text is quite clear: if grace and love do not make us love the law, then the law always causes only wrath. But this gift, by which we are first moved, will not love the law, but the love of the Spirit.

Thirdly, he has admitted that fear without love is unfruitful, and that no one has denied this. I answer: Why then do they teach the unfruitful penances and resist me who teach the fruitful? I allow that this [unfruitful penance] is completely overthrown with so many writings of Augustine, and if Augustine did not do it with so many thunderbolts, Paul alone gives the irrefutable proof that any works are sins and damnable before love and do not prepare for grace. And with these sayings almost all his rejoinders can be answered. It is true that, as is his way, he adapts the sayings of the holy Scriptures to the "sayings" of the Fathers, yes, he draws them to his conception, which he has in the Fathers, while, on the contrary, the writings of the Fathers must be held to the sayings of the Scriptures and judged according to them.

Fourth, he does not suppose that I have assumed that we must do the more praiseworthy penance, but says that we can also do righteous fruits of penance if we start from fear. I interpret this according to St. Augustine: when we heap sin upon sin. For, as has often been said, everything that is done is

1) "Predigt von der Buße," Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1220 ff.

becomes, before the will has been made healthy through grace, the fruit of an evil tree that cannot bear good fruit; therefore, one can never attain love through servile fear.

Fifthly, he relies on Gregory about Ezekiel, who descends from wisdom to fear, but we, so he [Gregory] teaches, ascend from fear to love. To this I answer thus: that St. Gregory does not have to exclude love, nor did he exclude repentance from incipient fear, as the Doctor understands it, just as not all servile fear is excluded from love, especially in this life, since the office of love is to cast out servile fear, and that throughout life, and to bring in filial fear.

Sixth. Regarding the sayings of Paul [Gal. 3, 19], that the law is given for the sake of transgressions and increases sin, he says that this does not serve the purpose and that I would have sought side paths by citing Augustine against Faustus in the 22nd book, sin is a speech or deed against the law of God. I do not know what the doctor wants. Here is not a disputation about what sin is, therefore this time is wasted with the superfluous words. It is about this subject (scopus), that according to the sayings of Paul, servile fear can be nothing but sin, and that it increases sin by the power of the law when grace is lacking. And so Paul's sayings are not byways, but thunderbolts that crush the opinion of the doctor to dust. Therefore, I do not make angels out of men by forgetting their frailty, but I teach that sinners should not be made gods by forgetting their frailty, according to which they can do nothing but evil before grace.

That he says that the beating of the prodigal son [Luc. 15, 11. ff.] happened through the contemplation of punishment, I deny. As for the evidence that he had no one to fill him with drink, I say that if he had not been drawn inwardly and beaten within himself, he would rather have died,

than that he had returned, so that the saying may be established [John 6:44], "No one can come to me unless my Father draws him." What Augustine says, that his words were those of a man who was intent on repentance but did not yet do it, I hope will serve for me, since "being intent on repentance," especially for reasons of the heart, is certainly to begin repentance, therefore the "who does not yet do it" must be referred to the completion outwardly.

The same may be said of Basil.

In reference to John the Baptist's word [Matth. 3. Luc. 3], he says it is an invalid answer that I said it is something different to teach repentance than to begin. I answer: With permission, the excellent doctor does not seem to understand Paul, nor to know the power of the law. For the law teaches what is holy, just, and good, but grace alone begins it, does it, and completes it. Therefore, even if John had taught that fear was the beginning of repentance, it would not follow that repentance begins from fear, just as when I do any good work with terrors and threats, the good work does not begin from terrors and threats, but from love.

He is unwilling that I have held Aristotle against him in the theological schools, which I do not accept. I admit that he is too small to be valid in a theological school, since he was the seducer of the scholastic teachers. But I wanted to do enough with my thesis, "that those against their holy Aristotle are nonsensical" who begin repentance from fear and not from free will. For I pass over the distinction between forced and induced free will. For it is not true that the free will is ever compelled to do good, nor that it can be compelled; but when it is compelled, it is carried away to the opposite, and hates the compulsion against it. But by grace alone it is drawn, that is, made truly free, as Augustine says against Julian in the 2nd book and in many places.

Since I have said that Christ has the Apo-

He counters that Paul was called in a harder way, and that in the Gospel the servant was told to compel him to come in [Luc. 14:23]. First of all, I am very surprised that while we use Paul's example to defend grace, they slip away from us and say that this is a miraculous event and does not make any rule. Here, however, the excellent doctor introduces it as a rule, as if he did not consider it a miracle. But this I leave aside. I say that Paul could not have been converted inwardly from the heart if grace had not drawn him, as St. Augustine teaches against the letters of the Pelagians, that the grace of God makes willing and obedient ones out of the unwilling and reluctant. This is also answered in the Gospel [Luc. 14, 23], that the servant can compel by the word, but if the Lord does not hiss [as Isaiah (Cap. 7, 18) speaks], 1) nothing follows.

To that in Augustine, who understands the servant fear in the word of Solomon [Proverbs 1, 7]: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom", and that in the gloss to the 111th Psalm, v. 10: "The fear of judgment is the door to conversion to God", I answer: if grace is present; otherwise the servant fear without grace (because Augustine does not exclude it either) works nothing but anger. For it is not necessary for Augustine to dispute with Paul, - as in truth he does not dispute against him, - who condemns everything that is apart from grace. The gloss on the word Rom. 8, 15: "Ye have not received a servant spirit, that ye should fear again," which says that servant fear is good, I would rather reject, since it expressly speaks against the text (for the apostle says [Vulg.]: "Ye have not received the spirit of bondage in fear," condemning it); or I say that the gloss does not interpret the text.

The word of the apostle to Timothy [1 Tim. 5, 20.]: "Punish them in the sight of all, that the rest also may fear", the Lord

Doctor referred to the servile fear. I leave that aside; I take it from filial fear until he proves it otherwise. But that Augustine, as the Magister sSententiarum] tells us in the 3rd book, says: Servile fear is when a man, out of fear of hell, restrains himself from sin, by which he fears the presence of the judge, by which he fears the punishments 2c.: then I say that he only restrains himself from outward sin, but inwardly he increases the hatred against justice, which threatens hell. And afterwards: Fear is good and useful, though insufficient, by which a habit of righteousness gradually arises, that is, in my opinion, the habit of despairing and hating God when grace is excluded; but it is true when grace is included.

Therefore, it is not necessary for me to give another answer, if the excellent doctor has not first proved that the holy fathers speak of servile fear to the exclusion of grace, or that love has nothing to do with the expulsion of servile fear. Therefore, what he has subsequently said about the casting out of fear, about the beginning of wisdom, and how love gradually casts out fear through the increase of grace, is sufficiently understood from what has gone before.

There is still the strongest testimony left, Matth. 10,28., which alone is sufficient, as he thinks: "Do not be afraid of them" 2c., "rather be afraid of Him" 2c., therefore the servile fear is not condemnable, to which Christ calls us. I answer, first of all, that if the Lord Doctor wills it, then the preceding is contradicted, where servile fear is called insufficient. Therefore, it is equally inconsistent to say that Christ has taught us something insufficient. But I say that there is not the servile fear of the Lord, because the filial fear also fears to offend God and to be separated from Him. And even if he spoke of the mere servile fear, it must not yet be understood with the exclusion of grace, but rather with the inclusion of it, since according to the testimony of the apostle and the Augu-

1) These words are in the margin.

stinus all law and doctrine is the letter that requires the spirit.

He also agreed that the scholastics say with truth that repentance is not good apart from love, but he did not refute it. So now their own testimony stands against them, unless he refutes that repentance in love is what begins to happen from love.

I like the word of Augustine that fear is the medicine, love is the health, namely fear in imperfect love, and perfect love.

He says that I have taken the reason, which is taken from Dionysius, from the lowest, middle and highest, transitions and have not made it clear what the middle is between the lowest sin and the highest love. I confess that I gladly passed over this, since I believed that the doctor himself was quite clear that this reason had nothing to do with the matter. For Dionysius speaks of the lowest, middle, and highest ranks (*ordinibus*); but I have no middle at all between sin and grace, just as Christ does not either, since he says [Matth. 12, 30.]: "He who is not with me is against me," and again [v. 33.]: "Either plant a good tree, or plant a rotten tree." But I believe that the Lord Doctor also teaches the same, because among the scholastics grace and sin are directly opposed to each other.

The Doctor does not suppose that I have said that grace precedes love and fear, if I do not speak of the grace of the first suggestion. I answer: I hold with the Apostle and Augustine that if the Law is not loved (which is a matter of love and not of first suggestion), it is not lived well, therefore neither is God feared nor revered.

At the end he makes a cuckolded final speech against me: 1) either Ambrosius, Gregorius and others contradict the sayings of the apostle, or not; if so, I shall prove it; if not, I shall join their opinion. I answer and go in the middle-

1) oornutum sMoZismum. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 59L.

by: They do not contradict the sayings of the apostle, and I stand by their opinion, but not by Eck's opinion or rather error. For they do not exclude love from fear, be it servile or filial.

The doctor says that it is called going the way of the crab, that I said that when one has love, the mind is moved to fear. I am very angry about this scorpion or crab, since the pagan poet [Ovid] also said: Love is a thing full of anxious fear. As if we did not know that love is the source and head of all the movements of the heart. For this is why punishment and hell are feared in a servant-like manner, because life and air are loved in a childish and servant-like manner. To eradicate this fear and love, the love of God is poured out, with which we love another life and fear another death, that is, separation from God.

The doctor has gone over the points indicated in my sermon 2), and has also taken upon himself the refutation of the whole sermon. I say briefly: He has pen and paper, let him attack it confidently; one will see whether he will refute it or make a mockery of himself. I leave this to the judgment of those who will be appointed to do so.

Corner.

Because of the shortness of time I cannot answer what the venerable father has said, but I appeal to the judges that I have not skipped anything, nor has it been the opinion of preachers or teachers that the law is fulfilled without love, that also not some have taught an unfruitful repentance, but how to arrive at a fruitful one through servile fear, and that he has departed from his answer today with splendid verbiage, 3) since he had said that the wise man [Proverbs. 1, 7.] speaks of filial fear, but now allows that he speaks of servile fear, but not to the exclusion of grace, which neither the text nor the holy teachers suffer.

2) "Predigt von der Buße," Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1220 fs.

3) As an aside, Martin replied: I have not departed from it.

For by wisdom he understands love, and so the beginning would be before the beginning. Also, the whole of Augustine does not have to do with how servile fear with love is the beginning of love, but how servile fear first takes over the mind and first enters and thus leads love in, which is also the opinion of Gregory, who rejects going back in the manner of a crab, where the venerable father brings me a scorpion instead of Gregory: Love is a thing that is full of anxious fear. Therefore, all the holy teachers who have been cited today want servile fear to be the beginning of love, according to the view that has often been given, and which the preachers tend to give; for this I refer to the judges.

On the thirteenth of July, 1519, at two o'clock.

About the content of the fourth and fifth thesis. 1)

Corner.

Venerable Father, since the time allotted to us is too short, let us, while going to the root of the matter, touch upon a few things in passing, namely, that every priest must absolve from punishment and from guilt contrary to the common custom of the whole Church, and that you say in the German Sermon 2) and in the thesis that it cannot be proved from any Scripture that divine justice demands any chastisement or satisfaction from the sinner. And I base myself on the fact that in sacramental absolution the guilt is remitted immediately, but the eternal punishment due to sin is transformed into a temporal one. This is clear from the tradition of sacred Scripture and the custom of the holy fathers, and to be brief, it was expressly intended by Ambrose in Lucas, Jerome in the first book against Jovinianus, Augustine in the first question of the eight questions of Dulcitius, and Ambrose even appropriately testifies in Luc. 5 that the punishment of sin is paid by the atonement.

The Scriptures also show this, for Adam's sin, even since the guilt is remitted, is punished on the whole posterity; therefore, the punishment remains while the guilt passes.

Augustine touches on this reason in the 124th treatise on Matthew, and the gloss 2 Sam. 12, 1. ff.; similarly it is said of David 2 Sam. 24, 10. when David had repented, and his heart beat, he said, I have sinned greatly that I have done this, but I pray that thou take away the iniquity of thy servant. But the sin is not taken away according to the guilt, because, as the prophet says [Ezek. 18, 20.], the soul itself, which has sinned, shall die of death; so it only remains that the sin is taken away according to the punishment. 3) Thus it is said by the prophet Nathan to David [2 Sam. 12, 13.]: God has taken away your sin, where the gloss says: God blots out the sin, but does not leave it unavenged. For either the penitent sinner punishes it on himself, or God strikes as an avenger together with man.

And now let us come to the holy fathers, from whom the custom and usage of the church is mainly taken from the apostles. For first of all, no sin goes unpunished, and punishment is that which sets the fault right (*ordinativa*). Augustine touches on these reasons and Gratianus cites them (sicut, primi de poenitentia dist 1.). For God would not suffer evil to happen unless, by setting it right through justice, he caused it to stand better in the world. Therefore, Augustine says in the book "On the Remedy of Repentance": It is not enough that one improves one's life and departs from evil deeds, if God is not also satisfied for those that have happened, through the pain of repentance, through the groaning of humility, through the sacrifice of a bruised heart, through the cooperation of almsgiving 2c. For it is not said that you should abstain only from sins, but it is said [Sir. 21, 1.] also of past ones, "Ask the Lord that they may be forgiven you" 2c.

But if the venerable Father, as in the "Explanations" and elsewhere, seeks to prove, at least in my opinion, that this satisfaction is done for the Church, but that God does not demand such a punishment, and that man should not take away those that God demands, I counter: First, that Augustine says in the Enchiridion Cap. 71 (he is speaking of the Lord's Prayer): This prayer completely wipes out the small and

1) These theses are found in Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 718.

2) "A Sermon on Indulgences and Grace," Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 271, § 6.

3) The old translator remarks here: "This is a very dark passage." It seems to us that what is said here could be understood to some extent by the second following paragraph. But Eck is unclear, as Luther's answer also proves.

It cancels the daily sins, but it also cancels the sins from which the believers' lives, which have been ungodly but have been changed for the better through repentance, depart. It is obvious that the prayer of the Lord cancels the venial and also the mortal sins, not according to the guilt, but according to the punishment, because the same [punishment] has been changed through repentance. This change in Augustine cannot be understood otherwise than from the change of the eternal punishment into a temporal one.

I do not mention those who have been there for four hundred years; among them are William of Paris, William Altisiodorensis, who affirm it with a full mouth. In addition, Cyprianus, in his letter to Fidus, says: "We have read your letter, dearest brother, in which you have informed us, with regard to a certain presbyter Victor, that before he had fully repented and made satisfaction to God, the Lord, against whom he had sinned, his colleague Therapius had sacrilegiously and rashly given him peace. Here St. Cyprianus does not say that Victor had not done enough for the church, but for God, the Lord.

The same Cyprian says to Pope Cornelius about the heretics: "They strive to accomplish their work through the devil's malice, so that the grace of God in His Church does not heal the wounded. They spoil the repentance of the wretched, so that the wrathful God is not satisfied. Obviously, the holy martyr scolded the heretics who thought that the penance imposed by the Church was not satisfaction against God.

Although the venerable father quite immodestly often reproaches me as if I do not treat the understanding of the holy scripture in an appropriate manner (the judges appointed today 1) may judge which of them has a more correct opinion of the faith and the meaning of the scripture), as far as I can see, all who treat the holy scripture agree with this opinion. For why should the Church impose such a heavy burden on penitents if the Lord and Head of the Church did not require it? I have touched on this reason in my notes 2), but it was not mine, but that of Chrysostom, as Gratianus reports 26. quaest. 7. can. alligant: 3) The man to whom you have given a heavy

If you impose a burden of penance, either he will reject the penance, or, not being able to bear it, he will be angry and sin even more. Then, even if we err in imposing a moderate penance, is it not better to give account for the sake of mercy than for the sake of cruelty? For where the householder is bountiful, the steward need not be meager. If GOD is kind, why does the priest want to be severe? This is for the confessors.

The same says in the 31st Homily on the Letter to the Hebrews: "Sin is diminished by confession. But it is not diminished as far as guilt is concerned, for it is ungodly, as Jerome says, to expect half a remission from God: therefore it is diminished as far as punishment is concerned.

I add to Gregory, 4. moralium cap. 49 After many things he says thus: But because God leaves no sin unscented (for either we pursue it with weeping, or He with judgment), it only remains that the mind always diligently seeks its correction.

This was also the opinion of St. Jerome. His words are transcribed in the Canon mensuram, de poenitentia dist. 1: The measure of time for doing penance, therefore, the canons do not precisely determine for each offense that they should say about each one in what way each one must be corrected, but rather determine that this is to be left to the discretion of the priest who discerns it, because with God both the measure of time and of pain do not apply.

Augustine also says in Canon *Nullus*: No one receives the remission of the more severe punishment due him unless he has paid some punishment, though far less than is due him. For in this way, God distributes His abundant mercy, so that the discipline of justice may not be abandoned. Here, the excellent Doctor Carlstadt has cited Augustine in my defense, whose opinion it is not our intention to pursue further.

In addition, Isidore in the 2nd book "of the highest good", Cap. 13. Although there is a reconciliation of sins through the penance, this must not be done without fear, because the satisfaction of the penitent is only paid to the divine court, not to the human one. Therefore, repentance is not imposed because it is sufficient only for the church, but also because it is sufficient for God. For even with God the punishment is longer.

1) The agreement was not signed until July 14 (Weim. Ausg.).

2) These are the obelisks Ecks. Walch, St. Louis ed." Vol. XVIII, 536 ff.

3) Thus the Weimar edition; in the others: "oav. komo:"

than guilt, as Augustine testifies in the 124th Tractate on John.

From all this, which is undoubtedly true, it is easy to see my rejection of the fifth thesis, where the venerable father says that every priest must absolve the penitent from punishment and guilt, and thus every village priest would be bishop, archbishop and pope in his parish. That this is obviously false, contrary to the custom of the whole Church, and not only of the flatterers, is proved first of all by what has been said, because by priestly absolution the guilt is cancelled, the punishment remains, although it is changed; secondly, because the Sacrament of Penance is judicial, as St. Augustine Cap. 2 "On the Medicine of Penance" describes the form of this judgment, and jurisdiction belongs to the making of a judgment, if he does not want to create an Anaxagorean chaos 1) and the greatest confusion in the Church of God. And since jurisdiction extends from two essential things that one has in this sacrament (for both the penitent sinner and the sins themselves belong to the essence of penance, and no one denies that jurisdiction was limited in the lower prelates to avoid disorder, with respect to the piece that concerns the sinner; Because a judgment that is not passed by the proper (suo) judge is void, therefore he who absolves one who is not subject to him judges nothing. In the same way, for the same reason, in regard to sins, the jurisdiction can also be limited to the abhorrence 2) of offenses. That he cannot absolve his priests in full (*plenarie*), even those who are under his orders, is evident from the fact that such great power, if it is not justified by a testimony (*auctoritate*), must not be attributed to him contrary to the consensus of the whole church, whose custom must serve as a rule for a Christian man. But in the foregoing it has been shown by the higher ecclesiastics Cyprian, Chrysostom and Augustine that the obligation (*debitum*) of the punishment remains after the guilt (*culpam*). Therefore, the reverend father must give way to the prestige of the holy fathers and obey the custom of the whole church, or he must explain by the testimony of the holy scriptures, the concilia, or the holy fathers why this should not be done.

1) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1823.

2) According to the answer given by Luther, it seems that here *detststationisIL* must be read instead of *detststatione*.

Martin.

I allow the Doctor to have the last word, because he wants it that way. 3) But the excellent Doctor concludes against my thesis by wanting to prove that punishment is required by God, and first of all cites the scripture Genesis 3, where Adam's sin is punished even after the guilt of his offspring is forgiven, thus the punishment remains while the guilt passes. I want to have the Lord Doctor captivated by this example, and he may give no reply, unless he confirms it or renounces his opinion. If this punishment is required for sin, and must be held in the same way of any punishment, as he concludes, then I have what I have asserted (*propositum*), that the punishment cannot be remitted by the pope or any priest, because no one has yet remitted death, the innumerable kinds of punishments, diseases, and similar miseries, all of which have been imposed for the first sin, and so the Doctor's proof has proved my thesis against himself.

Secondly, that from David, after the sin was taken away, yet the punishment was not taken away, serves also for me, as I have also said in the same German sermon following; 4) for it was a punishment which God required, therefore no one could take it away. If the Herr Doctor has not understood me, let him read more carefully; for I have said and say that God does not require this punishment, which the pope or a man can remove; but which He Himself requires (namely He speaks directly), 5) man cannot remove.

Third, he cited the gloss: GOD blots out sin, but does not leave it unavenged. This does not argue against me, because he avenges either through man himself, by crushing him through repentance, or through the church, by chastising him, or through himself, in-

3) In passing: However, he added that he would like to give a reply (*rsxliaars*) if Doctor Eck would answer more than is fair.

4) Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 271 f., § 7.

5) To these words the old translator remarks: "Is dark." But they refer to the citation Ps. 89,31-34, in the just mentioned passage of the sermon.

which he judges. And this last and the first kind of punishment is not at the will of any man, as the apostle says in 1 Cor. 11:31 ff: "If we judged ourselves, we would not be judged by the Lord. But if we are judged, we are chastened of the Lord, lest we be condemned with the world." It is clear how God requires and does not require punishment.

Fourth, he brings in Augustine, whom Gratianus cited, that God would not allow evil to happen unless, by setting it right through justice, he caused it to be better. I am astonished at the Doctor for patching up these and similar testimonies, since no one denies them or holds the opposite, for I have always disputed only that they boast that by the power of the keys the punishments required by divine justice are abrogated. For I do not believe that this is true, nor will it be proved. For he said not unto Peter [Matt. 16:19], What I bind, that thou shalt loose; but, All that thou shalt loose, that shall be loosed."

Fifth, the "remedy of repentance": It is not enough that one's life is better if one does not also get enough of what has happened through the pain of repentance, through the groaning of humility, through the sacrifice of a shattered heart. I have always wanted all this in the highest way. Why then does one boast that these things are remitted through indulgences, when it is not enough that one mends one's life, and divine justice requires these satisfactions? Therefore, the Doctor boasts in vain that it is not said that you abstain only from sins, but: Ask the Lord for the past ones. And so it is evident that no scripture has yet been cited against me; but I could cite many stronger ones in my favor.

Then he cites Augustine in the Enchiridion: This prayer wholly blots out the small and daily sins; it also blots out those from which the life of the faithful, which has been ungodly led but has been changed for the better by repentance [, departs] 2c. This is what I have said, that the sinner should be repentant after

I am convinced that I am held to the cross and the sufferings of life after my conversion, according to the interpretation of God. A human being cannot annul these, and this testimony again serves for me.

Those who have been for four hundred years, he does not lead, and I like it.

To Cyprianus in the letter to Fidus, where he condemns Therapins for having prematurely given peace to Victor before he had fully repented and made satisfaction to the Lord, he says: "Behold, he says that Victor did not give peace to the church, but to the Lord. I answer: "The Doctor should read and compare Cyprianus well, and he will find that even those whom they had given to peace were given to peace for this reason, even in an early way, so that they might more easily take upon themselves the cross and the martyr's sufferings, which he declares in many letters to be the punishments and scourges for the sins that God has laid upon them. Therefore, Victor has not yet done enough for God in this way, and yet he has done enough, because he has done enough for the Church, which God wants us to hear. For this is contained in the words of Christ, that the church should inflict punishment, since he says [Matt. 16:19.], "All that thou shalt bind." And in this way I could allow that GOD requires punishments which the Church can abrogate because He has made a covenant with her.

The other testimony is that of Cyprian to Cornelius, in which he again writes that the heretics hindered the sinners, so that they would not be enough for the angry God. Although Cyprianus does not speak of penitents there, but of heretics who, as if they were righteous and as if they had done well, excused themselves and defended themselves in their sins, I nevertheless reply to it as to the previous.

Then he added the reason why the church should want to impose a burden on the penitent, if the Lord does not require it? and a long testimony from the Canon *alligant*. What he states, I pass over everything and say that it is commanded to the church that it should chastise and judge sinners; if it does not do this, God will do it in such a way that he will not remit anything, according to the saying

of Paul, which is quoted above from your First Epistle to the Corinthians, Cap. 11, 31. f., and so it cannot be abrogated.

Similarly, in the 31st homily on the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says: Sin is diminished by confession. From this word, the Doctor concludes in this way: it is not diminished as far as guilt is concerned, because it would be ungodly to expect half a remission from God, therefore it is diminished] as far as punishment is concerned. I allow the whole, in accordance with what has been said before.

Now the testimony of Gregorius 4. *moralium*: Either we pursue them with weeping, or He with judging: hardly anything else, which would be more suitable, could be quoted for me. Likewise also the word of Jerome in the Canon *mensurum*, of which, however, I doubt that it is that of Jerome. I allow the whole that the Canons do not establish it precisely, therefore I leave it to the discretion of the priest, and I add: much more to the good pleasure of God, who alone is an investigator of spirits and does not judge in ignorance nor with injustice.

I also like the testimony of Augustine c. *nullus*: In such a way is God's rich mercy distributed that the discipline of justice is not abandoned. This can apply to me and to the Lord Doctor. I pass over it.

Isidore, too, although not a weighty authority in these matters, nevertheless pleases me because he says that the satisfaction of the penitent is paid only to the divine court, not to the human court. Therefore, much less can be remitted by human judgment, since the key of force cannot be effective if there is not first the key of knowledge, who knows what and how much he is remitting.

That with God the punishment is longer than the guilt, according to Augustine, I admit, but without prejudice to the testimony of Paul, Rom. 7,18, who says: "I find in myself, that is in my flesh, nothing good", whose opinion is that the punishment and the sin end at the same time.

So much about the first thesis. 1)

1) This is the fourth of Luther's theses; the fifth follows immediately.

But against the other he says that it is quite obviously wrong and contrary to the custom of the whole church that every priest must absolve the penitent from punishment and from guilt. And this he proves, first, from what he has said, 2) that is, from nothing; second, by the reason that the sacrament of penance is something judicial, and jurisdiction belongs to the passing of a sentence. The jurisdiction, however, is limited to the lower prelates, in order to prevent disorder both in the sinners and in the sinners; secondly, for the abhorrence of offenses, otherwise any village priest would be bishop, archbishop and pope. I answer and say two things: first, that I do not know to this day whether the limitation of this jurisdiction has accomplished what is pretended, namely, the abhorrence of offenses and the taking away of disorder. That is certain, that it has come to be quite otherwise. For the grossest sins are laughed at even in the greatest courts, which could very well be punished in one's own parishes, if the manner had been maintained which the apostles had instituted, and the holy fathers kept, until after the Nicene Concilium. There it was established, and for a long time thereafter kept, that the ecclesiastical districts should not be mixed, and that each one should do penance in his own district. The excellent third letter of Cyprian to Cornelius, the Roman pope, is available on this subject, along with others: For since it is established by all of us, and it is equally fair and just, that every man's cause should be heard where the offense has been committed, and each individual shepherd is assigned a portion of the flock, which each one is to govern and lead, and he must give account to the Lord for his actions, so those whom we preside over must not run about nor break the firm concord of the bishops by their treacherous and deceitful iniquity, but act their things where they can have both accusers and witnesses for their offence 2c. For he speaks of those who had sinned in Africa and had run to the Roman pope Cornelius.

2) 6x (Ziottl has given the old translator: "from sayings". Eck had said: sx iis, yua "äiota sunt.

And such is the custom of the early church in binding and loosing sinners by day.

But since, as the apostle Apost. 20, 17. 28. shows, a bishop and a presbyter are the same thing, and according to Tit. 1, 5. every city should have its own bishop according to divine right, it would be a far more useful way to punish sins if every priest in his parish bound and loosed the penitent, which example the apostle 1 Cor. 5, 3. ff. where he and the Corinthians, present in spirit, handed over the fornicator to Satan and scolded him for not doing it themselves.

But with what right, or with what blessing for the church, this way prescribed by divine right, which has also been in force for such a long time, has been abolished, others may see. Of course, I cannot deny, because we see it before our eyes, that it is done this way, that it is kept this way, that both the sinner and the sins are reserved, and to one soul six or seven shepherds are put on the side, below and above. But whether it should be done this way or whether it is useful, I do not decide. I know that an inferior is obliged to obey the one who restricts and plagues him, though according to no divine right. But the superior, as my thesis says, sins very gravely, if he reserves secret sins without the most well-founded cause. Yes, I still doubt, and, as far as I can conceive, believe that no hidden sin should or could be reserved without sacrilege, and desire to hear the proof to the contrary. Secondly, I say that the church would not perish if the same village priest were bishop, archbishop, and pope, and they alone were bound together by firm concord, as Cyprian says, and as was the custom of the first church. Therefore, I do not care much that it is said that the article was also condemned at the Concilium of Costnitz because of these reservations. This I know, that the custom 1) was approved, and this reservation rejected in the first church and by the disposition of the apostles, and even now, as the quite miserable experience of the church teaches, it would be very useful and salutary to keep sins in check and the

to remove the abominable confusion of all bishoprics that we see today. But for what cause it was changed in its time, I pass over; I find it changeable. I leave this to the discretion of the judges. The hour has passed.

On the fourteenth day of July, early at seven o'clock, Eck continued against the agreement.

Corner.

From the very beginning, the venerable father has boastfully disregarded what I have mentioned, as if what is most against him is least opposed to him. For in the German sermon 2) he wanted to say that there is no transformation of the eternal punishment into a temporal punishment and contradicts the common opinion, as if it could not be proved that God demands any satisfaction except the carrying of the cross, and in the Latin sermon 3) he praises the common saying above all the teaching that has been presented by the scholastic teachers about repentance: "Never do the highest penance," the best penance is a new life, according to his gloss. He himself and his champion added this reason [Ezek. 18:21. f.]: because when the wicked turns away from his iniquity 2c. If He imputes it to a new punishment, how then is it said [his unrighteousness 5) is not remembered? and it is evident that his thesis clearly says that the priest sins who does not absolve from guilt and punishment. I have contradicted this error with the testimonies of the holy fathers, which he wanted to escape and to charm the listeners, as if he alone had the power to interpret the holy scriptures.

For this reason, I have well attracted Augustine against him: It is not enough that one should improve one's life and depart from evil deeds 2c.

2) Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 270 ff.

3) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1224, § 7, add.

4) Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 271, § 6. - The "champion" is Carlstadt.

5) Here the text is not in order. Instead of a sustitia Sua in all editions, the Weimar and the old translator rightly assumed ab iusuKtiuita 8ua. The connection with the following is recognizable from what Eck says in his concluding speech: he has cited the passage in order to show that if the wicked had turned away from his unrighteousness, God still remembers it, not according to guilt, but according to punishment. Therefore, quoruoco ïioitur non reeorOari must be taken as an interrogative sentence directed against Luther. The following then gives the proof that Luther really says so in his thesis.

It is quite clear that the teaching given in the sermon is false, because a new life is not the best penance, since, as Augustine says, it is not enough, and this teaching is also rejected by St. Ambrose in the 2nd book "On Penance", Cap. 5: The apostles taught penance according to Christ's command (*magisterium*); and afterwards: For he who repents must not only wash away his sin with tears, but also cover and cover his sins with better deeds. The words of the Holy Father are abundantly clear that by doing penance we must cover our sins with better deeds.

But since the testimonies were abundantly clear that GOD does not remit sin unpunished, he took refuge in a whimsical distinction of punishments, whereas he is wont to reject the scholastics for the use of distinctions, and said: the punishment with which GOD wants to punish sin cannot be taken away by a man or by the pope. This is the most false thing and something that destroys the power of the keys (*anullativum*); for after the transformation of the punishment has taken place in repentance, a man can certainly remove this punishment, according to the very apostle whom the venerable Father quoted, 1 Cor. 11, 31: "If we judged ourselves, we would not be judged by the Lord." Therefore, if we do enough for this punishment, God does not demand another one from us for the sin; otherwise, if God wanted to punish what we punished, then He would punish the same thing twice, which is against the prophet [Ezek. 18, 20].

Moreover, the words of Cyprian, Chrysostom, Gregory, and Jerome were clear that the punishment imposed by the priest for atonement is a punishment owed to GOTte, and so about Victor, because he had not yet fulfilled the imposed penance, it is said by Cyprian that he had not yet done enough to GOTte. Theodorus also testifies to this in his *penitential* book (*penitentiali*), which Beda follows almost from word to word, although perhaps these sources are not sufficient for him either, just as little as Isidorus. Therefore, whatever he may say with his mouth that all testimonies serve him, he must necessarily disagree in his heart, since these testimonies overturn his teaching and his thesis. For if a priest sins by not absolving himself from punishment and guilt, then the bishops would also have sinned, since they did not absolve the Victor from punishment and guilt, and all the priests in

of the whole Christian world who do not absolve 1) except the indulgence.

And it does not help him that one must carry the cross and that God demands this punishment. For this carrying of the cross is nothing other than the Christian life, as the venerable father himself has explained in a learned way. But in addition to this, one must also do enough for the past and ask the Lord for the past.

My thesis contains nothing about the reservation of cases, but I believe that moderate reservations are useful, which is also experienced by the prelates in the monasteries. I freely confess that I share the wish of Gerson, who at the Concilium of Costnitz advocated the abolition of the excessive reservation of cases, and I especially dislike, as does the Father, such a reservation that has greed as its companion, that is, with which a fine is connected. He says that the Church will not perish if a priest is bishop and pope in his parish. It seems certain to me that if such a corruption of the extremely beautiful ecclesiastical order were to occur, it would also be the overthrow of the Church.

But I want to stay with the main thing that sin does not remain unpunished according to Augustine and Gregory. Therefore, repentance is rightly taught as the third part of repentance, and Augustine has completely proven in the Enchiridion that we do enough through the Lord's Prayer for what we have done ungodly. And, as the venerable Father quite rightly said yesterday, God has made a covenant with the Church; if the Church does not do it, God does. Therefore, I have this doctrine of the scholastics and the preachers, that either we must do enough, or God will require it. Now, if we do enough through our prayers or good works, why could this not also happen when the power of the keys is added, which God has given to His bride, the Church, not in vain? And since according to the opinion of Gregory can. decreto, 2. quaest. 6. the other bishops are called to participate in the care, the pope has the fullness of power, so by the indulgence given by him for the punishment due to sins, enough is done by the payment made from the treasury of the Church, as according to Sixtus the present pope has declared, commanding under the penalty of excommunication that one should teach, hold and preach in this way. Therefore, if the venerable father teaches, preaches or dis-

1) non is missing in all editions except Weimar's.

2) In the new Decretale of Nov. 9, 1518, in this! Volume No. 234.

he is already banished. But I was pleased that yesterday, in addition to the key of force, he also mentioned the key of knowledge, even though, against the scholastic teachers, he denied in the 7th thesis of his "Explanations" 1) that there are several keys.

I wanted to add this so that future judges would see more clearly what our dispute would be on this point. For if the venerable father stands by the opinion of the teachers I have mentioned, he will not be opposed to the scholastics, the preachers, or me. Therefore, if he wants, he will also be able to state more clearly his opinion on the information for the lords judges.

Martin.

Yesterday I answered these postulations and inconsistencies of the doctor sufficiently, because he repeats the same and always plays the same string like a ridiculous fiddler.

Second, he has not touched the purpose (*scopum*) of the dispute. For this is not the question of whether God leaves sin unavenged, which I have amply proved, but whether the pope or the church remits the punishments that God demands. He has not proven anything about that; I leave that to the judgment of the judges and all listeners.

Thirdly, he has remained silent today of the holy scripture. Therefore I remain with his first proof of yesterday from I Moses in the 3rd Cap., where he proved that punishments are demanded by God, of which the Scripture shows there that they cannot be remitted. I am sorry that the Herr Doctor penetrates so deeply into the Scriptures as the wasting spider into the water; rather, he seems to flee from it as the devil from the cross. Therefore, with the permission of the venerable fathers, I prefer the prestige of the Scriptures, which I command the future judges to do.

Corner.

The impatient monk has added some buffoonery that goes against theological propriety, about which respectable men may judge; whether I have given the testimonies against him in the right way, the judges will decide.

1) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 127.

ter judge. But that this was our object is evident from the 4th thesis: 2) To say that God, by remitting guilt, also remits punishment 2c. This was the stone we had to roll, and because he prefers the prestige of the holy Scriptures to the Fathers, as if he alone, as another oracle of Apollo, had the understanding of the holy Scriptures over the holy Fathers, and apparently cites the testimony which I cited for myself yesterday, I say two things: First, that I have quoted it in order to show that if the ungodly had turned away from his ungodliness, God nevertheless remembers it, not according to guilt, but according to punishment. This proves for the scholastics and the preachers. Secondly, since the venerable father turns this testimony against me, because these punishments imposed by God on Adam's sin could not be remitted by the pope and by a man, this is true, and I admit it, because these are punishments that not only affect the person, but also reach nature. And therefore it is not to be wondered at that these punishments cannot be remitted by a man. But this does not prove that the personal punishments due for sin cannot be remitted by the pope or a priest. But in this I appeal to the judges, and I am ready to change my mind if they can teach me otherwise.

This is finished on July 14 at eight o'clock in the presence of a large crowd of listeners.

To God alone be honor and glory. Anno 1519.

Second Disputation of Mr. D. Eck and Andreas Carlstadt.

Carlstadt started and added something so that one would know what was being particularly argued about.

On Thursday, July 14, Carlstadt began, and, as it were, concluded the previous, after Eck's and Martin's disputation had been finished at about 8 o'clock.

Before we enter into disputation for the second time, the theses 3) must be presented,

2) The 4th thesis of Eck, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 712.

3) These theses are found in Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 714 ff.

which the doctor read out right at the beginning of our dispute, so that the judges chosen today will know that the doctor has brought up strange and improper things and has not hit any thesis correctly (*vulnerasse*), and will only judge that my theses are firm and in accordance with the rules of faith. But they are these: Free will before grace, which is infused through the Holy Spirit, is only able to sin 2c. This is the eleventh. The twelfth: Yes, our will, which is not governed by the divine will, approaches ungodliness the faster, the more eager it is to act. And the fourteenth: Since D. John does not see how a good work is entirely of God, and God's work 2c., in which thesis the monster is not set, which the Doctor has nourished, 1) namely, not entirely, but only entirely.

The thirteenth thesis must still be disputed, which is this: that the Lord Doctor, according to his principle, which belongs to his disputators, can do what is in him, that is, take away the bar and that which hinders grace 2c. But I will prove and defend that doing as much as is in one is just as much as sinning, doing evil, displeasing God, lying, boasting 2c.

I wanted to remind our judges that this is why I read the testimonies of the saints from the books, so that they would see that if they were to pronounce against me, they would be judging against the church teachers.

Corner.

Eck thinks that the judges have also read the church teachers, but will have a different understanding from it than D. Carlstadt. For I have also quoted them. So it remains that the judges recognize who has understood them best.

Carlstadt.

The judges will recognize that D. Eck has understood the church teachers against himself. 2)

On the 14th at 2:3 a.m., Eck began to discuss the bolt.

Because we have come so far in the first disputation that the respectable Mr. D. Carl-

1) Compare Col. 891. According to this, the reading of the manuscript is correct: non totalitarian 6t tuutuinnaoõ totuuru

2) Instead of the second D. Leeiuna we have assumed Doktores Heelesiusties according to the manuscript.

3) In manuscript: Quinta tioru xost xrudinin. Now, since the pniutiuiin usually took place at 9 o'clock, so both times agree.

stadt zugegeben hat, daß der freie Wille auch eine Thätigkeit bei einem guten Werke habe, obwohl er nur von GOtt und der Gnade bewegt worden sei, welche Meinung mit allen Schultheologen stimmt, wie bereits gezeigt und gehandelt worden ist, daher war es nothwendig, sie und mich selbst zu entschuldigen, sowohl in andern Thesen, die gar prahlerisch gesetzt worden find, als auch erstlich in der 13. These, da es heißt: D. Johann kann mit seinem Grundsatz, der seinen Disputatoren angehört, thun, so 2c. This thesis, too, as it is set, is either false, or imposes a different opinion on the school teachers 4) than if in the statement, 5) "what there is, do as much as there is in it" would be contrary to Ezekiel and Ambrose.

Against this I conclude thus: The free will, as it can, when it does what is in it, sin, lie, 2c. so it can, when it does as much as is in it, with the help of grace, do good, earn, avoid sin, according to the holy scriptures and the holy fathers. Therefore, if the schoolteachers say such things, the respectable doctor is putting something wrong on them or has not understood them well. I prove my subordination with the often cited testimony of Augustine: "The beginning of our blessedness is from giving in to God; that we now give room to the wholesome giving in is within our capacity. At least then one does as much as is in him, if he does what is in his power. Chrysostom agrees with this about the Epistle to the Hebrews Cap. 7: You see that we must first purify ourselves from ourselves, and then God purifies us. St. Chrysostom expressly wants us to first do as much as is in us, and then God cleanses us. He is of the same opinion in the 84th homily on Matthew: "Therefore, I ask and implore that you do not put everything to God in such a way that you think you must open your mouths and sleep; and again, that you do not think that your work is done when you are awake. For God does not want to make lazy or sluggish people out of us; therefore He desires something from us, to do what one can do in a good work. St. Bernard clearly testified to the same thing "about grace and free will," where he gives free will the right of attunement and calls it a meritorious means. It is said of someone that he does, as much as is in him, what is in him.

4) Where the word "schoolteacher" is found in this disputation, the school theologians or scholastics are to be understood.

5) Compare Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 708 the 38th sentence of Eck.

is in his power. And attunement is in the power of free will itself.

And furthermore, so that all may miss how improperly the Doctor has drawn me to the matter of free will, so I have put in my note 1) against the venerable Father Martin that the will is the master of his doing. Therefore, he has taken occasion, and has fallen in the most inconsistent way (*impertinentissime*) on the matter of free will and the choice of grace.

But that I have rightly said, at least without deserving a reprimand, that the will is master, 2) I prove from Gregorius of Nyssa, *de lib. arb.*, where he states that man does and works something, because otherwise he would consult with himself in vain, if he were not master over his doing. He concludes thus: What we can be exhorted to do is within our power; but we are exhorted to good works, therefore good works are within our power. So again it is seen that man can do good if he does as much as is in him, but without ever excluding the help of grace. And so he concludes in 6. 2. that we are masters over our actions. Thus St. Bernard says *de lib. arbitr. sol. 11*: Free will should strive to control the body as wisdom controls the world. It should rule over all the senses so powerfully that it does not let sin get the upper hand. So also St. Augustine says *L. 1. c. 8. de lib. arbitr.* that reason rules over the movements of the soul. Therefore, because I first said, according to the opinion of the saints, that the will is master over actions, and in my defense I declared that the will is the master of actions, reckoned against the lower effects, but reckoned as a servant, against the Christ who rules in them, he still accuses me of Pelagius' disloyalty, from which I have always been far removed, only to accuse me of malice.

But he makes the principle of the disputators here one contrary to Ezekiel, although I have expressly declared in Chrysopassus Centur 4. no. 3. that free will does not primarily or first (*principaliter*) remove the bar or obstacle to grace, but only prepares it (*dispositi-* tive); and that this preparation is so much as leaving room for the salutary impulse or input.

1) In the 15th movement of Eck's *Monomachy*. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 693.

2) voluntuttzin should read: ckomr'namr V0-luntatsna.

If he had not read with a censorious mind, he would have found Cent. 3. no. 60. that doing good in itself is never without a divine preceding impulse, as he expressly explains there about Ezekiel, whom he portrays as repugnant to us. For it is clear that he agrees with us: Take away the heart of stone, and give us a heart of flesh; because, as I have said above, the good will is prepared by the Lord, and is made beforehand, and grace makes the will to work aright: but still the will is required to give place or consent. And that means to do as much as is in him. Therefore God says: Make for yourselves a new heart. Therefore, as Origen concludes in *L. 3. s. 1. äs principiis*, we must put effort and work into our lives and show diligence; and below: For otherwise, if he requires no doing, the commands will certainly seem to be in vain. In vain also would Paul rebuke some for falling away from the truth, and praise others for standing firm in the truth of faith.

Afterwards, in the 15th conclusion, D. Andrew rebukes our watchfulness and endeavor, as I deal much with the election of grace in the Chrysopassus, and yet deny that the passages of the election of grace belong to the works that are to be crowned one day.

It is a very true saying: It is easier to reprove than to improve. For although I know how ill-equipped I am, my mind has always been ready, as it still is, to be instructed and taught by teachers in order to dispel the fog of ignorance. But one can easily see how unlearned he rebuked my sentence, since in the 16th sentence I chastised the Lord Andrew, that therefore, because I would have called the will lord over the actions, he would have drawn it by the hair on the question of the election of grace. 3) So I also said in the 18th sentence: I do not undertake here to defend one of the two parties, because the trade of the election of grace is a foreign matter, which does not belong here at all. Because I had now said that the matter of the election of grace (namely, whether it also depends on us) is something that does not belong to the matter and to our disputation, he has made a fine point of it and wants to accuse me of having denied the testimonies of the election of grace as if they could not at all belong to the works to be crowned.

It is an equally false blasphemy in the 10. 4) sentence,

3) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 694.

4) In Löscher incorrect: *kroxos*. 16 Cf. St. Louis edition, Vol. X VIII, 690 f.

since he says: I would have read in Bernhard: Put away free will, then there is nothing that can be saved; he reads "what" for "whereby," and puts many things under me falsely, and shows sufficiently with what kind of mind he goes through the church teachers, but makes himself a suspicious falsifier before all lovers of them.

In truth, I sincerely pray to the Most High that he never strike my mind with such blindness as to falsify anything in the holy fathers; as I do not believe that this has yet been proven to me by anyone. And the Herr Doctor say what he will, so I have read so, as I still read what St. Bernard has so. The most careful editions have it so, which the Doctor may look up, so that he does not falsify, since he is still quite new and inexperienced in reading the Church Fathers, as he testifies in his preface to the booklet "On the Justification of the Godless". Therefore, out of brotherly love, we should rather help and exhort each other to the holy study of theology than offend and grieve each other with such mockery and scornful speeches, insults and pointed words. This is said in defense of the school teachers and my words!

Carlstadt.

In the name of Christ, Amen! Although many of the reasons given by the doctor can be refuted by the fact that the school teachers, who do so much for us, are in complete disagreement with the church teachers, we will nevertheless look at the doctor's speeches one after the other in brief.

In the first place, since he says: I would have granted free will an efficacy, I do not deny such; but in the way as in the foregoing, namely by grace, an alien one, and which comes from God.

As for the other, since he blames me for having put something wrong on the school teachers, I answer that this is wrongly blamed on me, and that the excellent Doctor in his 38th sentence of the second note 1) has clearly described what it is to do as much as is in us, whose words are thus: Since "to do what is in him" is, according to the most established theologians' opinion, as much as to take away the bar and hindrance of grace, I will not concede that he who does as much as is in him does what displeases God 2c., from which words it clearly follows that the hindrance of grace is taken away by us; for otherwise he would have said that to do,

What is by grace is as much as taking away the hindrance of grace. And no church teacher doubts this opinion, namely that grace takes away evil merits, evil will and obstacles to grace. However, according to these same church teachers, it does not mean that we do as much as is in us when we work by grace. For Augustine "of true innocence" says Cap. 150: This means to live according to ourselves and to do what we do evil. His words are: If a man lives according to himself, and not according to God, he is like the devil; therefore also an angel must not live according to an angel, but according to God, in order that he may exist in the truth. Behold! the text is clear that he who lives after himself is like the devil and a liar, which Augustine also says from the articles wrongly applied to him, Cap. 7, of whom there is so much in him. Thus he also says *principiis*. 1. 26.: Everything good that we have, we have from our Creator; but if that is in us which we ourselves have done, we shall be condemned thereby; but if that which God has done, we shall be crowned. From this it follows that God gives condemnation to the man who does what is in him, but the crown to him who does what is of God. And if this was the opinion of the Lord Doctor, he should have added what Augustine was not ashamed to add, then I would know the dear Lord's gratitude that he thus held with me and talked with me. The same Augustine *de ver. inno-*cent. cap. 322. says: "No one has anything of his own but sin and lies; but if man has anything of truth and righteousness, he has it from the source, which is Christ. But what we have from God, the Giver, is based on God's power and not on our ability. This Augustine clearly wrote "of the merits of sin" lib. 2. cap. 5.

But the school teachers say that "doing as much as is in one" precedes the infusion of grace. But if anyone has said that grace alone takes away the hindrance of grace, he is not to be punished, but accepted. And this is the answer to the third and fourth points.

Of Chrysostom I say that he must be read with care; indeed, if he thinks that the beginning of purification before grace is in us, one must keep it not with him, but with Augustine, who has become more approved by the heretics' examination. Yes, the excellent Doctor called Augustine the prince of the theologians.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, '708.

To the sixth, of the attunement that Bernard attaches to free will, I say that the same Bernard writes expressly that such attunement is also from God, as is also the effort. And herewith I answer him also to the ninth, although Bernhardus' sayings are good, but do not rhyme with the present matter.

Seventhly, since the excellent Doctor accuses me of having drawn him to the matter of free will, since he has only set that the will is master over his actions, the answer is: I have nothing to do with his propositions, but if the gentleman finds himself complained of, he can write against it as soon as possible.

Eighth, that Gregory of Nyssa introduces man as doing and acting: I do not know whether his reputation is so great that I must be subject to it, whether he would be of a different opinion, because I know nothing about him. But I have said before that the free will does the deed, that is, acts, when it has previously received the divine deed or effect.

Tenthly, I say on Augustine of the free will that the same Augustine has clearly explained himself in the following books, namely "Of the merits of sins" lib. 2, where he speaks: that the free will, even if it has been renewed by grace, has no power over the members of the body, except that it does not surrender the members to the sin that is in man. So also in the book "Revocations".

Eleventh, because the excellent Doctor says that he wrote in his Chrysopassus, I do not know in which *Centuria*, that free will does not mainly or primarily take away the bar, but grace itself: so I request to be instructed by the Doctor what it is, to primarily take away or to take away the whole bar. I say that what is chiefly of grace is not to be ascribed to us, but to God, as appears from the sayings of Augustine *lib. de ver. innocent*, which have been quoted.

Twelfth, the Doctor said that the divine impulse comes before the *disposition* to grace. I fear that if this divine instinct is distinguished from the grace that makes the wicked righteous, the excellent doctor will defend the cloak in which the Pelagians wrap themselves, who come in sheep's clothing and are inwardly ravening wolves.

Thirteenth, that he says Ezekiel is not repugnant to him, pleases me well, if it is true what

he says. I wanted us to agree on the truth; but in his drawn conclusion he does not say that this is by grace, namely, to remove the obstacle of grace. If, therefore, he means this, he adds this little bell, and destroys or affirms his conclusion. I will gladly speak to the excellent Doctor as the Scripture speaks, which says: And I will, says God, take away the stony heart from your flesh. He does not say: You will take away; but: I will take away, Ezek. 36.

And do not let him draw Ezekiel from another place, where we are commanded: Make for yourselves a new heart. For when the Scriptures exhort us, remind us, command us, and command us, they show what we should ask, and what we should desire that he would give. Therefore we pray: Thy will be done; likewise: Do in us what you rightly require: Make us obey your reminders and commands.

Fourteenthly, I do not accept what is quoted from Origen, and answer as to Chrysostom. For Origen in the book *Peri Archon* seems to give our will much that Augustine denies.

Fifteenth, when the excellent Doctor says: I would have blamed his effort and diligence, because I would have denied that the testimonies, which belong to the works, belonged to the election of grace 2c., I answer: This does not belong to our intention, which, according to the comparison made, is set in its bounds and limits.

To the saying, where he says: Reproving is easier than making better, I answer: it is a common plague, against which the excellent doctor also needs medicine and a remedy, and it would be desirable that he does not let it affect him. For he says that I have rebuked him in an unlearned way, which still depends on a judicial pronouncement.

For everything else, which has not yet been answered by what has just been said, I refer the reader to the protective speech 1) of the excellent doctor and to my own.

Finally, that he advances (obtrudes) my booklet "On the Justification of the Wicked" to me, I do not greatly respect. For he does not do it for the better, but perhaps only to spoil the time.

Corner.

I believe that the most proven school teachers do not disagree with the Holy [Church] Fathers.

1) Both Eck's and Carlstadt's writing can be found in Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 632 ff.

That he opposes the 38th proposition to me, he does not see what I have begun to argue about. For the will can do as much as is in it for evil; and this it has primarily from itself. And so Augustine speaks. But another is to do what is in him for good; and of this I have said in the sentence that both good and evil are in our power, Ecclesiastes 15. But evil is more in our power, because we cannot do good without God's help. That is why Augustine says cap. 150. de ver. inno- cent. not badly of life after us, but in a unified way, and not after God. Therefore one must take the understanding of the sayings according to the thing, of which is spoken. Therefore, since we have spoken of merits, he should understand the conclusion of doing as much as is in us for good, which we have taught from Augustine, on which the Lord Doctor has said nothing.

Here you can see his opinion about Chrysostom, and in what honor he holds not only the scholastics, but also the church fathers. Chrysostom, he says, must be read carefully; Nyssenus, he says, is not so great to him that he must bend his neck under him. Perhaps because he has a hard neck. Chrysostom does not contradict Augustine, who teaches the same thing de perf. just. There he asks for just the 2c. Since he holds Augustine higher than Chrysostom because he was trained by the heretics, I oppose him to Jerome against Pelagius, who attributes to us the beginning of the good work, but to God the completion, and that in the very Scripture, since he refuted the Pelagians. What, then, can he say against Jerome, who crushes the heretics, who is much clearer than Chrysostom? And Bernhardus de grat. et lib. arb. talks about keeping the commandments in the same way as Chrysostom.

On St. Bernard he has also attracted him that such attunement is also from God. I confess it, but partly.

With regard to the sentence, he asked me to write against it. I am now discussing it for the purpose of putting an end to the defamatory letter, as can be seen from the defense and the letters written to the most illustrious prince and the university.

To Augustine de lib. arb. he says nothing right, but only so much that he [Augustine] had declared himself in the book of forgiveness of sins; since Augustine also after this book de peccator, meritis wrote the books of recantation, and did not recant the saying which I attracted; therefore he should have answered it.

After that he wants to be instructed what that is: to push away the bar in the first place. I have said that whoever does not know what is the principal and what is the incidental, what is the less principal and what is the directing, I do not know what else he can know. The most important thing in actions, which directs something else, either gives the efficacy, or enters in as a further acting cause. Therefore, grace primarily and powerfully does away with sin in the third degree taught by Augustine, but free will does away with it in the other degree, Augustine unanimously preparatory (*dispositive*).

That he praises me that I now keep it with the church, one sees from it that it has happened all the time in the Chrysopassus. But I should have added a gloss to it. If he had read our defense in theological love, he would have found the gloss with the text in the 23rd sentence 1) ad not. 2. For I freely confess that no meritorious good work 2) is ever done without the special assistance of divine grace and mercy.

That he fears that I would walk under Pelagius' dress, if the previous preparation should not be the grace that justifies it, he has not said anything about it. I therefore only excuse myself with the fact that I am a little sheep at the moment and do not know of any wolves.

However, I think that this is according to Augustine's meaning, that the beginning of salvation is the grace and the drive of grace, which justifies; only in the third degree, which Augustine has set, grace is given, which is the right love; so that the first grace is the preceding, the other the cooperating.

From Ezekiel I have always said, and the school teachers admit it, that all good works are attributed to God: What do you have that you have not received? but this does not cancel the participation of the free will that receives help from grace.

It is true of Origen that in the book *ās princip. [or Peri Archon]* he has put some erroneous things, therefore St. Jerome has sifted these books; but he has left the attracted passage untouched as catholic. Therefore, the respectable doctor sees that my opinion has always been that the free will has for itself only the capacity for evil, and can never of itself do anything good, if grace does not help it, awaken it, pull and drive it. Therefore, we are with regard to the dignity of grace,

1) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 698.

2) Instead of *meritorurū*, read *meritorium*.

against the nefarious Pelagians, have never been at odds with each other. And by this I want to have explained my opinion, and at the same time to have excused the school teachers in the matter of the bar.

Carlstadt.

On the first point, namely, what opinion the school teachers have, I refer the reader to the questions dealing with the effectiveness of free will and with imperfect and right repentance (*de attritione et contritione*).

On the other hand, and on the fourteenth, I like what was also the last speech of the doctor, that the free will of itself is not able to do anything good, if grace does not raise it, pull it and drive it. That is a beautiful and true statement. God be praised for it!

I also like the fact that the preceding inclination is also from justifying grace. However, I would like us to do away with this name and use instead a word that the Holy Spirit speaks to us in Scripture.

For the third, I also like the fact that doing as much as is in one, in and of itself, if one does not look to God, is nothing other than sinning.

To Jerome I say, as in the previous disputation, that he uses the apostle's passage Phil. 2: It is God who works in us both willing and doing. Willing, however, is the first and the beginning of good works, so that the church teachers say that God works in us without us.

To Bernhardus of the consent, because he says it is partly from God 2c., I answer that he is wrongly attracted; he speaks rather that the whole consent is from God and entirely in the free will.

To the twelfth, that mainly to take away the bolt is as much as to give effectiveness to the free will. It is not such a great inconvenience to speak in this way, if it were only common in Scripture. Of other things you will interpret it for the best.

On Friday, July 15, early at 7 am.

The object (*scopus*): that the righteous sins in good works.

Carlstadt.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ! The second thesis of the excellent Doctor, which is proud, ungodly, blasphemous and heretical, since he does not follow the revealed passages of the Scriptures and the

If the prayer of the church is repugnant to him, I want to attack him in order to destroy him, not with cunning or false presentation of testimonies, nor with deceitful insolence, or gossipy whispering, as the excellent doctor is wont to do.

Against his second thesis, 1) which begins thus: Although venial sins are daily, we deny that the righteous man always sins in a good work, even though he may well die 2c. I oppose this with the passage from Ecclesiastes Cap. 7, where it says: There is no righteous man on earth who does good and does not sin. The text is clear that he who does good sins. But the thesis of the Doctor is contrary to this passage; therefore it is heretical. Therefore, the Doctor answers.

Corner.

In your name, sweet Jesus, amen! Against my entirely Christian proposition, the audacious Father, who has forgotten theological propriety and follows only his head, has cited a passage from Ecclesiastes 7, and says that my thesis is contrary to it.

I answer: my conclusion is so founded in truth that he who strives against it must necessarily be suspected of falsehood. And the quoted text is not at all contrary to my conclusion, if one takes it in the wrong sense. Therefore I confess that there is no man who does good, because such a man also sins, but then he does not always sin when he does a good work; which he will find nowhere, neither in the holy Scriptures nor in the holy Fathers. And that this is the opinion of Scripture, and that it has reason, for this I cite St. Jerome lib. I. contra Jovinian. sol. 14: Not that they sinned at all times, but only at times. Jerome proves it there with this, because man is subject to vices in this life. And the gloss between the lines cites as a passage consistent with this: For they have all sinned and lack the glory of God. Therefore the wise man thinks that the man who does something good also sins from time to time. And that this is the true and catholic understanding of Scripture, but not the one that D. Andreas, after his audacity, drew from it, for this I attribute to him Augustine, who steps on his neck, lib. 2. *de peccator. remiss. cap. 20* From this it can be seen that, although there could have been one in this life who would have increased so much in virtue, and come to such fullness of righteousness, that he would have been able to live through-

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 712.

If he had no sin, there could be no doubt that he had been a sinner before he was converted to this new life. Therefore, this is the unanimous opinion of the holy Scriptures and the first saints, that no one is so righteous who does good that he does not also sin or have sinned at times; for he wants to say and blaspheme quite ungodly that St. Lawrence was on the grate, and St. Andrew and St. Peter on the cross. Peter sinned on the cross, when the church sings the word of the Psalm of St. Lawrence, Ps. 17:3 [Vulg.]: 1) Thou hast purified me in the fire, and there is no unrighteousness found in me 2c. Therefore let D. Therefore let D. Andrew cease from his insolent blasphemy, and seek the truth, as befits a righteous theologian, with honorable argument in words in such a way that he may find it.

Carlstadt.

Since the doctor confesses: it is not a man who does good that he does not sin, but then does not sin all the time when he does a good work: so I oppose him about the very scripture passage with Ambrose's words *de poenit*: that the scripture, which speaks generally, must not be limited by human wit, but must be understood generally. The above-mentioned text Ecclesiastes 7 speaks generally, without any limitation: There is no righteous man who does good and does not sin; it does not say: sometimes, 2) it does not say: afterwards, but *par excellence*: who does good and does not sin; therefore, it must also be understood in a general way by everyone who does good.

And it does not hinder what has been quoted from Augustine, for for Augustine's understanding I refer the judges to the preceding and following chapters in lib. 2. *de peccatorum meritis*, likewise also to cap. 6. *de spiritu et litera*; to the book *de perfectione justi*, it will be easy to see from this that the excellent doctor either attracts Augustine wrongly or does not understand him.

Whether Jerome was rightly attracted, I will look into it. This much I know that Jerome in the book "Against Pelagius" took this passage without restriction and added some others, from which it can be concluded that man sins when he does well. For he uses David's testimony Ps. 143, 2, where we read thus: And enter not into judgment with thy

Servant, for before you no living person is righteous; or as it reads according to the Hebrew, Let me not come into judgment; because the word xxxxx 3) according to some Hebrews is a *verbum transitivum* Of the other or third order; that is, Make me not come into judgment, because before you no one will be justified 2c. Behold! the text is clear that David, who has the testimony of holiness, nevertheless does not want to come into the divine judgment, because before him no living person will be justified. But if the Doctor's gloss were correct, it would follow that the righteous could and would go to the judgment of God without fear and trembling, namely when he does a good work and does not sin. But what an impudent speech this is, that the righteous want to go before God's judgment and be judged, is known to all who understand the Holy Scriptures.

Afterwards, what the doctor has concluded about Laurentius, Andrew and Peter, will then get its justification, when one will deal with the death of the saints. But this I add, what is the voice of the martyrs, as Augustine says Ps. 116,11: All men are liars. This voice the holy martyrs bring forward, if not with the mouth, nevertheless with the heart. Therefore Christ, when he was about to go to his death, said, "Lord, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; yet not as I will, but as thou wilt." He took upon Himself this defect of the reluctant will of nature in the martyrs who die for Christ, and, as Augustine says, erased it, so that God does not impute this unwillingness to the holy martyrs, even though it is in them.

And is it not contrary to what is written in the Psalm: "There is no injustice found in me"; because the fire of tribulation and persecution wipes out sin. However, injustice can be taken for a gross crime, as Augustine says Ps. 119, 69 [Vulg.]. And if someone wanted to, he could reply to the psalmist's passage: that the righteous, even in good works, sin at the same time, and at the same time, and in the same deed, when they do good. This is clear from the words of Asaph, Ps. 80:5: "O Lord, God of hosts, how long are you angry with the prayer of your servant? Behold, the servant of the LORD, who is righteous, says that God is angry with his prayer. But since the prayer of the righteous, such a valid and holy work, which Christ has so often commanded, is nevertheless subject to God's wrath, who is to say that in other good works the Lord is not angry?

1) In Löscher: *ksal*. 117.

2) Instead of *quanquam*, we have assumed "*quanāoqn*", in agreement with Eck's

3) For *quencher*: *dophot*.

or some of them, are not sins for which the Lord is angry? And does not prevent that in Hebrew it says: time, because he can avoid sin for a while. And since How long wilt thou smoke? because it is an obscure he introduces the Psalmist with splendid words, how way of speaking, and the smoke of God in Hebrew he does not dare to go into judgment before God, the signifies wrath, as the Septuagint has given it. new interpreter of the Scriptures can see Jerome Likewise Cassianus, of the will to do good and evil, drawing on St. David lib. 2. contra Jovin, since he has cited this in a previous passage.

Corner.

Having heard my refutation, D. Andrew turns to the mendicimony, that is, to the general rule, as philosophers, when they cannot go further, turn to the first principal cause, and cites Ambrose de posnit. that the Scriptures, when they speak in a general way, are also to be understood in a general way. I answer: It is true, and I also take the words of the preacher in a general way, that he speaks of all the righteous; but that he wants to transfer what is said of the totality of the assumed cases to the totality of the time, he does this as a sophist who does not have the understanding of Scripture and does not understand its way of speaking.

He directed the judges to the book de perfect. just. and to the 2nd book de inerit, peccator. I will not live if either in these books or in all the works of Augustine it is ever found in one place that the just man always sins in every good work.

That he says that I have misquoted Augustine, he does me an injustice, because neither he nor anyone else can present me with a testimony in this disputation that I cannot show in the original writings themselves; and so he did not answer Augustine, but sent us into April.

Furthermore, since he wants to think about Jerome, he cites another passage of Jerome against Pelagius, who refers to other passages, also to David himself, although of a saint, but who is not allowed to go into judgment, according to Ps. 143, 2: "Do not go into judgment with your servant"; from this he says that it is to be concluded that the righteous sins in every good work. I say that Jerome never thought of this, nor is it found anywhere in him, that the righteous sins in every good work, but it is drawn from his words by dreams. And that this is true, I cite Jerome in the very same second book contra Pelag. where he says: He who is careful and cautious can avoid sin for a time.

says: David, the chosen man after the heart of the Lord, who has done all his will, and who was allowed to say: Judge me, O God, because I walk in innocence;

behold, David has desired judgment according to his innocence. Therefore, if I would insist on answering in the doctor's way, that is, by giving examples, the matter would already be done. But one must open the understanding of Scripture, which the Holy Spirit requires, and not get stuck on the outward bark of the words according to the letter after the Jewish manner under Christian skin, as he falsely interprets me in the first thesis 1). Accordingly, I say according to the holy fathers' opinion that these two passages of the psalmist are not disagreeable. For in one of them he asks to be called to judgment, according to a mild righteousness, of which the apostle 2 Tim. 4, 8. said:

"Henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, will give me at that day." And the same lenient righteousness is fitting for the householder Matt. 20:4: "Go ye also into my vineyard, and whatsoever shall be right, that will I give you." And to the Colossians 1:12:

"He hath made us fit (worthy) for the inheritance of the saints in light." Behold, this is the gracious righteousness after which the righteous cry unto the Lord: Judge me, O Lord.

But there is another, strict justice, according to which David, although just, did not want to be called to judgment, because after the same no living person will be justified before him. And so Augustine 9th Confessionum cap. ult. says: Neither is the life of men praiseworthy, if it be examined by thee without mercy. But because you do not so much seek iniquity, we confidently hope that with you there will be a place for forgiveness. Therefore, what has been mentioned does not help the Lord Andrew at all, and he will not show me any church teacher or scholastic who has ever understood it in this way, unless it is a Wittenberg church teacher.

Further, with regard to the saints, he invokes the point as he speaks of the death and decease of the

But say that all the martyrs cry out to God: "All men are liars. But I do not remember that the martyrs ever said it in martyrdom. But this does not serve the purpose, one may also interpret "all men are liars" from vanity and transitoriness, as St. Jerome does when he explains this beautiful saying; or, what agrees more with St. Augustine, by lie understand sin. I say that all martyrs, all saints have been sinners. But how can one conclude: Therefore they have sinned in every good work?

To the Psalm [Ps. 17, 3. Vulg.]: "There is no injustice found in me", he said: injustice sometimes means great crimes.

From Christ, who prayed to his Father: Father, where it is possible 2c., he has assumed that nature and will resist, but has also given us with it the sword to kill his assumption. For I suppose that it is wrong for the saints to sin before death because of such a show, or that because of such a show the love in them decreases, so that the punishment of the purgatory arises from it. And it is an insurmountable proof from this passage and deed of Christ that the righteous, who fears death and has not yet a right will to die, therefore does not sin. Love does not diminish in him because of this, and no shudder arises in him, which would be the punishment of the purgatory, as I could prove with more, but I pass over it.

Finally, at his discretion and with pompous words, he cites the clear text, Ps. 80:5: "O Lord God of hosts, how long wilt thou be angry at the prayer of thy servant?" I wanted D. I would like St. Andrew not to rely on his wisdom, according to the counsel of the wise, but to take the words of the Scriptures in the understanding that the Holy Spirit requires and that the holy fathers have taught, which not to believe, as Boethius says, is foolishness. Therefore, St. Jerome is obviously contrary to the mind of St. Andrew in that he wants God not to be angry when we ask for righteousness; but the man who prays fears from an evil conscience that God will also be angry at prayer. But if he wants an explanation more according to the letter, he takes Cassiodorus, who says that in the Psalm, as before, he asked for the promise of the Savior [Ps. 80, 3. 4.]: "Awaken thy power, and come, let thy face shine" 2c. But he calls him angry because he forgives. He did not say that God was angry at the prayer of the Ge

right, because he sinned in good works, but because he delayed giving what he prayed for, and those who are angry tend to delay what they should give. Therefore, he said that God was angry at his prayer, and not according to the opinion that Andrew takes.

Carlstadt.

Because the excellent Mr. Schreier spoils my time with his digressions, so that I cannot get to more important and stronger passages, I do not want to refute his blasphemies because of the shortness of time, but only touch on and refute his useless stories in something.

First, since he says that I am following the useful rule 2c., I answer that this is not the rule of Aristotle or of any philosopher, but of Ambrose. And I confess that it is a benefit for the persons who do good, which also the Doctor has admitted; but he says nothing of the benefit of the works, although the text speaks just as usefully of the persons as of the works. He skips over the works, and speaks only of persons.

Secondly. Since he says: I do not want to live, if my mind 2c., I answer that he says this for the reason that he pulls the minds of the listeners, whether rightly or wrongly, from his side, and I point him to the previously mentioned passage.

Thirdly. Concerning Jerome, since he reproaches me for having first taken time to think things over, it would be nothing inconsistent if I were to act with good caution in such an important matter, which is so necessary for salvation. For we do not seek here to boast of a rich and capable memory or great wit, but to seek the truth.

Fourth. When he says about the Psalm [143, 2.] "Do not go into judgment": Jerome says that man can avoid sins for a while, then I refer again before the judges to the books of Jerome against Pelagius, because they will find what kind of sins Jerome is talking about, and how we are freed from sins or avoid misdeeds by grace, because grace and love cover the multitude of sins.

Fifth. When he cites Jerome contra Jovinianum and the testimony of the Psalm [Ps. 26, 1]: "Judge me, God, as I have walked in innocence," and blows noise, as it were, with this passage, I will first confirm such testimony to him, but not to his cause. And first of all, I am surprised that he has eaten up so many disputing laws, and yet he is not aware of them.

so that he forgets that he always gives examples (*instantias*) and yet does not refute what has been said. I will add Job's word to the first passage Cap. 13, 18: "When I am judged, I know that I will be found righteous", since Job explicitly says that he will be found righteous when he is judged. But I would that the Lord Doctor understood the innocence of David and the righteousness of Job, so he would soon interpret the testimony for me: "Judge me according to righteousness" 2c. For Job's righteousness is judgment, of which he said shortly before [Job 13:15. f.], "Yet will I punish my ways before him, and yet he shall be my Savior." For no hypocrite comes before him. According to this righteousness, since Job judges, recognizes, and condemns his sin, he wants to be judged, and even if he is already judged, he will be found righteous. This is what David says, that truth grows from the earth, and righteousness looks from heaven. When truth, that is, confession of sins, arises in a man, then righteousness, which makes a man righteous, looks from heaven. Which the apostle says Cor. 11, 31], "If we judge ourselves, we shall not be judged of the Lord." And John in his canonical epistle [1 Jn. 1, 9.], "If we confess our sin, he is just to remit it to us." Therefore, when man judges his sins, the justifying and merciful GOD remits iniquity. So also David had the innocence that his sin was always before him, and that he confessed his sins to GOD. And according to this innocence he wants to be judged in his righteousness. But what righteousness does he mean? The Psalmist may answer us [Ps. 94, 14. f.]: "The LORD will not forsake His people until justice returns to judgment", that is, if the people of GOD from long ages (*a diu*) submit their righteousnesses to the right judgment, they will not be forsaken; yes, they confidently ask that the LORD judge them! So the testimony given by the Lord is for me, namely, that David asks to be judged according to his righteousness, according to the innocence of his deeds. On the other hand, since he says Ps. 119:26: "I tell you my ways, and you have saved me," 2c., David's righteousnesses had sins for this very reason.

Sixth. Concerning the testimony 2 Tim. 4, 8: "The crown of righteousness is laid up for me" 2c., and the similitude [Matth. 20, 4]: "Go ye also into the vineyard" 2c., and the passage [Col. 1, 12]: "He hath made us proficient" 2c., I answer that the Lord Doctor has given this

testimonies only to digress. For we do not ask how good works are rewarded, but this is what the matter is about, how sins are in good works? But if anyone nevertheless wants to see Augustine's meaning, let him read Augustine de grat. et lib. arb. cap.16., where he says that God crowns his gifts.

Seventh. If the Doctor invents a new justice, according to which he says that David does not want to be judged, then for the sake of brevity I refer the judges to the book de perfect. justit. where Augustine says enough about justice.

On Augustine's 9th *Cofessionurn*, in the last chapter, where he says: Where thou without mercy investigatest sins; so this passage of Augustine is against him who adduces it, and a Goliath's sword, because it expressly says: There are sins in works, and therefore he confidently hopes in the mercy of GOD; as also Christ says [Luc. 5, 31. f.]: "The healthy have no need of the physician, but the sick; I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners."

Eighthly, he says: that I could not show a church teacher who had ever understood it as I do, unless I spent a Wittenberg scholastic. I would answer the doctor enough if I did not spare the Ingolstadt University. But that my understanding is proven, I refer to the passages cited, and add what Augustine wrote about Jacob's saying to Jerome.

Ninth. Since he says that he does not remember that the martyrs say: All men are liars; so I say: This is a sign that he has not read Augustine diligently.

Tenth. Since he says: I would have brought the sword myself, so that he would tear off my head, that I have passed off the opposition of nature and will for sin, he shows sufficiently that he does not understand where the sins in good works come from. They do not arise from grace, but from sin, which is in man, and is called the law of the members. According to this law, says Christ, the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak; and Paul Rom. 7:23: "I see another law in my members, which opposeth the law of my mind, and taketh me captive in the law of sins, which law of sins is in my members." Because of this law, says Paul, he is led captive and torn to where he does not want to be; and further on....

V. 18 f.: "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwells no good thing. I may will, but I do not find the doing of good. For I do not do the good that I will." See, here Paul expressly says that he wants the good, that he wants to keep the commandments of God, to die for Christ, as Augustine explains; but he does not find the accomplishment, because there is a reluctance of the will, which is opposed to the good will. From this it is clear that the saints, even if they will well, still do evil, that is, they feel evil desires in nature, which will not cease as long as mortality still covers us; but when death will be swallowed up in victory, then the good will be without evil desire, then there will be willing and accomplishing. This accomplishment we do not find now, nor has any saint found it, except Christ and His Mother.

Eleventh. Since he answers to the passage [Ps. 80, 5]: "How long are you angry" 2c., he has opposed Jerome, who says: that one is afraid of God because of an evil conscience. This passage is for us, because the conscience of guilt really presupposes guilt and wrongdoing, otherwise it would be a false conscience. But let the Lord Doctor and the chosen judges look up Augustine, since he wrote this verse: "over the prayer of thy servant" 2c., then they will easily have the understanding of it.

By the way, I cannot be surprised enough at the Doctor's cunning, who has the main thing here. I wanted to know the cause and the difference, why, since prayer is such a blessed and holy good, which Christ has so perfectly commanded, is God nevertheless angry with the prayer of the righteous? Why do we deny sin and injustice in such works?

But that the Lord Doctor may see that I also follow the church in this, I put on the church prayer, because it says: In our righteousness we do not trust. So this mistrust arises from evil, from error. These are words of the church: since we do not rely on our justice. There is more missing.

On that very day at 2 o'clock Carlstadt resumed the disputation.

For according to Augustine against Julianus lib. 4. cap. 3, what is good cannot displease a good man. Therefore, if the works of a saint are without sin, it is reasonable to have confidence in them. But that this is false is evident.

from another prayer of the church, where she says: God, who sees that we have no confidence in any work 2c. And elsewhere: that we sin without ceasing 2c. Therefore the members of the holy church sin all the time, even if they do good, otherwise it would be wrong what is said here, that we sin without ceasing, and that we 'have no confidence in any of our works. This is what Isaiah Cap. 64, 6. said, "And all our righteousnesses like an unclean garment," where the text is clear that all our righteousnesses, that is, all the works of our righteousness are like the garment of an unclean woman. Therefore they have uncleanness. And he says significantly "all our righteousnesses," and excludes no righteousnesses from it. Cassianus explained this very beautifully about wanting good and doing evil. Job Cap. 9:30. f. also says this: "Though I wash myself with snow-water, and my hands shine like pure [springs], yet thou wilt dip me in dung." Augustine reads: Hast thou yet dunked me 2c. As if he were saying: All works are dipped in filth. But what else can we understand by filth but sins? Therefore Job says very well in the 9th chapter, v. 20: "If I want to justify myself, my mouth will condemn me. If I will show myself innocent, it will prove me ungodly." Behold! the holy, righteous, and patient Job, to whom God has given a testimony of His holiness, says, "If I will justify myself, my mouth will condemn me." Hence he says below, v.28. [Vulg.], "I shrink from all my works, knowing that if I sinned, thou wouldst not spare mine." What has the righteous to fear in good works, if there be no sin in them? Therefore Paul says Gal. 5:17: "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, the Spirit against the flesh: for these are contrary one to another." Augustine in lid. hypogn. says: It is a constant and fierce war between the flesh and the spirit, as the wise man [Sir. 40, 1.] says: "A heavy yoke upon all the children of men from the day of their going forth until the day of their return to the mother of all." Here the text is clear that the spirit always fights against the flesh, and as often as the spirit works good, the flesh then resists, in such a way that under such struggle the spirit must inevitably become weak and thus defiled, as Augustine says against Julianus lib. 3. cap. 6. and from the words of the apostle serm. 3. a. c. d.. and serm. 10. shows. If therefore the righteous, in wanting to do good works, cannot come about as he should and wants to, as the apostle expressly says

says [Gal. 5,17]: "That you do not do what you want" 2c., so the righteous must necessarily sin, if they do not do what they should and want. I ask the judges to judge according to what we have stated, and to look carefully at the intention of these attracted experts.

Corner.

1) In the reply, the respectable Doctor continued to defend his general rule, which is that of St. Ambrose, as I have known it for a long time. But he wanted to extend it, as well applied, to the generality of works. This extension, which is not approved by any holy teacher as far as the works are concerned, I do not allow, because the affirmations about the works are narrower, but the negations wider. Otherwise, the affirmative commandments would bind forever, which would be for the lazy peasants who like to celebrate the holidays . .

He apologized: it would be good for him to be prepared and armed. I did not reject this in a cautious man, but a good fighter also knows how to help himself immediately on the battlefield (in arena consilium accipit).

Because of Augustine he referred to the judges, but he did not bring forward a word of Augustine, that is why I pass it over.

Jerome, whom I dressed perfectly well, he refers to the judges, who would find it right.

Finally, since I had drawn two passages from David that seem to be in conflict with each other, he wants to show that the literal (grammaticus) mind is not enough to grasp the meaning of Scripture (I pass over his joke), and the respectable doctor puffs himself up enormously by explaining long and wide in an unseemly way what kind of righteousness David had, for the sake of which he had asked not to go into judgment before the Lord, but to judge himself and his sins himself. Thus he also spoke of the righteousness of Job and of the righteousness of David, and: my sin has always been before me, and: the truth comes up out of the earth.

I say: Although this explanation is true in itself, and that all schoolteachers and preachers from four hundred years ago have taught that if the sinful man in himself has righteousness 2) through repentance

1) In the manuscript it says: "Not without disgust and annoyance I repeat the things of D. Andreas and answer.

2) Instead of justitia, justitiam will be read.

and then God forgives the sins, yes, the school teachers and preachers have concluded with one mouth that repentance is a part of the avenging righteousness: I also say, secondly, that in such a statement of his there is even more contradiction to his conclusion, because he admits that David, when he judges himself, and so also others who judge themselves, are righteous, and therefore does not sin in this good work, because otherwise he would not yet be able to ask that God enter into judgment with him, because of the injustice involved in such his judgment.

Thirdly, because he thinks that what has been mentioned is for him, since in the whole explanation, where David asks in one passage that God judge him according to his righteousness, he still says, trembling before the strict righteousness: "Before you no living man will be righteous", he may extend his general rule here. But I do not want to hold out any longer.

Afterwards, since I had spoken of a double justice, which I also presented from the Holy Scriptures, I referred him to Augustine de perf. justit. because he does not want to accept the school teachers, while he clearly referred to it in 9 Confess. where he speaks of justice and mercy. And there Augustine is not at all at one with the highly respectable Doctor. Although Augustine admits that God does not look for our sins very closely, nowhere does he say that the righteous sin in a good work; although I freely confess that the righteous sometimes sins in a good and meritorious work, namely, that in one who devoutly says mass, or preaches, or gives alms, or bravely disputes, as the venerable doctor does, some conceit arises in the manner of a venial sin. And in this in particular I have never contradicted the doctor. For so says Gregorius lib. I. Moral. that our good works become impure by being stained with the least blemish. And Wilhelmus Parisiensis, that great bishop and beginner (inceptor), as the Chronicle of the Mendicant Hermits testifies, believes that Egyptian bugs and flies often fall into the ointment of prayer and the sacrifice of a contrite heart.

Furthermore, the respectable Doctor says: I would have fallen away from the sin of the good work to that, how the good works should be crowned. I say, with permission, that such was not my intention, but, since he mentioned righteousness, I have shown from the Scriptures that a twofold gift of good works is necessary.

The first chapter of Augustine de grat. et lib. arbitr. is not included here. Therefore, the 16th chapter of Augustine de grat. et lib. arbitr. does not belong here. Moreover, because I said I do not remember it in the legends of the martyrs, that they also cried out in their martyrdom: All men are liars, so he opposes me with Augustine, who is not a martyr but a confessor, who says that the martyrs say this. I say even more that every man must recognize the prophetic truth that all men are liars. If he does not want to believe the prophet, he will learn it once with his damage.

In the 80th Psalm [v. 5], he says, I bravely jumped over the right knot of his citation, because God was angry about prayer, which is so praised and commanded by Christ; thus much more about other good works. There was something special about the prayer because of the Savior's mission; it is also not true that God is angry in Himself, because He is free from these passions, but He only holds Himself as one who is angry. And that has been something special that he has been so long delayed.

Afterwards, since I have said that no church teacher or scholastic would have given this understanding that the righteous sin in all good works, except for the Wittenberg scholastics: I say that the Doctor has become unwilling about this, and has even added threats, which I, because they run contrary to the free conduct, refer to the gentlemen, and now declare myself to have meant by the scholastics in Wittenberg D. Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt and the father Martin Luther.

As for the law of the members, which he invoked and the apostle's help, I say that I easily believe everything that has been invoked from the apostle, and for the sake of brevity I pass over the various ways in which this chapter has been interpreted by Origen, Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Damascenus and Paulinus. However, I now adopt the latter opinion of Augustine, who has also at times been of the opinion of Pauline, and say that concupiscence, the law of the members, which was sin before baptism, is not sin after baptism, as Augustine lib. I. de nupt. et concupiscent., and especially lib. 16. cap. 5. contra Julian. shows. In short, I say that lust, as the weakness and sickly condition, the law of the members, the law of the flesh, is neither a mortal sin, nor even a venial sin, and is not sin after baptism.

the original sin. And if also, as the indented gloss in said place, in its explanation, sin makes of every desire, that is, as Augustine lib. 6. contra Julian. 5. explains, because it arises from sin and is a punishment of sin, as he states to this: Every one is tempted by his desire, when he is provoked and enticed; afterwards, when the desire has conceived, it gives birth to sin: so in these words birth is certainly distinguished from parturition; for parturition is desire, parturition is sin. But lust does not give birth if it has not conceived. Lust, and does not conceive if it has not provoked, that is, attained attunement to the commission of the evil of the will. And this is to answer what he said about the struggle that is between the flesh and the spirit, which we all experience. But it is not fitting to the matter. 1)

He then cites Job 9:20. ff. which does not presume to justify itself. I answer: Job speaks there of strict righteousness, and as a wise man, because no one knows whether he is worthy of love or hate, like Paul, who was not aware of anything, and yet says that he is not justified in it. Therefore the righteous do well to shun all their works. As Job and St. Gregory say, "It is the way of the pious soul to recognize guilt even where there is none. But he also takes this *morsellum* (*morsellum*) with him, that Job Cap. 27, 6. says: "My heart does not bite me for the sake of my whole life." How did he justify himself here?

Furthermore, I thought that he would not omit the passage of Isaiah: that all our righteousness is like that of a sitting woman, or, as another text has it, an unclean woman. I could present him with the interpretation of Jerome, who, as the greatest interpreter of the Bible, says that the prophet speaks of the comparison of the righteousness of the Law and the righteousness of the Gospel. However, I will only give the common one that it is true that when our righteousness is held against the divine righteousness, it becomes unrighteousness because it is imperfect, defective and mutilated, just as the created light, when held against the divine light, is darkness. And that this is true is evident from Luc. 18:19: "No one is good but the one God." Thus Augustine de perf. iust. concludes, and it agrees with Chrysostom and others. For all that is compared to the Creator is not good, nay, is as much as if it were not. Therefore, I take that,

1) Instead of xropositio, read proxostto.

What is said in one place about goodness, in the other place about justice.

Finally, let us conclude with his reproaching me with the little prayers of the church, that we should not have confidence in our good works; and in another collect, that we should not rely on any of our works. I say with my lectures today that by these words not hope, but presumption is taken away; because when we have done everything, we shall still recognize that we are useless servants. So the church constantly recognizes that her children sin, which is why she prays for them. But from no collection or other scripture is it proven that the righteous always sin in every good work, even St. Lawrence on the grate.

For the rest, if I have said or done something unjustly, or out of rashness of tongue, or through ignorance, or through the presumption of human weakness, I ask the most illustrious princes, noble and highly respectable lords, the venerable and highly honored fathers, lords of nobility and scholastics, to forgive me such things, and I also ask the judges to believe that I have done nothing out of an evil mind. I am willing and ready to be instructed and corrected, if I have not reached the true understanding and sense of the Scriptures somewhere. To God alone be the glory I Amen.

Carlstadt.

First, I like the excellent doctor's protestation, because I also testify and ask the same.

But since time is short, and I cannot make my objections to all the particulars, I will only touch upon that by which, as it seems, my friend, the excellent Herr Doctor, has been drawn to my opinion, namely, the answer which he gave to Isaiah, "all our righteousness is," 2c., since the excellent Herr Doctor said in his answer that all our righteousness, if it were held against God's righteousness, would be pure darkness and unrighteousness. This pleases me, and it follows that the righteous, when he does righteousness, always does unrighteousness when it is held against divine righteousness. Praise be to God!

But when he says that according to the church prayer hope is not taken away from good works, but presumption, I would easily agree with him if the church spoke thus: that we presume nothing on good works; but since she says: have no confidence in them, so

also seems to have taken the hope away from it.

Finally, I ask the doctor to tell me whether Paul was baptized or not when he wrote the letter to the Romans. If he had been baptized, he does not call lust sin after baptism, since he says: "Now it is not I who do this, but sin that dwells in me. So it is an apostolic testimony that the apostle calls the lust in his flesh sin after baptism. Therefore, no one is to be blamed if he follows and uses the apostolic way of speaking. As far as the other things are concerned, since the masters do not like it, I cannot object to anything else. So let that be the end of it!

Corner.

Ignoring two things, because this has always been undoubted by the school teachers, I recently say three things in response to what one wants to know from me about Paul: first, that Origen, Jerome and Isidore lib. 2. de summ. bon. want the apostle to speak of the habit of sinning that he had under the law, which drove him to evil. Secondly, that Origen considers it probable, and it is also testified by St. Paul to Severus, that the apostle did not speak for himself, but in the person of the weak, which was also Augustine's opinion for some time lib. 16. coiitr. Jul. Cap. Thirdly, I say that it may be that sin is understood here as lust, but sin is taken there for the punishment of sin, as is clear from Augustine lib. 16. contra Julian. cap. 5, and we have said in the foregoing that sin sometimes means as much as the punishment of sin, as when we pray for the dead that they be freed from sin, as John Picus, Count of Mirandola, so learnedly argues in the second thesis of the Apology. Therefore the desire or lust for baptism is called sin, as someone's writing is sometimes called his hand. Therefore, if you consider desire to be sin in the manner now mentioned, I am quite satisfied; but if by sin you understand guilt and imputation, I strive tooth and nail against it.

However, I add this to the resolution: one should not always keep the way of speaking of the holy fathers, just as it has otherwise been extremely common to call Mary Christ's mother, but nevertheless the Concilium of its time decreed that she should no longer be called Christ-bearer, but God-bearer. I submit this again with all that has gone before-

my superiors, and I am ready to be proven wrong.

Carlstadt said: I also submit it so.

The disputation was finished Anno 1519, July 15, which was a Friday, about 2 o'clock. After its completion, M. Johann Lange of Lemberg gave thanks in a farewell speech. It ended with the song: HErr GOtt, dich loben wir 2c., was concluded.

The sermon preached by Luther at the castle in Leipzig on St. Peter's Day, June 29, 1519, at the request of Duke Barnim of Pomerania.

It stands Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XI, 2306.

C. From the final speech given after the end of the disputation.

379: The final speech of M. Joh. Lange von Lemberg, the title of which is: *Encomium theologicae disputationis*; in which, at the same time, various historical circumstances of this famous disputation are presented.

putation can be told. July 15, 1519.

This speech of M. Johann Lange, from Löwenberg in Silesia, who was then rector magnificus of the University of Leipzig, was immediately printed in quarto. Later, Löscher included it in his Reformation Acta, Vol. III, p. 580. Löscher gives the above date, according to others, the speech should have been held only on July 16. Luther had already departed before it. (Köstlin, Mart. Luther (3), Vol. I, p. 268.)

Translated into German.

In praise of theological disputation.

1. It is not because I have finally ascended this place elevated above all seats, which is called the chair of learning, most illustrious princes, and other gentlemen who are to be highly honored according to rank, nobility, godliness and scholarship, that I should, for instance, after having diligently listened to such great defenders of truth on this learned battlefield, as a judge of such a learned battle, pass judgment, or in such an important matter, which the most astute minds would find too difficult or very troublesome for themselves, make a pronouncement; and, even if I could, you, according to your great wisdom. did not ask that about

The judges would not easily take on such a heavy burden. For not even the most learned judges would easily take so great a burden upon themselves. For, as Cicero says, all presumption and error in applauding and judging is disgraceful in all other things, but most of all in such things where it must be decided how much to attribute to religion, how much to divine things. For we must be careful that, if we measure everything according to our weak human understanding and our ways, religion does not suffer a disadvantage, or that we do not fall into the superstitions of old women.

2 But that is why I have climbed up to this chair to speak, that I would like to praise this learned fight of highly talented men, and to thank both its commanders and all noble and honest spectators of it, no matter what class they may be. And rightly so. For since the Greeks, since the Romans consecrated images in book halls to Epicurus, who strove to free the minds of men from perverse superstitious fear, carried his likeness in precious stones, paintings and drinking cups buried in rings, and set them up in their rooms, who has so eradicated the superstitions of the ancients, that he has planted against them nefariousness through the doctrine of the monads, has taken away the providence of the holy God, and, so that he would not give his God too much to do, has left everything to blind luck: How much cheaper is it not to reward with honor and thanks those who are so eager to save us from error that the holy truth comes to light and triumphs, and the service of the most high God, who graciously helps all with his providence, is increased, and the dark sayings of the prophets are explained by the bright truth? In addition, there is the ancient decree of the Roman Emperor C. Caligula, who, during a famous battle in the liberal arts and Greek and Latin eloquence, held at the altar of Lugdunum, ordered that the conquered should thank the victors with a eulogy describing the battle.

Since on this disputation field, with such a doubtful dispute, the truth has been so eloquently defended that one does not know exactly in many things who has actually won: so, in order to maintain the example of gratitude ordered by C. Caligula, my most noble Prince George, Duke of Saxony, my most gracious lord, and the heads of this famous high school, have instructed me to

that I should take the place of the conquered, i.e., first of all, duly praise the spiritual struggle held for the knowledge of truth, but afterwards, so that we would not leave a stain of ingratitude on us, I would like to pay tribute to the military leaders as well as spectators of the same, as honest men on all sides. Not as if I were such a one, who could flaunt before others with eloquence or delicately set words, but because under my [academic] office, which I administered in the past semester, at the most noble prince's behest and the entire university council, such great men have been given the freedom to debate in this learned arena, but to give you the opportunity to hear.

4 Therefore I will speak to you who give me such a favorable hearing, but I will use such moderation in praise that I will not appear to have spoken in someone's favor or to have praised something thoughtlessly.

5. Now as much as the body, the dark and muddy dungeon of the souls, and (as Plato says) Pluto's cave, is inferior to human minds and souls: so again the exercise of the spirits, which we call disputation, is much more glorious than all exercise of the body; For with this, if it is moderate, the health of the body is preserved intact and the limbs are strengthened, but by this the spirit is made strong, the sharpness of the mind is sharpened, the truth is revealed, and in the most excellent things science is attained, which in human things, as Plutarchus says, is alone an immortal and divine good peculiar to man, by which he surpasses the animals, which otherwise seem to surpass man in many other natural gifts. For the lion surpasses us in strength, the mole, although covered with a bad element of nature, in hearing, the vultures in smell, the eagles and lynxes in face. We, however, are only ahead of them in speech, which is the tool of disputation, and in erudition and sharpness of mind, whose hard whetstone and battlefield is disputation. Therefore, excellent men, it is no wonder that the great expectation of your battle has aroused such a desire and sensation among foreigners that even princes, dukes, abbots, counts, and doctors and masters of the laudable universities of Erfurt and Wittenberg have been summoned, and, despite all the danger and hardship of travel, have gone to this high school of disputation as a free place of good learning.

Arts, have gathered in droves. These have, although they have read the contents of this disputation in both parts protective writings, nevertheless not without reason believed that the oral fight of such sharp minds would have more emphasis. For, as Cicero says, it is certainly not the spirit in the books by which what is acted upon appears greater than when it is read. Pliny also agrees with this saying in these words: Much more is moved, as is commonly said, by the living voice. For although what one reads is still so perceptive, that which the pronunciation, the face, the bearing and position of the speaker at the same time forms in the mind penetrates more deeply. Hence Aeschines at the Rhodians, when he had read Demosthenes' speech for Thesiphon, and the others all became quite rigid and stiff at it, and cast down their eyes to the ground in amazement at the Attic daintiness of Demosthenes, said: *Τί δε, εἰ αὐτοῦ του ἡπρίου ἀχηχόειτε*; that is,

What would you have said if you had heard the animal itself? And the unknown teacher of the nedic arts from Cadix also drew at home from the lovely milk fountain of Livian eloquence, but came, in spite of this, from far Cadix to Rome, that he might hear the very purest stream of Livius' eloquence flowing and rushing from his own mouth, as from the right spring vein, softly, but nevertheless richly and mildly. Thus also the spectators who came from foreign places, apart from your erudition, which they read in writings, have made the certain hope that they would hear and see much more presently.

6 In my opinion, they did not deceive themselves in their hope, nor did they spend their time badly in this disputation, since in it that truth was eagerly investigated, apart from the knowledge of which nothing is more salutary and honest for Christians for eternal salvation, but nothing is more difficult for the pagans to invent, of which therefore Democritus said that it lies hidden in the deepest cave of the pit. Since Carneades could not dig it out and despaired of finding it, he doubted all judgments of human senses, disputed everything on both sides, and said nothing with certainty. Socrates was so annoyed by his burdensome nature that he exclaimed: "I know so much that I know nothing. That is why this word became common in almost all societies of academics: What is above us is none of our business. But the old philosophers are not alone in cognition.

has been fought. They also did not grant indulgences unduly, but duly considered what sins they would take away or atone for. However, this would perhaps have had even more emphasis if the preacher of the same had stood so bravely on this learned battlefield when he had stayed away from it due to illness. How edifyingly did they not also deal with repentance and the redemption of sins: whether a Christian priest, whoever he might be, could absolve the souls of men from punishment and guilt? and what kind of bar restrains the efficacy of grace in us? Finally, whether one sins in any good work, because one hardly reaches the shadow of divine justice? has been drawn into the important and learned struggle. On these matters, on which the salvation of souls rests, one has not dealt seriously with the captious and ambiguous questions of the sophists, but with the holy scriptures and the testimonies of the holy fathers, on both sides. Where it required a fierce fight, the dispute was finally overshadowed and quieted by the shield of truth, and the peaceable olive branch was held between the swords, and the one who taught softly was yielded to with litter. This is the Socratic modesty in debate, with which Socrates, gifted in Plato's *Gorgias*, prefers to be punished rather than to punish others, and to reject mocking speeches with a smiling face and a wrinkled nose rather than to revile them again in anger, and to bear patiently the defiant attacks of youth rather than to lash out again, which, as he said, befits asses. For nature has planted this modesty in our hearts, in that, as Plato reports in the *Timaeus*, she calls the other part of the soul, where the emotions dwell and which has its seat in the breast, the ancient Greeks, from which the violent movements, quarrels and disputes spring. The ancient Greeks called it the breast, from which the violent movements, quarrels and disputes originate, and therefore separated it from the rational soul, which dwells in the head as in the castle, by a small space, that only the neck is between them, and subjected it to reason in such a way that the inclination to quarrel and anger would be conquered by the rule of reason. And what is the use of quarreling with an angry face and fierce courage, with disregard for truth, merely for victory, as it were for house and court? Since victory in such a battle is merely a little glory, but being overcome, that is, by error and ignorance, is not a victory.

The fact that you will be saved is of much greater benefit.

(9) If you look at the place of this battle, it was quite well situated, namely at the far end of the city, completely secluded from all the tumult of the mob, which is hostile to the studies. In addition, you see the place excellently decorated and prepared, which nature has shaded with trees, but the strict Lord Caesar von Pflug with so many seats, with so many artfully embroidered curtains, on which true paintings and pictures are emblazoned, has made it so respectable by his care that it can be compared with the most magnificent show stages of the Roman aediles, M. Scaurus and Marcellus, if not in size, but in decoration.

(10) Since, by the way, all fights are generally made respectable by the bravery, courage and heartiness of the chief fighters, one may also mention the skill and virtues of the chief fencers with glory here. What was lacking in Eck that belongs to a brave defender of truth? How shrewdly he has acted from all objections! How learnedly he refuted many things! How cleverly he supported with his reasons what was refuted, and, as it were, pinned them to each other! One would think that he, like Carneades, could overturn everything and also prove it; he has poured out such a quantity of reasons, as it were, in passing, that Chrysippus would rather lack rows of conclusions heaped one upon the other (*sortitarum acervus*) than the Eck would lack a quantity of proofs.

The time would be too short for me if I wanted to go through the course of his studies through all the stages of his age, since he had already read all the biblical books, except the prophets, as he had hardly emerged from childhood. He spent his youth under the most excellent teachers of both laws and true theology in such a way that he was finally appointed Doctor of Divinity and Decretology as a young man, with immense applause from the teachers. If one looks at his natural gifts of eloquence, he received by nature everything that L. Crassus demands in an orator, namely the astuteness of the dialecticians, the sayings of the worldly wise, almost the words of the poets, the memory of the legal scholars, the voice of the tragedians, whose bright sound has resounded his words in such a way in our ears that one could have believed that a Pericles aroused a rolling thunder by the stream of his speech, and the orator Trachallus wanted four advocates between four benches of the

1) He means Tetzl, who was ill at the time.

He was only an orator according to his voice, however. What kind of memory he had can be seen from the fact that he was able to recite a large number of interjections almost from word to word with wonderful speed. Cyneas, Pyrrhus' envoy, is praised for being able to name the Roman councilors he had seen once when they appeared before Pyrrhus; Scävola, however, for being able to remember at the board game in which order each of them had moved the pieces in so many moves. But as much as words are more difficult to remember than things, so much richer is Eck in his memory treasure than those. Therefore, highly learned Eck, you have received special praise from those in Bologna that your adversary has not been able to overload your happy memory with a heap of reasons, although he has sought it with diligence.

But who would be so foolhardy as to prefer Johann Eck to the excellent doctor of both law and theology Andreas Carlstadt, or to place the latter above the former, before he understands everything that belongs to it from the bottom up? Carlstadt has done many things worth mentioning in this fight, in that he shoots the arrows of his reasons not so thickly, but all the more surely to the target. As his speech is not only clear and both spiced with wit and tempered by the wise seriousness of a Nestor, it is also completely removed from all make-up and verbosity, which is very annoying to hear. When one considers the variety of erudition in him, one must wonder that his age has sufficed for the learning of all of it. He is so experienced in both rights and so versed in both divine teachings that one must reasonably doubt what he has put the most effort into. This is also worthy of admiration, that since he has astutely kept the middle passages of the holy scriptures together with the front and back ones, he has thereby brought the ambiguous scriptural passages into harmony with each other.

13 But what a sin I would be committing if I were to ignore you, honest Martin! And with what honors shall I praise your erudition, your sharp mind, according to which you seem to understand more than you say, and your steadfastness in investigating the truth? which you, driven around by so many storms of ill-willed people, nevertheless did not want to give way to anyone who did not teach you better? The freedom of your speech is exceedingly sincere

and admirable that it is very well suited to the truth. Because this, because it is painted naked, does not want to be shaded with any covers. Therefore the pagans sacrificed to Saturn, the god of time, with bare head, because truth, as a daughter of time, as Sophocles speaks, does not want to be shrouded with any cover, but, as Menander says: *Ερχεται τό ἀληθείς εις φως,*

Ενίοτε ου ζητουμενον, truth comes

sometimes of yourself, unsought, to the day. This has also made known to us, by common rumor, your righteous walk, since you represent a true Augustinian both by scholarship and by your way of life.

14. But, dear sirs, since I cannot praise the intellect, virtues and gifts of such excellent men with my speech, let me be permitted to do the same as the painter Timanthes, who wanted to paint the bloody sacrifice of Jphigenia, and had painted Calchas, the soothsayer of the Trojan war, saddened, Ulysses even more saddened, and Menelaum quite sad, who covered Agamemnon's head with a curtain, because he was not able to express the highest sorrow of the father with the brush. So, since I am not able to express the praise of your virtue with my speech, and time does not permit me to tell everything individually, I will wrap the other in silence, and leave it to the honest listeners to judge with quiet reflection, and to imitate the same.

15 Having accomplished the first part of my intention to some extent, I see that there is nothing left but to thank you, the highborn, noble and highly learned spectators of this battle, for your special kindness, according to the decree of our most noble prince, George, Duke of Saxony 2c. and the superiors of the famous high school here. It is to be marveled at how this nobility looks so favorably upon the most noble prince; as he thinks so favorably of all favors, so must all other princes do the same. That is why the ancients engraved the image of a stork on the scepter of kings and princes, so that by such a symbol the princes would be reminded of both kindness and gratitude. For the storks warm, lift, and care for their old parents when they have grown weak and faint, and gratefully repay them for their sacrifice, hence also the Greeks *ἀπό τοῦ πελάργου*, that is, from the

Storch called the retribution antipelargosis. That is why Democritus did not call the animals mirrors of nature for nothing, which nature has made an example of gratitude to us.

eyes. Did not the captured lion also prove this to Androclus, a fugitive slave, who pulled a thorn out of the lion's paw and squeezed out the clotted blood in the wound by gently touching it with his fingers and made the wound dry, since he hid it in his cave for three years and kept it from hunting? When he finally escaped from his hiding place, the Romans captured him again. Since he was to be thrown to the wild beasts, the lion gratefully recognized him on the scene in Rome and gave him life, as it were. Thus, in truth, we would be worse than lions and wild beasts if we, who have been edified by your learning and have enjoyed your quarrels, did not thank you sincerely for them.

But from whom shall I begin more cheaply or more blessedly than from the most high and most gracious God, whom the Brahmins, the Pythagoreans and the Academicians implored at the very beginning of their disputation, and also gave Him due thanks at the end? So that we may not be worse in godliness than the pagans, we give thanks to the almighty God, as the most wise master of this world, who, like Moses, fought for us against Amalek at the altar of the cross with outstretched hands, and brought us to freedom from the servitude of the devil. The triumph of this disputation must bring praise, honor and glory to this greatest conqueror of all.

But with what thanks and graceful words shall I praise and extol the most noble Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony, Margrave of Meissen, Landgrave of Thuringia, the most gracious and mild patron of this high school, as well as his most noble son, the image of his father's high nobility, Johann, Duke of Saxony, whose memory is worthy of eternity? And the Magnificus, Mr. Arnold Wostenfelder, Rector of the noble Leipzig University. Likewise two other illustrious princes, who, although young in years, are already old in early wisdom and heroes in reputation, namely Mr. Barnim of Stettin, most gracious Duke of Pomerania, the Cassubians and the Wendish, and Prince of Rügen? as no less Mr. George, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania, and most gracious Lord in Bernburg? whose frequent attendance sufficiently shows how great love they have for study, by which alone, to say nothing of the other, they have not only gratitude, but the greatest honor.

Since, as Pliny reports, countless kings of old were held in high honor because of scholarship, who, even if they were to be praised, emphasized it more than wealth, because they thought that they could gain immortality and everything enough through it; and after a prince has been learned, he has also always ruled well. In former times the Roman senate unanimously spoke the words in praise of the emperor Tacitus: Who governs better than a learned prince? So may I also, with the gracious permission of such great princes, exclaim in thanksgiving: O blessed people of Saxony, Pomerania and Anhalt, over whom so great disciples, indeed, protectors of the liberal arts rule!

18) Hereupon we give our most just thanks to the most reverend in Christ Fathers and gracious Lords, the Abbot of the Gate, Pegau and Bosau 1), who have adorned this disputation with their highly respectable presence and have obviously proven their grace.

19. And I would be accused of ingratitude if I did not testify to your and my most humble sentiments against the strict and noble Lord Caesar von Pflug, Knight of the Golden River, and the excellent Doctor of Both Rights, Johann Kuchel, the most illustrious Prince's highly trusted and eloquent Privy Councillor; as well as the strict and noble Mr. Georg von Widebach, to whom we are especially indebted that, since they represented the absent most noble prince, they kept this scholarly fight in the best order, that, if disputes arose among the disputants, they ended them with their wise and fine advice in such a way that peace was easily restored among the parties. Plato says in the 4th discussion of his laws that the community would be happy if people like Nestor, the Trojan orator, were in the regiment. But since the men mentioned are people like Nestor in moderation of life, in prudence of old age, and emphatic eloquence, why should I not consider our lands happy if they continue to be governed by their counsel?

20 No one would be less justified in accusing us of ingratitude if we did not want to show our benevolent attitude towards the guests and strangers by expressing our gratitude. We therefore offer our best thanks, and hold ourselves highly bound to the excellent gentlemen of the laudable Erfurt and Wittenberg

1) In the text: ?o86imni6iü8i, but Löscher notes: Legendum Bosaviensi. In another place (III, 591) he says that Bosau lies near Zeitz.

University, doctors, masters and students (*scholasticis*), as well as all others, whatever their rank and dignity, who are to be respected as strangers and guests, who have come here for the love of scholarship and truth, without shying away from the danger and discomfort of the way. As their arrival has been exceedingly pleasant to us, so we thank them also in the best way for it.

Finally, we owe no small debt of gratitude to the wise council in Leipzig for receiving our, indeed, his own guests so graciously and honestly, and for resisting all noise from so many armed men standing around us, thus ensuring that you, defenseless fighters, could fight with confidence, and that I, as it were in a Milonian court, surrounded by armed men, could speak to you safely.

But truly, your beautiful sight and the happy outcome of this dispute make it reasonable that the thanksgiving should also be followed by rejoicing and congratulations. For who is so uneducated that he does not have his heart's desire at such a learned battle and contest of the greatest scholars, and break out into exuberant merriment? Who is so iron and hard of wild pride and hopefulness that he does not take to heart the modesty of such great disputants, in which they have held to themselves as far as possible and have subdued their movements? Who is also so disfavored of other people's good fortune that he does not admire and revere in such great men the sharpness of mind, the strength of memory, and the immense erudition in the Scriptures and the honest conduct with cheerful eyes?

Therefore, all you musicians, wish these great men good luck, applaud them and play a joyful piece. And as you played sweetly in honor of the Holy Spirit at the beginning of the battle, so play again at the end to the praise of God, and thereby praise the Lord!

D. From the various historical descriptions of this disputation.

1. what Luther himself wrote and told about it.

380 Luther's citation to the *Resolutiones super propositionibus suis Lipsiae disputatis* to Spalatin, in which he tells him the whole business of the disputation at length, and shows, with

what kind of adversary he had to deal with, what had actually been argued about, and what outcome the disputation had achieved. August 15, 1519.

In the 18th volume of our edition, we have already included "Luther's explanations of his theses disputed in Leipzig" and mentioned this dedication to Spalatin in the first note, Col. 820. We do not consider it necessary to repeat the locations of our writing given there, and limit ourselves to mentioning that it has since been included in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 102. We give here a new translation according to the Weimar edition, Vol. II, 391 ff.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Jesus.

To the pious and learned man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, of the most illustrious Prince Frederick of Saxony, Elector of the Empire and of the same Vicarius 2c, Librarian and Court Preacher, his dear friend Heil!

You desire, dear Spalatin, to know the history of this famous disputation, which we held in Leipzig, probably most of all because you have heard that our Eck and some people of Eck's party have long and surely been triumphant and singing songs of victory. I will certainly rejoice and give thanks if the victory is as true as their boast is great. For what is more to be desired by Christians, especially theologians, than that truth should triumph and error be put to shame? But again, when has it ever been heard from the beginning of the world that the glory is a true and lasting one, which praises itself and boasts before time? Are not the proverbs made on this: Singing songs of victory before the victory, much shouting and nothing behind it (*Rumor ante salutem*), then also the well-known word: Self-praise stinks, and sSprüchw. 27,2.]: "Let another praise you"? Then Christ says [John 8:54]: 1) "If I seek my own glory, my glory is nothing," and the author of Proverbs Solomon [Proverbs 20:21]: "The inheritance for which one first hastens will not be blessed in the end." For a righteous man is, as the

1) In the Weimar edition and in the Erlangen correspondence: "Joh. 8, 50."

Scripture sSprüchw. 18,17. Vulg.] says, not first a boaster, but an accuser of himself; but a Pharisee is first a boaster of himself, but at the same time an accuser of all others [Luc. 18,11.].

Of our Eck, however, I believe all the more easily that he has boasted of his victories, since I have known for a long time about the nature of this man, that he is a completely miserable slave of glory-seeking, and also because I have now learned even more that he tends to accuse more in the disputation than to dispute, and to spoil people's time in the manner of unlearned shouters with scurrilous words and vituperation. Therefore, it is not surprising if he seeks nothing but honor. But to me, who for two years now has had to suffer many such great braggers of victory and vain boasters and angry accusers, then also I do not know what punishments of hell (*tartara*) threatened me, it is quite a small thing to hear this their pretended boasting, since one must be more pityful than annoyed about them. For if their conscience could boast the same, do not doubt that they would neither boast outwardly nor be innocent. But to do you enough, I will briefly describe the matter itself according to the truth, and describe it in such a way that you can recognize that this disputation was a waste of time, not an investigation of the truth; then that Eck and Eck's followers are hypocritical in their boasting and feel something quite different in their conscience. For as much as Eck lay, almost no decisive point (*scopus*) has been touched. But if it has been touched, then it has been argued only with the best known and most hackneyed reasons of proof. For God knows that our Wittenbergers attacked this whole host of theses much more violently and vigorously for two years and tested them so that one could count their bones, while Eck barely touched them lightly on the top of the skin; only that he shouted more strongly in One Hour than we did in the whole two years, and seemed to want to overcome even himself as a shouter with immoderately hopeful and boastful gestures. For with these manners, which are admittedly quiet and calm, Eckish modesty has hitherto

peaceful theology, hidden in silence and secrecy in the deepest and quietest way. As God may have mercy on me, I am compelled to confess that we are defeated by shouting and gestures, that is, by the corner modesty; for that is what he himself calls it.

But before I tell the matter myself, I must make a preface and ask for forgiveness, if I involve some people equally, whom I would have liked to have passed over, if they had not mixed themselves in without cause, and had, as one says, behaved neutrally and impartially on both sides. Therefore, they may not attribute it to me, but to themselves, if they are also hit, since a similar search for honor and a long ingrained spitefulness has driven them to put into action not exactly good plots for Eck against us. Of course, I do not say of all of them. For there are very sincere and pious people at this famous university who hold above the right science and for that very reason are a thorn in the eyes of the people of the other coinage (*fermenti*) and a scourge in their side, to use the words of Joshua [Cap. 23, 13.]. But even the very wise council and the excellent citizens are so far removed from this malicious disposition that no one detests more than they this perverse manner, which is hostile to the good sciences. Most of all, however, the most illustrious Prince Duke George is to be praised, who in true princely grace and clemency omitted nothing that could have served the most beneficial fruit of this disputation, if it had been such that the pure truth had been sought, with honor set aside; He also deigned to glorify this cause exceedingly by his high presence, preventing all things, and exhorting that modest action should be taken, and in the endeavor to seek the truth. I therefore confess that I have nothing but all honor and all service to thank this dear university for, only I confess that the spitefulness of some (as human things are nowhere without fault) has displeased me very much.

Now this is either the tragedy

or the air play of this disputation, - rather, one could call it a satire. First of all, the contract was broken, according to which the agreement was made between Eck and us that disputation should be free, and that what was transcribed by the notaries should be handed over to the public judgment of the whole world, as one can read in the letters that were issued on both sides. 1) Rather, our corner wanted the matter to be handled without notaries with a mere and free shout; the people of his party also agreed with this. When they could not achieve this, another way of circumventing the contract was considered, namely, that what had been transcribed by the notaries should not be published until they had received their opinion on what had been handed over to the judges who had been named and jointly elected. A little word has been added, with which this breach of contract has been adorned as a very honorable title among the unintelligent, namely that one must have certain judges. If we refused these, they would already have something with which they could make us hated by the common people and boast that we did not want to suffer judges. Thus the most solid truth of Eck and his followers fears the light and the public, for they are well aware that they are no match for the judgment of the whole world and of all good people, according to which so much that the holy fathers have said, written and discussed before them has been accepted. Thus they acted, perhaps because they hoped that those would become judges of whom they knew that they were against us here and there in the universities and were on their side, or, what I suspect more, because my corner, who was well aware that he did not understand the Scriptures, sought in this way a hiding place for this, of which he was aware. For even though he is a man who is variously and abundantly learned in human sciences and scholastic opinions, I have nevertheless found him to be an altogether unfit disputator in the hei-

He may forgive me according to his modesty, because I speak the truth and will prove it in his time, if the all too credible testimonies of this ignorance, which he himself has put on paper, should not suffice. Not as if I only attribute to myself the understanding of the Holy Scriptures (for he is in the habit of accusing me of this when he has nothing else at hand to say), but because I consider that I have occupied myself with the Holy Scriptures so much and am practiced in them that I can speak out without danger about the understanding of a scholastic theologian who has hardly greeted the Holy Scriptures on the threshold.

The other attack was this: Our Carlstadt had brought books with him. Although it is the most honest and safest way to argue, to show the passages from the present books and to either approve or refute the statements, our corner rejected this with great noise. For it seemed that, relying on the insight and work of a certain *compiler* (*compilatoris*), he had patched together many testimonies of the holy fathers and increased them by the efforts of his party; there was now danger that, as he had been convicted of this on several occasions, so now he would always be convicted that he had put on the all-sayings of the fathers in an evil way. For since he had not seen the preceding and the following (for, as I have said, truth was not sought), he brought those [censures] to the point in such a way that nothing less could serve the point, only that it delighted him to excite laughter at times even among the audience. Therefore, according to Eck's will, they determined that the books should be left at home, and that only the power of memory and tongue should be used for free disputation, that is, as some very good men said, that this disputation was not held for the sake of truth, but for the praise of memory and tongue. However, that Adam also presented a very beautiful fig leaf here, which, of course, no one would have missed.

1) These are the documents No. 361 and 362 in this volume.

2) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1402; then in this writing the third last paragraph.

It is childish and ridiculous when a theologian disputes from books or slips of paper. And it is to be marveled at what an applause they earned by this artifice among the great crowd that judges about these things as about school exercises of children, as if Augustine had not also argued against the Manichaeans and Donatists with the use of books; but he sought truth, not honor.

I pass over that it was necessary to leave the last word to the corner, may he oppose or respond, so that in such a way unanswered grounds of evidence the more easily aroused the appearance of victory. Then, if a certain day had been set for the completion of some matter, he was at liberty not to observe it; we had to conscientiously bind ourselves to it and keep it. In short, we who had come to fight against errors and heresies were forced to deal with spite and vain honor. For as for me, since in so many sermons he made me the talk and laughing stock of the people, because his lips wanted it that way, I gladly pass over it, since I wish nothing so much as that my name be forgotten.

But even so they have achieved nothing. For they may want to or not, they are forced to testify themselves that Carlstadt's theses have come home unharmed, not even refuted in one syllable, of which Eck had planned to devour them raw. Yes, this excellent protector of the scholastic teachers, in order to prevent him from being regarded as defeated, turned into a proteus during the disputing and suddenly admitted, yes, asserted everything at the end, what he had fought against with great vehemence at the beginning. Then he preceded and boasted that he had drawn Carlstadt over to his opinion, even daring to say that the scholastic teachers had never taught and held otherwise. Since he realized that this was too impudently spoken for anyone who had read the scholastics to hear, he softened it in such a way that he called Scotus with his Scotists and Capreo with his scholastics.

lus with his Thomists, and older ones, Altisiodorensis, 1) Bonaventure, and I don't know what other sources.

I believe, however, that this was a great cross for the people of his ilk, although they feigned a miserable laugh when they realized (if they realized otherwise) that their leader, who had gone so bravely into battle, had left the flags and had become a runaway from the army and a defector. For that was enough for Carl-, stadt that in one and the same hour the three most famous sects of the scholastic teachers had been denied by Eck; if he had not denied them, he would have had to return to Ingolstadt as a Pelagian. For it is certain that the moderns (*modernos*, as they are called) agree with the Scotists and Thomists in this matter (that is, free will and grace), with the exception of some Gregory of Arimini, whom all condemn, who also correctly and forcefully states that they are worse than the Pelagians. For he alone among all the scholastics agrees with Carlstadt, that is, with Augustine and the apostle Paul, against all the newer scholastics. For although the Pelagians asserted that a good work could be done without grace, they did not say that heaven could be attained without grace. The same is certainly said by the scholastics, since they teach that a good work is done without grace, but not a meritorious one. Then, going beyond the Pelagians, they add that man has the natural right guidance of sound reason, to which the will can naturally submit, where the Pelagians said that man is supported by the law of God.

And you don't have to believe that this transformation is far from Eck's nature; he is very quick with it. For on this day he held it with Gregorius (as I said) and with Carlstadt; again on the other day, when he fought with me, he denied me the same Gregorius even in the same doctrine (*materia*) for the sake of

1) William of Auxerre.

for the sake of an article by Hus, who was condemned at the Costnitz Concilium. Thus, Eck is a truly whimsical disputator, the like of whom I have not seen, in whom there is no danger nor injustice in accepting for the scholastics the opinion of Gregory of Arimini, who disputes with Carlstadt against all scholastics, and in turn rejecting him for the very same scholastics in the same matter. Thus you have the victory of which Eck boasts, and his followers (*fermentum*) boast, that after denying almost all scholastic teachers whom they had taken upon themselves to protect, they agree with the church teachers.

But also we at Wittenberg knew that the scholastic teachers, if they would deny Aristotle with their darkness (that is, according to Eck, with the light of nature), can agree with the church teachers. But this way of denying and bringing into agreement by denial, which we do not know at Wittenberg, we learned at Leipzig, which we make common to you and to all who want it. First, that at the beginning of the disputation you bravely attack someone's statements and pray, even by public notes, that you will fight against the new doctrine for the truth of the faith and the honor of the holy church, so that one would think that the mountains are crying; then, during the discussion, you gradually and cunningly soften so that no one notices that you are defeated, constantly asserting the same and at the same time boasting that you have won. Then you must imagine with great confidence that none of those present has a memory or common sense, so that you can freely say that you have held this way from the beginning and that this is not a new but an old doctrine, and in the meantime you do not care if you have lost a whole army of teachers whom you had set yourself the task of defending. And this, of course, is the way and the outcome of the disputation between Carlstadt and Eck.

After that he fought with me about the primacy of the Roman pope, about purgatory, indulgences, penance, the power of any priest to absolve. What we have done in all these matters will be known as the

see in his time. For I must speak more sparingly about this, lest I become my herald.

In the meantime, I say that I myself almost do not know how far we have diverged with regard to repentance and purgatory. For that repentance begins with love for righteousness, he commended, but did not want it to be necessary, which I maintain to this day as absolutely necessary, since no good work can be done before grace (which is love), as he himself admitted. The cause of this disagreement seemed to me to be that he claimed with many testimonies that repentance also begins with servile fear, either not knowing or pretending not to know that servile fear is not completely removed in this life. Therefore, the infused grace that begins repentance also stirs the servile fear by working the filial fear at the same time, since the works of God are terrifying in that He kills when He wants to make alive. 2c. But whether souls are certain of their blessedness and grace is increased in them, I have said that I do not know, according to my disputation in the "Explanations," 1) and he has not yet proved the opposite. Thus the matter is still undecided.

Regarding the indulgence we almost agree, which almost became a laughing matter, since he himself also preached publicly before the people that the same was not to be despised, but one should not trust in it. If he had been preached in this way by the indulgence-bearers, perhaps nowadays no one would know Martin's name, but the indulgence would have disintegrated into itself long ago, since the commissaries would have died of hunger if the people had known that one should not trust in it. Therefore, what I thought would be the main point of the disputation and the most dangerous matter, we have settled so easily that we have dealt with almost nothing more leisurely; indeed, there has never been a more unfortunate and miserable situation concerning the indulgence.

1) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 162 ff.

confessed. Therefore, my German sermon on indulgences 1) remained quite safe, together with what I wrote about this matter in the "Explanations" and against Silvester 2), although he could not leave it unchallenged either in his own way or at the behest of his group (fermenti), pretending that I was deceiving people with my words. And such a profound theologian did not realize that the new life and the cross, of which I had said that God required it of a sinner, included every kind of evil in the world, even death. And it is not to be wondered at, because he did not read the Scriptures nor their ways of speaking, but the light of nature, Aristotle, and only the teachers enlightened by this light. And yet, as an exceedingly presumptuous Moab, who presumed to be greater than he was capable of, he has presumed to blaspheme and go through everything I have ever said.

Therefore I wonder what those brothers will say and do now, who have blasphemed me here and there among the princes and everywhere as a heretic and I don't know with how many names for the sake of indulgences, then even large counter-disputation slips, which (as they say) have been prepared at great expense and by foreign labor, 3) published and deprived Christ's people of their goods, both in soul and body, by their impudent frauds, seeing that this matter has been so cold in this disputation, which they wanted to be hotter than hell. It is enough for me that the main part of this matter has fallen in the happy Leipzig, and that according to the judgment of all, the indulgence and its screamers have become ridiculous.

The primacy of the Roman Church has been the subject of much controversy. I have not denied the supreme place of the same according to honor, but also have not admitted the supreme power, at least not from divine right, have also not denied it, but rather have confessed it and have declared it to be true.

1) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 270: "A Sermon on Indulgences and Grace."

2) "Luther's Response to the Dialogue of Prierias," St. Louis ed. vol. XVIII, 344.

3) These are the two disputations of Tetzl, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Col. 82 and 94, whose author was D. Conrad Wimpina at Frankfurt an der Oder. See there the introduction p. 12 f.

I do not want to deny that the Roman Church should have this supremacy in fact or by human right. For I seek nothing less than that anyone in any matter should depart from the supreme See of the holy [apostles] Peter and Paul, or withdraw from it the obedience due, only that I cannot admit that so many holy fathers, who are kings in heaven, who lived in the east and were not under the Roman See, have acted contrary to divine right. On the other hand, he made an effort to assert both according to divine right, since he gathered many testimonies of the fathers. But at last it was found that they were ambiguous and various, and at times seemed to incline to the other opinion, yet to me they testified more strongly and more abundantly, especially where they were heartily engaged in interpreting the gospel.

Since the word Matth. 16,18.: "You are Peter", likewise the word in John [Cap. 21, 17.]: "Feed my sheep", and v. 19.]: "Follow me", likewise [Luc. 22, 32.]: "Strengthen your brothers", and some less than these testimonies serving the cause did not penetrate, he finally took recourse to the Concilium at Constance, in full confidence, because there the opposite would have been established, and my opinion would have been condemned under the articles of Hus and Wiclef. Here he stood still and tried with all his might, as spitefully as he was able, to arouse hatred against me, because he had nothing else with which he could have more sweetly flattered his Gelichter (fermento). For since he lacked divine right, he ran to human right in order to prove divine right through it. But even so, one could not ridicule what such a great theologian undertook.

Against this one Concilium I opposed him two older and more famous ones, the Nicene and the African, then that even the Concilium at Constance was not rightly understood by him and his wicked mob (which he served at that time); for the Nicene Concilium decided that the Roman bishop should take care of the churches situated around the city, just as the one at Alexandria took care of those in Egypt; then that the bishop at Alexandria should take care of the churches in Egypt.

that the bishops should not be ordained as now by pallia and power bought from Rome, but by the neighboring bishops, as is written in the 10th book of church history. Here, however, this eel said that this could be done, had been omitted by the Roman popes, by inventing (as he is wont to do) new glosses from his own head, as if both the Roman popes and the Nicene Concilium had not acted quite ungodly and heretical, when they either decreed or omitted what was contrary to divine right. For if it is a divine right that the Roman Pontiff should be able to do everything in all the churches, it is not in his power to forbear that the contrary be done even for one hour, nor in the power of a council to decree the contrary over the Roman Pontiff as his subordinate, or to decree anything different or otherwise, certainly no more than it is in his power to forbear or decree that fornication and adultery be permitted. Thus it happened that this wretched protector and patron of Roman power could not protect this primacy unless he blasphemed both the Most Holy Nicene Concilium and even the popes, claiming that they had dissolved divine law. For what is heretical and blasphemous if this Eckish modesty is not heresy and blasphemy? But so must he speak who speaks to please men.

Now, since the African Concilium, as stated in the 99th *dist. cap. Primas*, had forbidden that the Roman pope should not be called a general bishop, speaking in this way: But even the Roman bishop should not be called a general bishop, so here, of course, he abstained from blasphemy, and did not say that, contrary to divine law, another one was allowed or decreed, but invented a gloss that is certainly worthy of such a great theologian, which I would not state if I did not know that it was sufficient for the exceedingly ambitious disputator and would bring him the most complete (*absolute*) honor. He said: 1) Although the Roman pope cannot be called the general bishop, he is not the general bishop.

he must be called the bishop of the general church. I beg you, dear friend, hold back the laughter; let his gang laugh, for no one can laugh more duly at such an excellent gloss. I boast that I have not stayed in Leipzig in vain at such great expense, and have at least learned this: He is not the general bishop, but he is the bishop of the general church; he may not be the bishop of Mainz, but he is the bishop of the Mainz church.

This he has opposed to my two conciliarities. For he has dissolved the Nicene by the word "left behind", the African by the word "church"; so easy is it for our excellent magisters to dissolve the questions and also to do harm to the reputation of the concilia, by which they, it is to be wondered at how quickly, tend to make others heretics.

Now see whether I have answered better or worse to his some [Concilium]. It is certain that not all the articles condemned at Constance are heretical, as Eck impudently barked. I prove this clearly: first of all from the words of the Concilium itself, which read thus: some of them are obviously heretical, some erroneous, others blasphemous, others bold and seditious, others offensive to godly ears. Thus it is said. Is it not clear that these are the words of those whom we call heretical judges, who, as is well known, have gained dominion in this Concilium (for they use almost no other words than these: This sentence is heretical, this vexatious, this seditious, this insolent), or that certainly the Holy Spirit was very much present and watching while they played or slept, so that they were forced to testify quite carelessly with their own words that they condemned some who are neither heretical nor erroneous, and therefore catholic, Christian, and true? For if they had said without distinction that all are heretical and at the same time erroneous, at the same time bold and at the same time insolent, there would be neither a place nor an escape for the truth. But now they themselves distinguish the heretical from the erroneous, and from both the reckless and insolent. Therefore I will say: What is it to me?

if I speak boldly and insultingly, if I speak only truthfully and catholically? I corner you with your own sword: you call some heretical because it is certain that they violate the faith, some erroneous, perhaps because they violate the customs and ordinances of men. Now we triumph with respect to the rest that they violate neither the faith nor the ordinances about morals, and if they perhaps offend too much delicate little obeisances, which cannot stand the truth, it is enough that they are true and in accordance with the faith. It has always been so that the truth must be bold, biting, offensive and insulting. So I believe that this is one of the offensive ones, that the Roman pope is not by divine right the lord over all, according to authority. For what could be more frightening? what could be said nowadays and for many years that is more perverse? Thus also that is offensive in the ears of the Thomists, of which I have said above that it is of Gregory of Arimini, nay, of Paul and Augustine, namely, that every action of man is either good or evil. I did ask that it be admitted to me that not all articles were condemned by the Concilium, but that some quite Christian ones were inserted by some Thomist, such as: Every action of man is either good or evil, as every tree is either good or evil according to the Gospel, but he would not. But what is it to me that the Thomists are vexed by the truth? it is enough that this article is neither heretical nor erroneous. Or if it is heretical and condemned, what will Eck do, who disputes against the laudable Concilium at Constance for the same laudable Concilium, and admits to Carlstadt that it is true and catholic, and also the scholastic teachers would not have held otherwise, as I said above? O a terrible disgrace, which must be intolerable to Eck, the patron of the holy church, that the patron of the Bohemians and heretics (to thunder with his words) holds it with the Concilium against the Concilium, and he [Eck], in order to be a Christian with his teachers, becomes a heretic.

But, as I have said, it is the prerogative of Eckish modesty to disagree quite freely with himself and to hold contradictory things in one and the same thing, as he testifies that he did also at Vienna and perhaps also at Bologna. Therefore, it is clear that the Concilium at Constance does not argue against me, and that I am proven by it neither heretical nor erroneous, but rather catholic and true, so that in this way the agreement with the Nicene and the African and the one at Constance exists. But that Eck and the people of his ilk, then also the heretical judges, did not see this, seems to be the reason that all of them are much quicker at hand with the vituperation of the accusation of heresy than it befits such teachers of the people. And being stricken with this blindness, they read, as the holy Scriptures and the holy Fathers, so also everything else, that is, they are not concerned how well and how carefully, but to how great hatred and abuse of others they may read it. Therefore, they immediately claim that everything they hear that is not in their opinion is heretical, thereby exposing both their drowsiness in reading and their insolence in judging to the washing of all.

Then, if this agreement of the conciliums is not arbitrary, and the one at Constance is stubbornly held up to me against the two, then it will not be difficult for me to determine which of the two sides must have the precedence in reputation. For since a concilium can err, I will sooner confess that the one at Constance has erred than the Nicene and African, because these have proceeded and acted far more happily than that one, and they have been compared to the holy gospels long before the other concilia, especially the Nicene. The one at Constance has not yet attained this honor, and in this I will follow the last Roman Council, at which the one at Basel was rejected and also the one at Costnitz suffered no small loss of prestige, in that it decreed that the pope was above the Council, the opposite of which was established at Constance. And since the conciliar

mutually, meanwhile they make us quite safe and free to disagree with both. For since they disagree with themselves, for whom will they agree? And this, God willing, I will further elaborate when Eck will have publicly spoken.

But since, as I have said, in this disputation more time has been wasted than truth has been sought, I will give the explanations of my theses to the light, in the confidence that a better fruit of knowledge will come forth from it than if twenty times were disputed in this way. Therefore, if I seem to be wrong to someone, let him refute the error if he hates me, or teach me better if he loves me.

There you have, my dearest Spalatin, almost the whole story; for if I have not said some other things, I have not said them out of deference to the Leipzig University, which is very precious to me, lest I turn the bones of the king of Edom to ashes [Amos 2, 1]. However, if I did not know that this was due to my sins, I would bear it quite unwillingly, that I am occupied with such unfruitful dealings of indulgences, primacy, privileges, and other things quite unnecessary for blessedness, by which I am reluctantly kept away from the best studies of our time. For as the most illustrious Prince Duke George, in chastising us both, has wisely said: Be it by divine or human right, the Roman pope is and remains pope [nevertheless]. Thus he spoke quite rightly and with this excellent modesty rebuked this useless disputation of ours quite severely.

But I am convinced that as soon as my corner and Eck's party see this, they will immediately cry out that I have not kept the contract and have not obeyed the agreement, in which the provision is made that the disputation should not be published before the pronouncement of the judges; as if they themselves had ever kept any contract with us. But I answer: that I consented that the disputation, which was recorded by the hand of the notaries, should not be published by us; but the other copies, as each one was left free to make the same

Who will prevent them from being published? But nevertheless, they may not be published either. My notarial copy will not be published, as the contract is so beautifully kept. But I did not promise that I would not write in addition, rather I testified publicly, since they limited our freedom with extremely unfair conditions, that they would not want to take it into their mind that I would remain silent: and so I will not remain silent.

But if I had promised such, I ask: Which of the two broke the contract first? Is it not Eck, who, as I hear, in a pompous and exceedingly unreasonable letter 1) even tried to influence (*corrumpere*) our most illustrious prince and patron (of whom he dreams that he is similar to his exceedingly obtuse pack), by telling, as much as he could, the most ridiculous things about me, as if I had denied the sayings of all the holy fathers together, arrogated to myself alone the understanding of Scripture, denied the Conciliar, defended the heretics: for with these lies that pure man and holy theologian has dared to tempt this so holy and venerable head, and to praise me so gloriously before the exceedingly pious prince. What do you think he writes and speaks to others (without violating the contract, of course), since he writes these things to our patron? Or what truth does he speak to my envious ones, who is not ashamed to lie in front of such a wise prince, who has such an extraordinary power of judgment?

Yes, I hear that he has made some annotations to certain articles 2) which are imposed on me by the restless brethren seeking their ruin, and that he has described me again before the mighty ones with wonderful love as a Manichaeon, Hussite, Viklefite, and I do not know how manifold a heretic. Thus Eck's modesty is wont to hold a treaty; but it is easy for me to despise this nonsense of his, since I have heard almost the whole house-

1) In this volume No. 413.

2) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, pp. 43 and 44.

rath of this man. And when these products of his come to my hands, I hope that I will be able to treat my corner duly and splendidly, whether he will finally understand in some way what it is to vow many things and keep nothing, and yet demand of others that it be kept, and by all this seek nothing but that he harm and trample truth underfoot.

Meanwhile, it is enough for me that this tormentor of consciences, the falsely called theology (theologistria), to which I owe everything that my conscience suffers, has fallen in this disputation. For I had previously learned that merit according to equity (*congrui*) is different from merit according to law (*condigni*), that man can do as much as is in him to obtain grace, that he can remove the bar, that he is able not to put the bar in front of grace, that he can fulfill the commandments of God according to the essence of the deed (*quo ad substantiam facti*), but not according to the intent of the governor, that free will has a capacity on both sides in things that contradict each other, that the will can love God above all things by purely natural forces, that one can by nature have the exercise of love, of friendship, and such monstrous things, which are generally put forward as the first principles of scholastic theology, and with which they have filled the books and everyone's ears. But now all these errors have fallen bravely under Eck's protection and triumphant banners, almost without any struggle, frightened by the mere sight of two theses of Carlstadt, 1) the first of which is that of Augustine: Free will without grace is only capable of sinning; the other is that of Ambrose: Free will without grace approaches godlessness the faster it is eager to act.

Almost the same signs of victory and spoils were carried away by the indulgence from this fight, of which I admitted, not in a milder sense (as they gossip), that it was useful, but useful only for the lazy and snoring. By the way, I have defended,

1) These are Carlstadt's 11th and 12th theses, Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 716 pp.

that it is nonsense for someone to say that he is good and useful for Christians. This, I say, is enough for me in the meantime that it took place at this disputation; I have told it for the sake that I might help the glorious boasting of Eck's heresy a little. If anyone among them should attack this, perhaps the Lord will grant that the other will come to light.

I believe you have seen Eck's apology against our Philip 2), which is quite worthy of Eck's manner, in which he imposes his status as a teacher of linguistics as a great fault on the man, who is also more learned in the holy scriptures than all people like Eck, and who is also not inexperienced in Eck's dirty theology. These excellent magistri nostri have such a correct judgment that they measure scholarship according to its dignities and empty titles. He has also tried to make him spiteful to me by attributing to me a good head and I do not know how great erudition. For, so that you also know this, that I too have gained some fame from this disputation, Eck ascribes erudition to me, and the Leipzigers ascribe it to me, to such a degree (as much as I have heard through rumor) that, if they had not supplied Eck with help, they confess that Eck would have been thrown down by me. And so the victory already begins to move from Eck to the Leipzigers. Again it is said that that boastful despiser had indeed considered the Leipzigers to be good people, but he had expected much more from them, and he alone had done everything. So you see that they sing a kind of new Jliad and Aeneid, and I at least am taken for a Hector and Turnus, so that they can make him Achilles and Aeneas, only that in this victory it is doubtful whether Eck accomplished this with his forces and troops, or with those of the Leipzigers. It is certain that he alone has always shouted, but they have always remained silent; don't you think that I owe them great thanks?

2) Excusatio Eckii ad ea quae falso sibi Philippus Melancthon, grammaticus Wittenbergensis, super theologica disputatione Lipsica adscripsit, in this volume No. 406.

But I return to Philip. There is so much missing that any Eck could make him hateful to me, that in my whole matter I respect nothing more than the judgment of Philip, whose unbiased judgment and reputation is worth more to me than that of many thousand dirty people like Eck. And I am not ashamed, although I am a master of liberal arts, of philosophy and of theology, and adorned with almost all the titles that Eck has, to depart from my mind when the opinion of this teacher of languages differs from mine, which I have often done and do daily, because of the divine gifts that God has poured into this earthen vessel (which is admittedly contemptible to Eck) with rich blessings. I do not praise Philip, he is a creature of God and nothing, but I honor in him the work of my God. Nor do I rebuke Eck, but these crude plots to sow discord and stir up hatred I hate and abhor with all my heart. Nowhere have I seen these more frequently or more maliciously than in Eck; with them he has also leavened almost the entire trade of our disputation. For almost alone in this one exceedingly wicked thing Eck is a mighty man, but in theology he is an ass on the lyre. 1)

But now I will proceed to the explanations. In the meantime, see to it that you recommend the corner to the most illustrious prince as he deserves to be recommended, although this service is not necessary for such a great prince. Farewell. Wittenberg 1519, on the day of the Assumption of Mary [August 15].

Luther's detailed report to Spalatin of the Leipzig disputation and complaint about the hostile behavior of the Leipzigers against the Wittenbergers. July 20, 1519.

Luther wrote this letter from Wittenberg to Spalatin, who was probably in Altenburg at the time, where he had returned with the Elector after the imperial election held in Frankfurt. The original is found in the Oofi. dotd. X. 122. toi. 13, but in very faded, partly indissoluble writing. Latin in Aurifaber, vol. I, toi. 180; in Löscher's *Ref.-Acta*, vol. III, p. 233; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 284 and in the Erlangen

Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 80. German in the Wittenberg edition⁵⁶⁹), vol. IX, p. 66; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 144d; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 268; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 245 and in Walch. We have retranslated according to the Erlangen correspondence.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the very pious man Georg Spalatin, court preacher and librarian of the Serene Prince, Elector of Saxony, his [dear friend] in Christ.

Hail! We are glad that the most noble prince and all of you have returned safely, dear Spalatin. Christ accept Pfeffinger's soul 2) in grace, Amen. We would have written about this famous disputation of ours long ago, but it was not certain how far and in what way it would be written. It is so with it that some Leipzigers, namely those who are neither sincere nor righteous, triumph with Eck, and this is, as they gossip, the general speech (fama); by the way, the matter itself will reveal everything.

First, when we arrived, immediately at the same hour, before we got off the wagon, a prohibition of the bishop of Merseburg was posted on the church doors, that there should be no disputing, and for this also the new declaration [of the pope] 3) was drawn and added [to the prohibition]. This was disregarded, and the one who had posted it was thrown into prison by the council (because he had done it without its knowledge).

Since they did not achieve anything by this trick, they turned to another one. Carlstadt was specially summoned, and they negotiated with many words (since Eck wanted it that way) that the disputation should only take place orally and not be written out by notaries. For he hoped that he could gain the upper hand by shouting and gesturing (as he indeed did). Carlstadt opposed this, because it had been agreed that way, and one had to stick to the

2) Degenhard Pfeffinger, who had gone to Frankfurt as a princely councilor, died on July 3 of the plague there.

3) "Pabst's Leo X New Decree" 2c., Document No. 234.

1) Thus Luther gives o--oc Xv/xrv in No. 443, K13 of this volume.

He demanded, of course, that it be recorded by notaries. Finally, in order to obtain this, he was forced to admit at least this, that the disputation recorded by the notaries should not be published before they had heard the verdict of several [judges]. Here a new dispute arose about the judges to be chosen. Finally, they urged him to give his consent to this as well, that they wanted to agree on the judges after the disputation was finished, and they did not want to allow the disputation in any other way. And so they attacked us with a cuckolded final speech, that we would be disgraced on both sides, either that we had withdrawn from the disputation, or that the disputation would necessarily have to be subjected to unjust judges. So you see these crude tricks by which they deprived us of the agreed freedom. For we are certain that the universities and the Roman pope will either never, or against us, do what they alone desire.

The next day they summoned me especially and proposed the same to me. But I, since I feared the Roman pope and was also advised to do so by our people, rejected all these conditions; then they offered other universities, with the exception of the Roman pope. I requested that the agreed freedom be preserved; since they did not want it, I refused and rejected the disputation. Thereupon it was immediately on everyone's lips that I did not dare to accept the disputation and that it would be too unreasonable that I did not want to suffer any judges. All this was vilified and interpreted in the most spiteful and malicious way, so that even our best friends turned away, and now an eternal disgrace was in store for our university. Hereupon I joined the council of the friends and accepted the condition with unwillingness, but in such a way that my appeal would remain unharmed and my cause would not suffer any harm, even with the exclusion of the Roman court.

The first discussion was with Carlstadt about free will, during the week. From the books he had brought with him, Carlstadt revealed Eck's (illius) reasons for proof and (truly) gave his answers in an excellent and very rich manner.

After that, since Carlstadt had also been given permission to oppose, Eck refused, unless he left the books at home while leading the evidence, since Andreas did this for the sake of showing him to his face that he was leading the sayings of Scripture and the Fathers in the right way, and was not treating them violently, as Eck had been convicted of having treated them. Here again a noise arose; at last it was decided in favor of Eck that the books should be left at home; but who does not see that if there had been dispute for the sake of truth, it would have been desirable that all the books had been brought in. In no other matter did the spite and ambition show themselves in a more impudent manner.

In the end, the deceitful man admitted everything that Carlstadt had proved, which he had nevertheless vehemently contested, and agreed with him completely in all things, boasting that he had drawn Carlstadt over to his opinion. For he rejected Scotus with the Scotists and Capreolus with the Thomists, saying that the other scholastics had held and taught the same as Carlstadt. Thus, both Scotus and Capreolus, that is, the two most famous parties of the Scotists and the Thoniists, fell.

The next week he argued with me, first of all very vehemently about the primacy of the Roman pope. His strength consisted in the words [Matth. 16,18.]: "You are Peter", and [Joh. 21, 17.]: "Feed my sheep", and [V. 19.]: "Follow me", and [Luc. 22,32.]: "Strengthen your brothers", with the addition of many testimonies of the fathers. What I answered, you will see next. After that, in the end, he relied entirely on the Concilium of Constance, relying on it to condemn the article of Hus, who had said that the papacy was of the emperor, as if it were of divine right. Then, since he was on his battlefield, as it were, he bravely pushed for

held the Bohemians against me and publicly accused me of being a heretic and patron of the heretical Bohemians. For he is a no less insolent than sacrilegious sophist. In a wonderful way these accusations tickled the Leipzigers, more than the disputation itself.

I have again opposed him to the Greeks of a thousand years and to the ancient Fathers, who would not have been under the power of the Roman Pontiff, although I do not deny him the primacy of honor. And finally, the prestige of the Concilium has also been disputed. I have publicly confessed that some articles were ungodly condemned, since they were those of Paul, Augustine, and even of Christ himself, taught in clear and plain words. Here, however, the viper swelled up, and made my misdeed great, and was almost nonsensical in flattering the Leipzigers. Finally, I proved from the words of the council itself that not all articles condemned there were heretical and erroneous, therefore he had achieved nothing with his proofs. And so this matter is still pending.

During the third week, we discussed penance, purgatory, indulgences, and the power of every priest to absolve. For he disputes with Carlstadt unwillingly, but sought only me. The indulgence indeed fell completely, and he agreed with me almost in everything, and the protection of the indulgence became laughter and mockery, while I had expected that this would be the epitome of the future disputation; yes, he also confessed it in public sermons, so that even the common people recognized that he considered the indulgence to be nothing.

It is also said that he confessed that if I had not disputed the authority of the pope, he would have agreed with me very easily in all things. Yes, to Carlstadt himself he said: If I were in agreement with Martin as I am with you, I would also go to him in his inn. Thus he is a fickle and deceitful man, ready to become anything. Yes, since he had admitted to Carlstadt that the scholastic teachers teach the same thing, he rejected to me the Gre

gorius Ariminensis, 1) who alone holds with us against all scholastics, and so it is not wrong with him to assert and deny one and the same thing at different times. And even the Leipzigers do not recognize this, so great is their narrowness. And so that the monstrosity would be even greater: one opinion he admitted in the disputation (*in schola* - at the university), another he preached in the church. When Carlstadt asked him why he was so unstable, he answered without shame that it was not necessary to teach the people what was being discussed.

After my disputation was finished, he disputed with Carlstadt on the last three days, again admitting and agreeing to everything: that "doing as much as is in him" is sinning, and that free will without grace can do nothing but sin, and that in every good work there is sin, and that "doing as much as is in him" is grace itself in him who prepares himself for grace. All this the scholastics deny. And so almost nothing in this disputation is acted upon, at least duly, except my thirteenth thesis. But meanwhile the latter has the applause, he triumphs and rules, but only until we have published ours. Because there has been bad disputation, I want to publish the explanations 2) anew.

The Leipzigers, in fact, neither greeted nor visited us and held us as their most hated enemies; they accompanied him, attached themselves to him, gave him guest meals, invited him, yes, gave him a skirt and added the Camelot 3) to it, rode with him for a walk, in short, everything they could think of, they undertook to offend us.

Moreover, they persuaded Caesar Plough and the Prince that this pleased them. The one thing they have shown us is that (as is the custom) they have rewarded us with a gift of wine.

1) Gregory of Rimini taught in Paris, became general of the Augustinian Hermits in 1357, and died in Vienna in 1358 (Erl. Briefw.).

2) Luther had already sent out the explanation of his thirteenth thesis before June 27, and the second edition, which he had increased, appeared after August 18. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 720 and the introduction there, p. 26 f.

3) so UarlUottum, camelot, a stuff made of camellia or goat hair.

and to refrain from doing so might not have been safe for them. But all those who were favorable to us came to us secretly, as it were. But D. Aurbach 1) invited us, a man of very correct judgment, and the Ordinary Pistor the Younger; 2) Duke George himself invited us all three [Luther, Carlstadt and Eck] at the same time.

The same most noble duke summoned me alone and discussed my books at length, especially the "Our Father", 3) claiming that the Bohemians were missing out on many things because of me; then that I had confused many consciences with the "Our Father", since they complained that they would not be able to pray One Our Father in four days if they had to hear me, and many other things. But I was not so limited that I could not have distinguished between the flute and the blowing, 4) and I was sorry that the good and very godly prince was so open to foreign influence and obeyed it, since I saw and experienced that he spoke quite princely when he spoke his own.

The last monstrosity of spite was this: since on the day of Peter and Paul [June 29] I had been called by our Rector [Barnim], Duke of Pomerania, to preach the Gospel to His Grace in the castle chapel, 5) the rumor suddenly filled

The city was so excited about my sermon that people of both sexes came in large numbers, so that I was forced to preach in the disputation hall. Magistri nostri were deputized and appointed for this purpose, as well as the most unrepentant Laurians. It is the Gospel, however, which comprehends the subject matter of both disputations in the clearest possible way; therefore, I have been compelled to present to everyone the brief summary of the entire disputation, but not to the credit of the Leipzigers.

Thereupon Eck, instigated against me, preached four times 6) in different churches and publicly belittled and challenged everything that was mine. For this is what the bad theologians (theologistae) ordered him to do. On the other hand, I was not allowed to preach, even though it was desired by many. I was only to be accused and blamed, not also cleansed. For they had also acted in this way in the disputation, that Eck, even though he was the opponent, still had the last word, which I could not answer.

Yes, even Caesar Pflug, having heard that I had preached (for he was absent), said: "I wish Doctor Martinus had saved his sermon for Wittenberg!" Summa Summarum: I have known spitefulness at times, but none more disrespectful and insolent.

Thus you have the whole tragedy; the other will be told to you by Johann von Planitz nitzer) 7), for he himself was present and contributed not a little to the fact that the disputation did not fall through. And because Eck and the Leipzigers sought their honor through this disputation, not the truth, it is not a tragedy.

1) Doctor Heinrich Stromer from Auerbach in the Upper Palatinate, born 1482, professor of medicine in Leipzig, personal physician to several princes, including George of Saxony and Elector Frederick; died Nov. 25, 1542 (Erl. Briefw.).

2) Doctor Simon kistoris (also kistorius, German probably "Becker") junior (his father, Saxon personal physician, had the same first name), born Oct. 28, 1489, famous jurist, then full professor of the faculty; he died Dec. 2, 1562 (Erl. Briefw.).

3) "Luthers Auslegung deutsch des Vater-Unsers für die einfältigen Laien," Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. VII, 752.

4) With the "flute" here Duke Georg is meant, who let himself be influenced by Emser, who "blows" the flute, and obeyed him, as Luther says immediately in the following. Seidemann in his "Leipziger Disputation," p. 67, notes: "Obviously by these remarks Emser's letter to D. Zack gains its right light." This letter is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1202.

5) This is "a sermon, preached at Leipzig in the castle, on the day of Petri and Pauli, in the year 1519, at the time of the disputation, with excuse of some articles, so him of his Abgünstigen are zugemessen", Walch, St. Louis edition, Vol. XI, 2306.

6) Eck says in his letter to Hoogstraten of July 24, 1519 (No. 395 in this volume) only of three sermons; two of them were held on July 2 and 3, and tomorrow, July 25, the third is to be held. Also in his letter to the Elector of November 8 (in this volume, no. 419, Z59), he says only of three sermons: "He also complains that I tore up a sermon, which he had delivered in Leipzig, in three sermons before all the people. I deny this" 2c. - From these statements of Eck's, however, it does not yet follow with certainty what the Erlangen correspondence notes: "Luther was not properly reported in this." It is noticeable, however, that Luther already here (on July 20) reports four sermons. Eck in the xspurutio mentions only two sermons held in the Nicolaikirche.

7) Saxon councillor and captain in Grimma.

It is a wonder that it began badly and ended worse. For since harmony could have been hoped for among the Wittenbergers and Leipzigers, they have, I fear, brought it about by this spitefulness that discord and displeasure now seem to have arisen. For this is the fruit of human honor. And though I restrain my impetuosity, yet I cannot put away all displeasure, for I have flesh, and the spitefulness and malicious inequity was all too impudent in this thing so holy and divine. Fare well and command me to the most illustrious prince. Wednesday after Alexius [July 20, 1519.

Your

Martin Luther.

I found the venerable father Vicar Staupitz in Grimma.

Luther's report to Spalatin about Eck's *expurgatio*, which is directed against Luther's preface to the explanation of the 13th thesis.

Nov. 1, 1519.

See Appendix, nv. 46, § 2.

Luther's letter to Johann Eck about Eck's purification writing (*expurgatione*). Completed at the end of October; sent out in the first days of November 1519.

Most of what can serve as an introduction to this writing, as, the reason for Eck's writing, the Latin title of it 2c., has already been given in the 18th volume of our edition, Introduction, p. 27 p f.. We therefore only add the following here. Indignant at Eck's falsehood and hypocrisy in the *expurgatio*, Luther gave expression to his sentiment in our writing in the form of a letter, which he sent to Spalatin on November 7 with the words: "I send you Eck's nonsense with my short letter of reply." The title of the single edition is *X<1 ckoünnneru Deelium Martini Htüeri Dpistoin super expurMtione üeeiana*. Four leaves in quarto. At the end: *VuittenperAae*. [nno, M.V.XIX. I, D. The printer is Johann Grünenberg. In Latin it is found in the Wittenberg edition (1550), torn. I, toi. 353 b; in the Jena one (1579), tönn I, 358 b; in the Erlanger, opp. vur. ur^., tönn IV, p. 47; in the Weimar one, vol. II, p. 700; in Löscher's *Ref.Acta*, vol. III, p. 805; in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 198; and in De Wette, vol. I, p. 354. We have retranslated according to the Weimarschen, which reproduces the original print; in the Wittenberg, but even more so in the Jena, the text is now and then arbitrarily changed.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Jesus.

Martin Luther wishes Johann Eck salvation.

You can hardly believe from how great a burden you have freed my heart, dear Eck, and from what a heavy care you have delivered me by your cleansing writing, in such a way that if you have only ever been of use, you have now been of most use to me, and I believe, that I have written nothing that has been more to my liking than the letter from the Leipzig disputation, 1) which you pursue with great waterfalls of accusations and, as it were, a constant flood of invective, while meanwhile, like Noah's ark, it seems to me to float above everything. He has accomplished what I have wanted, he has found what I have sought; you too have done what I have expected.

Do you wonder where this great rejoicing comes from? Listen! Until now I have been tormented by an evil and restless conscience, which was caught in God's commandment, according to which I was not free to hold and say freely of you what was forced upon me by so many reasons and confirmed by the testimony of so many righteous people: so much was I opposed, especially before the people, to your exceedingly apparent reputation and your hypocrisy, in which you pretended everywhere to be a friend of Luther, a sincere and open lover of truth. But it is true; your purification writing (*expurgatio*) has, as it were, as a means, as it occurs in the comedies, 2) driven away and quieted all these disturbances, by which you clearly show everyone who you were and still are. For the little that you tie like an apron, with which you also impute modesty and love to yourself with an oath, is such that it represents a ridiculous bouquet compared to the noise and the storms of your accusations. For it is said that this animal's foolishness is so great that it believes it is completely covered when it stretches out its neck.

1) This is the reply to Luther's explanations of his theses disputed at Leipzig, in this volume No. 380, not (as Walch states in the caption to No. 382) the subsequent document.

2) *ruockiurn eomiurn* is also found in the interpretation of the first book of Moses, Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. II, 1640, § 45.

covered only with a dwarf: so also you, who are entirely accusation and impatience, present yourself by one or two words as a pattern of the most complete modesty and love. But this may go wherever it goes.

Let us come to that which I detest more, namely your hypocrisy, so that it does not appear as if I had completely despised you, and setting aside the other things which you are ripping apart in my letter, I am at present only taking up the piece in which you also trouble yourself the most, and in which almost the epitome of the whole matter consists, namely that I have said that Carlstadt's theses, especially the first two, which were treated in the first disputation, 1) were admitted by you, and I have concluded what follows from this. In the meantime, you bravely prepare that with which you refute the articles of John Hus, which I have asserted, and that the Nicene Concilium has served for me. But listen! Be mindful that you will not be on the scene in Leipzig,' and that nothing follows the praise of the Leipzigers or your praise in good consequence even outside Leipzig. Also you should know that Luther, now not your prisoner nor in the country of his enemies, stands on his battlefield, and, as I hope you do, ask Christ above all things, so that he alone, who is the truth, may be victorious when we fight and destroy our glory. Amen.

Therefore, notice what I ask:

Did you not presume to reject these two theses of Carlstadt 2)? "Free will before grace is only capable of something to sin." "Free will without grace approaches ungodliness all the more quickly, the more eager it is to act."

Am I not telling the truth here? But what did you, as an extremely zealous and open friend of truth, come to dispute other than the errors? Thus you boast about yourself. Therefore you considered these theses to be false and wanted them to be so. For

If you thought they were true, why did you, the defender of truth, challenge them?

But in the middle of the disputation you admitted that they were true, saying freely that free will without grace could do nothing but evil. You added that even the scholastic teachers had never taught otherwise, and for this reason you denied that you defended Scotus and Capreolus. This I say, not fearing your Leipzigers, which you so often threaten me with in vain, for all these things are witnessed by the whole audience. Of course, when I heard this, I was pleased that you had returned to the right path so soon, and I already thought that the whole disputation was over, since almost everything depended on this main matter.

This is now the main thing we are dealing with now, therefore hear the cause of my letter. I judge that the disputator is defeated, who claims what he has contested before; so I have pronounced and still pronounce it that Eck is defeated, Carlstadt the victor. And this I wrote to the very noble man Pirckheymer in Nuremberg 3) that the victory would be on Carlstadt's side, and this word in the public disputation note, 4) that Carlstadt would not come as a fugitive soldier (as you had reviled him), but that he had long since been a conqueror of Eck's error. All of this is still true today, even if the judges should judge differently, which I do not hope.

From this I have deduced all that follows from this truth, though it seems to you very improper (at which I wonder), namely, that you have denied three distinguished parties 5) of the scholastic teachers, who have not denied free will before grace.

3) The Weimar edition notes: "Cf. Luther's letter to Wilibald Pirckheymer of July 5, 1519." The Erlangen Briefwechsel says: "We have not yet succeeded in finding this letter." - Eck mentions this letter in his *expuratio*, in the 25th part, but gives the wrong date "5. I.UKU8ti," while immediately adding: "since I had hardly disputirt with him for two days", i.e. on July 5. This letter is also referred to in the first part of the *oxsurAutio*.

4) No. 363 in this volume, Col. 821.

5) namely the Scotists, the Thomists and the Modernists.

1) Carlstadt's 11th and 12th theses for the Leipzig Disputation.

2) Carlstadt's 11th and 12th theses. - In the original: *odtuli8ti*; in the Wittenberg: *obtulit*. We have opted for the former reading with the Weimar one.

The same applies to the fact that I now think that Johann Hus' article (as I will show in his time) is entirely Christian and also yours. Likewise, that the article of John Hus (of whom I now hold many more articles than I held at Leipzig, 1) as I shall show in his time) is entirely Christian, and also yours, in which human actions are held to be either good or evil by direct distinction. For here it follows clearly: if before grace, free will can only sin; as it also follows that the sects of the scholastic teachers err in their action according to equity (*de congruo*). For the word stands firm: "Free will without grace can only do something sinful".

I have also quite rightly concluded that you would have returned to Ingolstadt as a Pelagian heretic if you had not conceded this opinion that it is in truth Pelagian to concede to free will before grace an action without sin, as the scholastics do. Not that they are therefore Pelagians, as you infer according to your usual dialectic, because they have not stubbornly erred, as you would have erred if you had remained a defender of error. Therefore, that Calendarium or Register of [scholastic] Teachers 2) is a reliable testimony of your exceedingly sharp dialectic, which always shouts further than it can see.

Moreover, I have concluded that the torturous bad theology (theologistram carnificem) has fallen from the merit according to equity (sonZrui), from which "do as much as is in him", and other things that are enumerated there, because it had been admitted, that before grace there is only sin, but sin can never be *congruent* (*congruum*) with grace (for Belial is not *congruent* with Christ, nor darkness with light), nay, rather sin contends against grace. All this is true, I say, if Carlstadt is right, as Eck admitted.

If you now, my dear Eck, have a different grammar, as you indeed always have a different dialectic, that conqueror, victor, truth, error, in short, the things and words must serve you as a new Mercurius at will, then you must be merciful to us and not resent if we use ours, since we allow you to use yours. So I have held so far and still hold.

But I know what you are thinking here. But in the meantime, my dear Eck, do not be dismayed: soon I will also come to your thoughts, after I have first sent this in advance, that the other matter of the activity of free will and some other things, with which you have wasted so much time, are too small to deserve a theological disputation, especially such and such a large one. It is enough that we have agreed on the main thing, that the good free will alone is indebted to God and to grace, without which it can do nothing but sin.

But since you deny what I have concluded and assert lies, I think two things: either that you have acted deceitfully in Leipzig and have been an exceedingly hateful hypocrite to the ruin of truth, or that you are dumber than any block. And here, perhaps, there will be a knot worth untying. I do not want to call you stupid, since I believe that you have enough sense that you can understand that sin and grace virtually fight against each other, like light and darkness. It only remains that by sin, evil, ungodliness you have not understood sin nor evil nor ungodliness, which the words say, but what you have invented, that is, "something not meritorious," namely, a new word, and that you have taken Augustine and Ambrose of Carlstadt 3) thus: "Free will before grace is only capable of something for sinning," that is, for not meriting; and, "Free will approaches ungodliness," that is, for not meriting, "the more zealously it is intent on action." If you do not

1) In the meantime, Wenceslas Rozd'alsky had sent him from Prague the "Tractate of the Church" that Hus had written. See No. 423.

2) In the 15th part of the 6xpurZg,tio, Eck has listed an exceedingly large number of them. LxpurAatio toi.

3) That is: They talk in the two theses Carlstadt mentioned.

so, I say, taking sin, evil, ungodliness, you will not escape what I have written in my letter.

Have I met your thoughts? How could I not meet them, since you yourself in this purification writing explain these words in such a way, under which you secretly wanted to be and let be understood something completely different at Leipzig, where you sought the truth as a sincere and open man? Hear, therefore, thou dearest protector of truth: Where hast thou ever read that sin, evil, ungodliness are taken for "not meritorious", except in thy Pelagian errors and falsifications of Scripture? On what scripture, on what reasonable ground do you base yourself? By what power will you be able to prevent a heretic, trusting in this right of meaning, from denying that "sin" is contained in Scripture, but claiming that it is all "not meritorious"? Dost thou not thus mock the words of the fathers, which thou also preferest to the Scriptures? Is this the marrow of which you boast that I do not see it in the sayings of the fathers? Have you so learned to dispute for the truth that you speak something else before men and understand something else in yourself? A truly open and sincere corner, as all know him, how he does not seek honor, how he honestly seeks the truth!

O cursed day in which I was born (that I speak with Jeremiah [Cap. 20, 14.]), that I have to see such shameless hypocrisy among theologians! Therefore, it is not to be wondered at if you are so anxious to be praised as an open and sincere man. For since you are open in this way, whom do you leave who would be more in need of this praise? I ask that the Leipzigers praise the open Eck; all those you praise may praise you, even with stentorian voices, and even so they will not praise you enough, so great is the necessity.

Yes, even I and the Wittenbergers praise and say: In everything you write and say the truth: Luther's letter is completely wrong; he has done you wrong, yes, he himself recants it. What more do you want? Now it is quite true that the merit is established in equity that the article

You have not denied the sects of the scholastic teachers, that servile fear (that is, sin and ungodliness) is the beginning of repentance, which otherwise must be done in grace, because it is through sinning (that is, through "not deserving") and through ungodliness (that is, through a work that is not pleasant) that we begin to deserve and do pleasant things. You have conquered, you have triumphed! Glory above all glory be to Eck, who has obtained that free will before grace is not attributed a merit by the scholastic teachers; but he has obtained it exceedingly easily, because no one has ever denied this.

And you believed or wanted to be believed, sincere man, that Carlstadt and Luther were so coarse that they would ever have imposed this monstrosity on the scholastic teachers or would have disputed about it, that it would have been necessary that you would have had to argue about this with such a big noise in such an excellent place? Why don't you write from Ingolstadt in the same way, with turned words, that by Purgatory you understood the belief in the Holy Trinity, so that we could boast that you had fought for it, that God is triune and one, which no one has ever denied, just as also not Purgatory, for which you have most laboriously disputed? But I praise you as an exceedingly clever disputator, who have invented for yourself the most certain way of disputing, and in seeking Christ follow the exceedingly shameful (Elenchistam) Aristotle, the sincere the sincere, the open the open, that you argue with words alienated from their proper meaning (that is his highest and only virtue) against imaginary enemies (Chimeras) who cannot strike back, meanwhile openly agreeing with the words of those with whom you dispute. What is in it? You can sit at home and shower yourself with triumphs and crowns because of the ghosts you have invented and overcome.

Rather, it was disputed whether free will not only did not deserve before grace, but also sinned, and approached godlessness by being intent on action, as Carlstadt's words clearly say.

If you did not want to challenge them, why did you offer to do so? Why did you admit them if they were false? Why didn't you at least make a mockery of your words of "non-denial", since that childish Carlstadt was present, whom you, since he is absent, from Ingolstadt, you heroic and open-minded man, despised so much? Only now has your gloss come into being, through which you want to escape, which you concealed at Leipzig, so that you would not be caught, you sincere and open man, as often as you were asked to do so.

I burn exceedingly on both sides, namely it laments me your, and I am unwilling about your cursed hypocrisy. You desist from seeking the truth of the theology. The trust (*fides*) in you is gone. Return to your impostor Aristotle, the most godless hypocrite among the philosophers, who never wanted to be respected for saying what he would have said. This one is your quite worthy teacher. O wretched man that it ever happened to me to have anything to do with you. "For the spirit of discipline fleeth deceitfulness," as Wisdom Cap. 1:5 [Vulg.] is written, and v. 1 it is said, "Seek him in simplicity of heart."

Why do you wonder that letters, rumors and all the monstrosities you accuse me of have followed this unfortunate disputation? It would be strange if something good followed this mockery of the Holy Spirit, the mockery of truth, the contempt of Christ. One thing I ask of you: that you henceforth (if it is possible) have nothing to do with Martin. I am more sorry for the books I have published against you than you may believe. The more I have taken you for an honest man, the more seriously I have been deceived and attacked.

For it is that you broke the agreement that it should be a free disputation, and did not want disputation to take place unless judges were appointed, and none other than scholastics of your ilk, whose cause you led, but secretly and with forged words, lest you disgrace yourself and them (if you had been open) in the most unfortunate way.

brought. It is that you refused that what was said should be recorded by notaries, or [wanted] that it should be recorded in such a way that the copies should neither be duplicated nor published, but suppressed until you could boast the judgment of your party, pretending that the judgment of the whole world does not please you, because the world is in trouble, as if you and your theologians were heaven, and one must believe that you are in a place before other people, where everything is well (*in benigno*). For in such a way you see through the core of the Scripture without hypocrisy. It is that you would not allow Carlstadt to have books or slips of paper, whom you should have urged and begged, if you had not pretended to investigate the truth, to have someone else read for him if he could not do it himself, even to give silent signs with his fingers. What does he do, what does he not suffer, who sincerely seeks the truth? Soon he is master, soon disciple, soon comrade, soon he becomes everything to everyone, so that the truth may come to light. Carlstadt presented himself to you as such, Luther presented himself to you as such. But you, who almost alone presume to love the truth, boast almost nothing else than that if this had been done, it would not have been a disputation, but I don't know what kind of childish thing, you would not have sought people like Thersites nor lesser people with whom you wanted to argue.

You, a theologian, dare to roll these words, brimming with the most abject honor, without shame into the midst of the praise of the honor you despise and the truth you love. If someone else had said this about you, you would have taken him for such a person, who tried to revile you as the worst hypocrite, as a nonsensical person, who would be worthy of you writing a cleansing pamphlet or something more annoying against him. Now you like

1) In the expurgatio, in the 31st part, Eck writes: "I ascribe erudition to Luther and have attributed it to him; I have also not wanted to argue with a Thersites or with a stupid little donkey, just as Alexander the Great disdained to argue in the Olympic games."

to you, since you cackle this excellent praise with your own beak. Do you not believe, wretched man, that there are other people in the world than your Leipzigers, since one ass itches another (for not all itch you), who know what a sincere and open investigator of truth is, before whom this boasting of your sincerity is more stinking than any pestilential vapor? It is that you have suddenly turned the matter elsewhere, from free will to the activity of free will, - hui! how necessary a question to spoil the time.

Only now do I understand what the cause is that you have always detested the effort of writing, taking the most respectable hypocrisy as a pretext: you do not love the hurtful (*aculeatum*==*stach* light) way of writing. But you always challenge to a disputation, but to such a one, which, if it is written out, may not be published and submitted to the judgment of the whole world, unless it is judged by judges who please you and are extorted by force, of course ready, for this kind of disputation France, Italy, Germany, perhaps also the worlds of Democritus, if someone should reject this [world], [as a battlefield], namely because you know that in such disputations there is no place, neither for consideration nor for diligence, which you, an extremely sincere man, always consider suspicious, even harmful, in the investigation of truth, and that it is very easy to impute a foreign meaning to common words, which, since one may not compare the preceding and the following, then also the matter is suddenly turned to other things, can be very difficult to perceive, especially if it is intended to put on an appearance, so that no one should or could notice it, in that both the listeners and the judges are deceived by the boasting of universal truth. This danger for the truth and the annoyance of the most godless hypocrisy would not go very well in writing. You have therefore the some way to seek the truth, namely the confusion of the hasty disputation. Who would have ever understood also that that is the truth love and

if you, new language teacher of words, did not teach like this with your party? so much are you entirely fiction and hypocrisy. Yes, in your entire purification writing there is almost nothing that you are not hypocritical, except in the angry accusation, although you also attach to this a little tail of feigned modesty. Before the disputation, men of good standing said to me: Beware, Martin; believe him who has experienced it. This man is nothing but pretense (*fictio*) and hypocrisy. I did not believe them, nor all my senses, although the letter of Erasmus 1) and the Apology of Udalricus Zasius also presented you to me as such: so constantly have I thought the best of you and would never have thought otherwise, if you had not publicly disgraced yourself before the world by this dunghill as the most hateful hypocrite.

Here belongs what you write in the disgusting and dirty letter 2) before other things to your highly famous Ingolstadters, although you (according to your quite obvious sincerity) bravely pretend that you did not boast of the victory, you had drawn Carlstadt over to your side to the activity of free will, and at the same time you are sorry that you had allowed him to make that excellent answer in the evening, by which, according to the judgment of all, he destroyed you, as you yourself confess. In one thing, you say, I was wrong; I made replies at night and gave him time to think. For you felt the mortal wound. What do you think would have happened if everything had been done with the same deliberation as it should have been? as the extremely praiseworthy prince, Duke George, had ordered, who wanted only the truth to be sought and everything that could be done to it to be done.

1) This is the letter of Erasmus to Eck of May 15, 1518, which appeared immediately after its appearance in the *^uctariurn sclcctururn aliquot epistolarnin aã cruãitos 6t boruna acl MuM* in Basel with Johann Frobenius and caused much sensation. - With the same came out in March 1519 also 2a8ii *^poloZctica äckensio contra <1. Decium*.

2) Eck's letter to the professors of law, Georg Hauer and Franz Burkhardt, from Leipzig, dated Misnias (Leipzig), July 1, 1519. Excerpted in Seckendorf, Hist. Uutb. I, x. 85b. In this volume, no. 396.

served best. You praise him, dear God, how sincerely! on your side, namely because you have been such executors of the will of the good prince.

What should you do sincerely for the truth, since you have not only made cunning plots with your own, so that the truth, which it was about, would not be sought with good consideration and carefully, but you also still boast in this wickedness, a mighty man in godlessness, and only lament that this your plot has failed to some extent? For this you also indicated by the public lamentation, since you almost wept that he had a copy of Notarius, while meanwhile you were praised by your Leipzigers that you, without caring about the copies, could also shout (I wanted to say disputing) well, nevertheless exceedingly victoriously. And how should you not have been able to do it, since you had taken the liberty to invent everything arbitrary? And yet you still impose yourself on us as an open and sincere corner, well known to all.

I pass over the other monstrosities with the rest in this letter, while I would like to describe you in a short epitome to the whole world what kind of man you are, if I were raging in vengeance (after your manner), since the other letter has also been published. But I spare the theological name, because it laments me your in truth. For the fact that you spout nothing but accusations against me throughout the whole purification letter, since you do it in the evil conscience of hypocrisy, hoping that in this way you will shut the mouth of the whole world and have them at your beck and call: 1) you should know that I am not moved by the accusations against me and by your and Leipzig's praise, but by your hypocrisies I am almost killed. This abomination Christ also bore with the utmost displeasure, while he otherwise received the public sinners and the publicans most meekly. And what would the sweetest truth have [more] 2)

1) Instead of additururu in the editions we have adopted aaiturura; mLnuiu ackire aticui - to have someone for the best.

2) inaBis is only in the Jena edition.

hated than the enemies of truth who sell themselves under the title of truth?

Furthermore, why do you exalt the judges so high? Is it because you have deceived their judgment, so that your ungodliness may be found and make you detestable? We have your cleansing scripture, which we can hold up to the whole world, and show that this disputation at Leipzig was a mockery of truth and Eck's hypocrisy, which I will open up further when your water bubble, 3) which you are now giving birth to, has come to light. In the meantime, I will not answer the other things of this pile of your dung; it is also not necessary, since this one piece in a short epitome shows enough who you are on the whole.

And to come back to you, I say and assert publicly before you and the whole world, by repeating and saying again that Carlstadt's theses are true, likewise also my letter. And in order to impress it strongly upon you, so that you do not fast other things into the eye and leave the present matter (as you are wont to do), I will indicate the summa to you in large letters:

If you admit that Carlstadt's theses are true, that the free will not only does not deserve before grace, but also sins damnably (you hear, you hear, Eck, do not hypocrite!) and does not approach only what is not deserving, but ungodliness to death by being intent on action,

So you are defeated and my letter is true; if you deny it, or pretend to admit it, you are a Pelagian. You are a man, and Carlstadt childish; we do not doubt that you will show your heroic bravery, but you should know that we will not believe you now as we did before; we will pay attention to the hypocrite whom we believed before, since he boasted sincerity. But you see to it that you read the Calendarium or Martyrs' Register or little-

3) Meant is the larger writing of Eck: ve kriiuatu ?etri ack versus I'u66erum lidri tres. InAosbadii 1520. folio. Erroneously, Löscher refers this to the papal bull to be obtained by Eck.

Meanwhile, at least, you diligently search the chronicle, from which you pile up many names on paper against us, but in such a way that you do not forget the dialectic, and do not make such a lame conclusion (as this one was).

But what you write of letters of the Bohemians, which, according to your sincerity, are fabricated or again hypocritical from your thoughts, and of my errors against the church, that pleases me, not because you speak the truth, but because your hopeless hypocrisy is so much abhorrent to me that even that pleases me, that you openly lie, judge, belittle. But it will be near the day that it will come to light whether you and yours have done more harm to the church of Christ through the prince of darkness, Aristotle, whom you yourselves (ipsum) do not understand, or whether I have done more harm. And to your conclusion, which is worthy of any stick-fool, that the Bohemians praise me, pray for me, is also answered to you in Emsers Bock 1).

Farewell, and may the Lord Jesus make your soul healthy for eternity. Amen.

Luther's report of this to Spalatin, along with the transmission of this answer.

See Appendix, No. 46, z 2.

385 Luther's declaration to Spalatin that he did not want to engage in any further correspondence with Eck after the disputation and, if possible, did not want to have anything more to do with him.

See Appendix, No. 48 in the Postscript.

2. all the friends of truth and Luther have described this disputation.

386: Nicolaus von Amsdorf, Licentiate and Canonics at Wittenberg, letter to Spalatin about the disputation at Leipzig.

Aug. 1, 1519.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 70; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 149; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 275; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 248; and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 238. We give the text according to the Jena edition.

1) Luther's addition to Emser's Bock. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 1212.

1st Happiness and Hail! It would be almost long and rambling to recount the order and proceedings of the Leipzig Disputation, but much more rambling and annoying to describe it. For as often as I think of this disputation, I am moved and inflamed; not out of love, as I know God is to Doctor Martinus, but because I carry the truth and have no doubt that it is certain, unchanging and eternally constant, but hateful to all great men. Although before this time I also considered it to be falsehood, as Eck together with his bunch considers it to be today.

2 It is no wonder, because Eck is completely unlearned in the holy scriptures. And, what is probably even more, he does not know as much about sophistry as befits and is due to such an excellent disputator, for whom he wants to be held; therefore he also boasts and claims to be a father and patron of sophistry. For I, too, have somewhat touched upon it, and if I understand the matter rightly (for I have no reason or discernment at all), Eck speaks everything that he thinks and has in mind without reason, judgment, and discernment, although he can almost pronounce the words that he has learned by heart and in memory with great splendor and respectable gift; not to seek the truth, but for a splendid presentation and display of his memory, and to defend the teachers of his sects. As is the habit and usage of all sophists or school teachers, who defend all their opinions and delusions with great boasting and clamor, and yet know not what they intend or say. I speak of this as one who has experienced the truth.

But so that you may believe me that it is true, listen to a saying from the Holy Scriptures, which Eck, among other sayings, with the advice of the most clumsy and dishonest sophists at Leipzig, has brought up and used to confirm the papal indulgence. It is written in Isaiah, chapter 61, v. 1: "The Spirit of the Lord is with me, therefore the Lord has anointed me. He sent me to preach to the wretched, that I might heal the contrite heart, and to preach indulgence, that is, forgiveness of sin, to the captives.

4 Behold, my dear Spalatin, for the sake of the word "indulgence," the sophists at Leipzig drew on a black tablet with chalk the saying they had found in the book called *Concordantiae majoris Bibliae*, so that the following day he could use it to obtain the papal indulgence, which he had recently asked for in order to win.

The prophet did not speak of the forgiveness of sins through indulgences, but of the incarnation of our dear Lord and Savior. Behold the wretched and grossly incomprehensible 1) sophists! But I am not surprised, because they know nothing. But I am very surprised that Eck has come to the disputation with the mentioned sentence, has led it in such a remarkable assembly, and has given it to the notaries in the feathers.

5 But that is true, Eck surpasses Doctor Carlstadt by far with his memory and pronouncement; so that I was sorry that the matter had begun; not that Eck had won, prevailed and triumphed, but that if the deal had not been given in the plumes, ours would have gone away with very great shame. For Eck argues and makes his case in the manner of the Welsh with nine or ten arguments, by which not truth, but vain honor of memory and intellect is sought; which is the Sophists, that is, all school teachers, of whom St. Paul says [2 Tim. 2, 16. 23. They are turned to useless talk, yet they want to be teachers of the Scriptures, and do not understand what they say or say; for they deal in foolish and foolish questions, which give birth to war, strife and dissension, of which St. Paul says [1 Tim. 6:20] that one should refrain from such talk. On this, the corner, together with his own, yes, together with all the sophists, gives himself first to the whales, who, if they are inclined to a teacher, refrain from defending his doctrine and opinion to the death, even though the greatest falsity and untruth is found in it. This cannot be done better than with great clamor, and with a great deal of argument and rebuttal. For the listeners consider only the one to be the victor who shouts the most and keeps the last word. Because Eck has always had the last word and shouted the most, he is therefore honored and considered the victor even today by the people of Leipzig. Truly, I would not have answered him more than on one and the first argument, and if I had misplaced it together with his rebuttal and rejoinder, I would have proceeded further.

6. corners I can compare against D. Martin neither in doctrine nor art, neither in pronunciation nor memory, I wanted then stone or more filth and muck with the most beautiful and

1) Thus the Wittenbergers. Jenaer: "grobuerständigen".

purest gold. But in this alone Eck surpasses D. Martinum, that Eck cries out more than D. Martin. And so much of the disputators.

(7) But of the rulers of the dispensation I will say little, though I could say much, lest I argue against heaven. But recently and in sum: Everything that has been loved by the Lord has been rightly done and carried out as soon as possible; but what ours have asked and sought has been rejected as unreasonable and unseemly. Therefore we have been in the most inconvenient and dangerous place, and with and among the worst enemies than I think we have on earth. But enough of that. But I will tell you more about our coming together.

(8) I hear that King Carl in Hispania was elected Roman king, but that another was elected Roman king before him; but the first elected one refused and rejected the election, and I would like to know the truth. For all sorts of things are said by many. You are lazy and write nothing; write what is to be written. Fare well and be blessed in the Lord Christ JEsu, and be suspicious of me in the sight of God. Given at Wittenberg, on the first day of August, Anno Domini 1519.

Spalatin's Relation of the Disputation at Leipzig.

From Spalatin's "Yearbooks of Luther's Reformation," p. 30.

In the year after Christ's birth in 1519, Doctor Eck of Ingolstadt came to the conclusion that in Leyptzick, immediately under the reign of Charles the Fifth, 2) a dispute was held between him and Doctor Andreas Bodensteyn of Karlstadt. 2) a dispute between them and Doctor Andreas Bodensteyn of Karlstadt was held in the presence of the entire Vniuersitet, also Duke Georgen of Saxony; in which they caused Doctor Martinum to attack not only the indulgence, but also purgatory more harshly than had happened before. They also had the revised sentences printed along with their interpretation.

Since Duke George of Saxony, and only many secular princes, have gladly accepted many of the articles of this Christian religion, Doctor Martinus has taken the primacy of the bishop, and the bishop is not the supreme commanding bishop.

2) That is: election; the imperial election took place at Frankfurt.

of the whole of Christendom, in the same dispute has also attacked hard, caused among other things by the fact that Doctor Eck, and his group, against the understanding of the holy divine scripture, the rock, where Christ says Matthew on the sixteenth to Peter, you are Peter, and on this rock I want to build my kyrchen, or common, on Peter, and not on Christ; So Docter Eck and his like want to protect, preserve, and write the Babst, and his power against Christ himself, and his poor, clean little home, and make great, whole books, full of useful, antichristian talk and chatter. So that they not only, the longer they went on, corrupted many good-hearted people's consciences, but also corrupted the priesthood's business to the highest degree. That the Babst, and the whole Babstumb of such scribes and servants, could only well have dispensed with. And certainly their business, where such useless, unchristian, wicked writers, hearts, and books were not brought in, would not easily come to such waste.

388: Myconius' account of it.

From Friedrich Myconius *Historia Reformationis*, p. 34.

Hertzog Jörg of Saxony was not yet bitter at this time, but he did not like the fact that one should drive so swiftly with the scholars without recognition and without being overcome: however, he was annoyed that the high school in Wittenberg was held in such high esteem, and that Leipzig was held in low esteem. Doctor Eck of Ingolstadt came with great arrogance to subdue the Wittenbergers, Carlstadt and Lutherum. The *debate* was ordered in Leipzig, at the castle, in the large court room. There came learned people from all countries, to hear and to see how the matter would turn out. It was in the summer, in the month of July, that it was good to walk and many people could come. From both sides there was a very sharp dispute. Eccius led many *patres*, *glosses*, *interpretations*, and *canons*, but Luther brought the *Scriptures* and ancient *obscenities*. There were *notaries* who wrote everything down. And in sum: the act 1) went out by the pressure, who has desire, may read it.

Eccius was everywhere in the coming in splendidly held: But, do he herüm zohe, and the things had not better aligned, he becomes of the Ge

The gospel was also well defended, especially in Erfurt, with writings and other means. From that day on, Eccius remained an enemy and persecutor until this hour: and he incited against the Gospel the dukes of Beyern, King Ferdinand, the bishops, of whom he is a common idol; and whom he only controlled.

389 Des Johann Aurifaber Historie von der zu Leipzig Anno 1519 gehaltenen Disputation, an Georg Spalatini geschrieben [angeblich] im Juli 1519.

From the first Eisleben part, p. 8 printed in the Altenburg edition, Vol. I, p. 293; in the Leipzig edition, Vol. XVII, p. 249 and in Löscher, *Ref.-Acta*, Vol. III, p. 273. The superscription to this document, which we have taken from Walch's old edition, is in any case wrong. For Aurifaber was born only one year after the Leipzig Disputation, in 1520. He died at Erfurt in 1576 at the age of 56. This writing is to be regarded only as an abstract from the Leipzig acts, written after 1555. Compare the last note to this writing.

When Martin Luther's teachings, writings and books had spread to all countries and he had many opponents who opposed him, Duke George of Saxony scheduled a disputation and discussion in the city of Leipzig in the month of July. There came D. Luther, with D. Andreas Carlstadt, and M. Philippus Melanchthon, whom Duke Friedrich, Elector of Saxony, had appointed to the high school in Wittenberg as professor of the Greek language, only one year before. However, D. Johann Eck also came there to discuss with D. Carlstadt.

2 On the fourth day of July the disputation was begun by D. Johann Eck. He had prepared a number of articles for discussion, the last of which was that all those who taught that the Roman Church before the time of Pope Sylvester was not the first, foremost and highest above all others, were hardly mistaken. For all and at all times the Pope, who sat in the chair and faith of St. Peter (who was the highest among all the other apostles), was recognized and considered to be a descendant of Peter and the governor of the Lord Christ here on earth.

Luther opposed this article with another one, which he found quite repugnant, namely, that those who claim that the Roman church is the supreme one over all churches have only as a makeshift and a cap

1) That is, the Acts, Document No. 377.

of some popes' decrees and statutes, which alone were written four hundred years ago; but it would be contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and to the glorious, excellent Council of Nicaea, as well as to all decrees and most credible histories, written a thousand years ago.

4 When D. Johann Eck began the reported disputation, and dealt with the Pope's primacy and supreme power in Rome for the first time, Luther replied that he would have preferred that this article, so otherwise much hated and not at all necessary, had been discontinued this time, in honor of the Pope. And it would hurt him that he would be driven to it by D. Ecken.

5 Against this, D. Eck said that D. Luther, and not he, had aroused such quarrels and unrest, because he had publicly disputed in the first interpretation of his articles that the Pope at Rome before the times of Pope Silvester was by no means above the others as far as sovereignty, dignity and order were concerned, and had freely confessed before Cardinal Cajetano that Pope Pelagius had interpreted and understood many sayings of the Holy Scriptures according to his liking. Since this is the case, one should not blame him, but Luther.

Thus the first dispute was about the monarchy and supreme power of the pope in Rome. Eck wanted this to be established and founded in God's Word, and called Luther, who did not believe this but held it against him, a Bohemian heretic, because Johann Hus, a hundred years ago, also contested this article of the Pope's sovereignty and authority, and was of the same opinion as Luther. Luther's opinion.

Luther answered for this blasphemy, pointing out that at the time of the apostles, the church of Christ was planted and spread far and wide in all lands, probably twenty years earlier, when the apostle Peter came to Rome and destroyed the same church. Therefore, the Roman church could not be the highest and most noble above all other churches.

After this, D. Eck also disputed Luther's other articles, which he had written on human free will, purgatory, papal indulgences, penance, remission of penance and guilt, and the power of priests. This disputation ended and was decided on the 14th day of July, and Luther 1) publicly published such disputation in print.

as then in the first German Jenische Tomo the same to find. 2)

9 This disputation was not primarily scheduled by D. Luther, but by D. Carlstadt and D. Corners because of D. Carlstadt. But when Luther accompanied Carlstadt and came to Leipzig to listen, he was forced to debate with him by D. Ecken, who then brought him a safe conduct from Duke Georgen. In this disputation, D. Eck went too far and made erroneous, ungodly speeches, and caused D. Luthern to have the same discussion in Leipzig. Luther caused him to publish them in public print, and thus Luther's teachings became more and more widespread.

The letter of Petrus Mosellanus from the Leipzig Disputation to the famous Wilibald Pirkheimer, dated August 3, 1519.

This letter was first made known by Scultetus in anuall. svanML. rsnovat. ad ann. 1519, x". 28. from which Seckendorf, Hi8t. Lutk., iid. I, p. 90d, and Elias Frick has translated it in his German Seckendorf, p. 202. Because this writing is only of secondary importance, we have confined ourselves to an improvement of it according to Seckendorf.

Translated from the Latin by Elias Frick.

A rare and pleasant spectacle took place in Leipzig these days, namely a disputation of eminent theologians, of which you undoubtedly require a more detailed report. However, the faintness that still remains from the severe illness, from which I had to lie for a whole fortnight, does not allow me to describe the matter more precisely. Thus, the hardship I had to endure on the journey to Trier for the sake of my private affairs has taken away quite a bit of my spirits, which is why I only want to report the most important things recently.

On the 27th of June, 3) which day was determined for the beginning of this matter, by order and at the expense of my most noble prince, Duke George, a respectable service was held in the morning with splendid music in honor of the Holy Spirit, after the completion of which the foreign doctors, who were to debate, were led into the castle accompanied by a respectable procession of the entire university. For

2) These words prove that our writing must have been written after 1555, because in that year the first edition of the first volume of the Jena edition appeared.

3) In Seckendorf wrong: XVIII. Junii.

1) This information is incorrect. Compare the introductory note to Document 377.

There, an excellent room had been turned into an auditorium, with beautiful wallpaper, cathedrals and pulpits. This place was guarded by a number of armed citizens in such a way that not every common man (for a large number of learned and unlearned people had gathered for this spectacle) was allowed to enter.

When they had come in and sat down, I entered the pulpit and, in the name of my most noble Duke, reminded the disputants of their office and delivered a long speech on the proper way to disputes in theological matters; however, this matter was perhaps treated more freely than would have been pleasant to all. The duke himself read the speech before it was delivered, and liked it very much. He was astonished that theologians were so foolish, even godless, that one had to give them such a reminder. I send it to you herewith, after I have let it go out in print by princely order; you may read and evaluate it on occasion. But I will proceed to the matter itself.

After I had finished the speech, the chant "Come, Holy Spirit" was sung three times with vocal and instrumental music, which the Duke had ordered on my advice. This was the end of the preparations, and because it was time to dine at noon, the serious beginning of the disputation was postponed until two o'clock. When this hour had come, both parts protested, after the manner of theologians, because of their sincerity in faith. Martinus added that he did not like to see Dominicans, who had caused this whole tragedy in the first place, there to debate, since otherwise they would have aroused hatred in all their sermons against Martin's errors.

First, Carlstadt and Eck were left together, a very unequal pair. For Carlstadt showed a theological modesty in his voice, face, gestures and gait, and did not argue to gain the honor of scholarship or victory, but to investigate the truth; therefore, he did not assert anything other than with the aid of books, nor did he want to assume anything from the opposite, because he would have found the mind of the person addressed to be correct from words that preceded and followed. By this diligence, he highly recommended himself to the scholars; the unscholars, however, considered this to be timidity and slowness. Eck, on the other hand, seemed to be insolent because of his shouting, defiant soldier's face, almost comedic gestures and proud gait. All of this gave an indication of the mind

is not very theological. You would have said, where you saw it, a Gorgias, not a theologian, disputer. So frivolous and impudent he often boasted himself. Thus he has given a great blow to his name with us. It is easy for him to assert what is false; on the other hand, he insolently denies what is certainly true, and in addition, with great boasting, to make the matter more odious.

(6) Eck dealt with Carlstadt about free will: Whether every good work comes from the grace of God; or whether free will also contributes something from its own strength? The first was put by Carlstadt; the other was defended by Eck. Then the question was raised: Whether the whole life of Christians is a constant repentance? From which it flowed that men in their good works have also subverted sin, against which Eck argued.

7 Martinus denied that the pope had his sovereignty by divine right, that is, that it could be proven from Scripture. Yes, according to Paul's teaching, every priest is equally a successor of the apostles, and has the power to forgive guilt and punishment in case of need. Against this, Eck drew on a large number of decrees and sayings from the fathers, since this should be proven by divine right. Finally, he came to the last key, namely the saying of Matth. 16: "You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church. Martinus wanted the rock to be understood as the glorious creed, or the whole body of the church with Origen, or Christ himself with Augustine. Eck, however, with the new scribes the man Peter and his successors, which explanation he tried to strengthen with some passages torn out of Bernard and Jerome. Martinus refuted all this extraordinarily well, because in this way the church would be without a head as often as a pope departs with death, for it must without doubt be without a head as long as the papal chair remains vacant. Against this, nothing would help what is claimed by the cardinals who meanwhile represent the papal office. This is null and void for two reasons: first, because the cardinals have only arisen a few centuries ago, who are many heads, not one head; second, because what is divine right cannot be interrupted by any man's death, or even by the whole world's destruction.

8) The indulgence was also raised for discussion, but more in jest than in earnest.

9. there was such a dispute about purgatory that people were

He did not doubt the same, but acted as the souls in it were against God.

10 Three weeks were spent on such a dispute, from which, as far as I understand, more was expected than was gained. For nothing has been decided in it, nor have the parties reached agreement on any matter. The whole matter was recorded by notaries. The Erfurt and Paris judges were chosen to judge the dispute. However, as far as I can gather from some private discourses of the Erfurters, they are reluctant to accept the burden of such a great burden, as for other reasons, but especially because Eck has excluded the best and most learned theologians of this university, as suspicious, from the judging.

11 It is generally thought that Eck will start badly in defense of the papal primacy. But, it may go as it will, I do not care. To me, this theatrical way of disputing does not seem at all similar to the gentle teaching of Christ, nor will anyone persuade me to believe that the Holy Spirit, who is a spirit of peace, is involved in such actions. The truth of Christian doctrine is more likely to be attained by devotional prayer than by disputation. You have herewith described the whole disputation, however industriously and in haste. What else may have happened, you have probably already heard through rumor. But you will see whom you believe. For the common legend reports something false as easily as true, and you know that there are many new things in war. Erfurt, 3 Aug. 1) 1519.

391: Petrus Mosellanus' other description of this disputation in a letter to Julius von Pflug, a nobleman from Meissen. Dec. 6, 1519.

This writing has D. Joh. Förster in 1609 at Wittenberg printed under the title Streun, lüpsieusis, then it is included in Schiller's 1)6 lidertntk 666168inrum Osminuine, x>. 840, then in the "innocent news" 1702, p. 104 and 154 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 242. According to the latter, we have revised the old translation.

Translated into German.

1) At Seckendorf: quiuto Xounn ^uAustnn, an impossible date, because there are only four days before the nones in August. Therefore we have kept the date set by Frick.

Peter Mosellanus to his beloved Julius his greeting!

I. The other day, as I had traveled from my city of Trier, where I had gone with the prince's permission for a certain matter, to your fatherland, and did not suspect anything bad, I encountered such a great change in all things that I cannot be surprised enough at the so unexpected change in human things. For as soon as I arrived in Erfurt on my return journey, good friends, of whom I have many and great ones there, told me about the civil or rather family wars of the Saxons among each other; likewise about the scholars' disputes in Leipzig and Wittenberg, which had gone out since my departure on the occasion of the famous disputation, and were continuing to increase without end; to which I myself also belonged. Finally, which was the greatest misfortune of all, they presented the plight of the rampant plague to me so terribly, and painted it before my eyes, as it were, that I almost froze over it with Aeneas in Virgil, my hair stood on end, and my tongue stuck to the roof of my mouth.

2 Although the good people not only admonished me, but also pleaded with me under very acceptable suggestions that I should at least stay with them through the winter, and not put my health, which would otherwise be very weak, in danger, I still preferred to go to the fire, and to see the devastation and nature of the fire more closely. Therefore, I stayed only two days to rest the horses and traveled to Naumburg to our Kyneck. As a good friend, he welcomed me warmly and gave me some news of my affairs, and also reported that you had returned from Italy. In the midst of the misfortune, I was so pleased that I almost forgot all my sorrow, just as the peasants tend to be happy when, after a long rain, the lovely sun finally lets its golden head shine out of the clouds again. But I had neither rest nor peace with this man, because the enemy (scil. plague) was already within the walls, and death could be seen everywhere. Therefore, early the next day, when I had arrived there, I left Leipzig to the left and traveled eagerly to Pegau in the certain hope of speaking to you. I found Marcus, your father's scribe, in the inn. I asked if you were at home or in Meissen? He said: In Meissen. Then I did not know what to do. For I had already decided to go to Meissen,

I stayed all the more because I wanted to see you after such a long time and enjoy your pleasant company. But all my household goods were still waiting for my return to Leipzig, since I would go to Meissen in vain without books, and at the same time the plague deterred me from Leipzig. Since I was so in doubt, it finally seemed most advisable to me for the sake of my health to go straight to Meissen to see you. However, it happened by chance that, since we were already ready to leave and the horses were saddled, there was gossip among the people: D. Alexander von Tzneymani, to whom I had ordered my things when I left, was with his brother in a house near Merseburg: the place is called Kötzlin. Then I asked diligently: how far is this place from your Pegau, and whether I could still get there by day? Since they said yes, I traveled across the fields, because there is no way there, and arrived there in the evening. There we spent almost three days with each other, while our dear and kind friend did us all the honor he could, and the servant in the city cleared out and packed the things, and then looked for carters who were to take it away. Since we are now making our arrangements in this way and not getting far, behold! in the meantime, our Julius has moved away from Meissen again and slipped away from us. Since I had now lost all hope of seeing each other and of amusing ourselves by friendly conversation, I wanted to dare something anew and leave this letter to you. Since I had already finished it, yours came to me quite unexpectedly. From this I have understood that my fate has hurt you in this as much as it has hurt me, although I would have been more interested in it than you, because I would have talked to you not only about common things, but also especially about certain of my own affairs, as my best friend. So I will do as you do, and what could not be done verbally, I will do in writing.

3) For as far as the matter of the theologian Martin is concerned, which has been made so hateful by the zeal of so many sophists here, and of which you would like to know the correct course of events, I am of the opinion that I do not like to entrust such things to a letter, even if it is sealed, nor do I consider it safe; but since I do not seem to deny anything to my Julius, I will faithfully and recently depict the whole tragedy as it happened, but with the proviso that no foreign spectator is present, because

otherwise my larva will fall right in the middle of the game.

4 At the beginning one knows quite well, without my telling, how hated Martin's whole enterprise had been by all, who either do not know the wickedness of the Roman fellows, or have enjoyed the vices of the same, or have spent their whole life with sophistical crickets. Although both sides have argued by propositions that were spread throughout Germany, in that Luther eradicates from theology the Aristotelian philosophy, which they alone hold, although they do not understand it: yet they seize it, as their treasure, with all their might, and seek to defend it by all means, with honesty or roguishness, which they consider permissible against the enemy in war. For not only have our Leipzigers opposed their propositions to those of Martin, but Eck, who is a theologian in Bavaria, and who wants to rise as high as if he had more than a familiar Socratic spirit (which could solve all his riddles), because such an innovation annoys him, has presented the bishop of Eichstädt with some remarks against Martinus. And since Martinus had learned this from his friends, he soon incited Carlstadt, the archidiaconus in Wittenberg, against him through his friends, and wanted to force the man to recant. He did answer several times, but in my opinion much too shallowly to bring about respect for his special erudition in an honest reader. For Eck is not so ready with the pen as with the tongue, and has a good capacity to prattle, but not to judge rightly. Since he could not make much headway in such a battle, he called for a public battle and disputation, because he thought he would do best there, as a horse in the open field. The Wittenbergers accepted the fight. So both were given permission to do so in our theological assembly or auditorium, for which July 27 had been appointed. Both arrived in good time. Eck alone with a few servants, whom he had also hired, recommended to our prince by Fugger's letter. Martin and Carlstadt brought with them a considerable crowd from their university, including the excellent Prince Barnim from Pomerania, a very modest prince who was very devoted to his studies and especially gracious to me. However, a large crowd came to see the exit, from all kinds of people, elders, counts, knights of the golden river, scholars and unscholars, that there was not a single auditorium.

This school, many of which are large enough, could hold all the listeners. But the prince took care of that. Because he had foreseen the matter, he had the large hall in the castle prepared for this purpose. And because he allowed the parties to debate against the will of the bishop in Merseburg, and because the others objected, he also took all precautions. He ordered the council to arrange for lodgings according to the status of each guest, and at the same time, to prevent the tumult, he ordered guards. So everything is going well, especially since your father, in the name of the prince, has taken care of everything, and even arranged everything himself.

When the appointed day appeared, early at six o'clock (according to our way of reckoning) in the St. Thomas Church, for the better progress of the project, a mass with all kinds of music was splendidly held. Afterwards, a magnificent procession rushed in droves to the castle. To prevent all the riffraff from entering, sufficient guards had been placed at the gate. But after all had entered and everyone had sat down in a proper place, I poor man, who was not yet completely free of fever and had been let in from behind, climbed up on the pulpit to speak in the name of the prince, at which everyone became quiet and attentive. At first, I confess, I was a little frightened by so many and so large a gathering, such a great waiting of all listeners, and such a great prince's person, whom I was to introduce. However, I delivered the speech, if not with great praise, then certainly in such a way that the prince himself was satisfied with all the kind-hearted people or listeners. When the speech was over, and everyone had had enough (for almost two hours [clepsydrae] had elapsed), some musi

In the middle of the morning, the choir, which had also been prepared by me for this purpose and had entered through the back entrance, played the song: Komm, Heiliger Geist 2c. most lovingly, while all listeners reverently fell on their knees. Since this preparation of the morning had taken place, they left for the midday meal, and a herald proclaimed that they would like to rejoice after the meal. All came back with desire. Carlstadt and Eck, having asked for leniency each for himself, entered the battlefield. They argued about free will, namely how it behaved against the salutary work of a human being. For Carlstadt sought to substantiate: that what would be wholesome only in man's deeds or words,

everything would come from God, as the unified source of all good. Man's will would not add anything good by its attunement, but would only receive the influence of heavenly grace. In short: God is the smith, our free will the hammer, so that he forges our salvation. This opinion, which is not at all inconsistent (where I understand otherwise), was contradicted by Eck for three whole days, by giving partly to grace, partly to man's will a meritorious work (so he called it). Finally it came about that Eck admitted: the whole good work comes from God, but not in a complete way, and gave the speaker reason of the related things completely good night. Carlstadt not only laughed at this bad way of differentiation, but also refuted it afterwards in a long printed letter as a ludicrous little fiction. Whether others like this writing, I cannot say; but I liked it, as far as the matter itself is concerned.

6 Martin took over from Carlstadt and wanted to defend this: namely, that one proves only from decrees that the Roman Church and its bishop are above all others, but that the Scriptures and the reputation of the Nicene Conciliar dispute this. Eck made every effort to overturn this sentence and spent eight days on it, while he would have liked to make the man even more hated by advancing most of the articles of the Bohemian mob. But Martinus, who was well aware of such traps, sighed seriously and deeply that he was being dragged along so cunningly and completely out of order. He also rejected the advanced doctrines partly with great zeal, but partly accepted them as Christian, and everywhere drew the most important testimonies of Scripture or ancient conciliar conclusions for himself. In short, he took so much trouble in nothing as to reject the Bohemian mob's suspicion of him, since Eck, on the other hand, went out of his way to teach people this opinion of Martin, no matter how much Martinus argued against it. With these and other matters, about the state of the souls in purgatory, about penance, about fear, about indulgences, 2c., almost ten days went by, and would not have come to an end if news had not come that Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, who was returning from Frankfurt from the Elector's Day, was near. For the same had to be arranged for at our prince's request.

1) In Löscher erroneously: XX.

The first thing to be done was to destroy the hostel at the castle in Leipzig. That is why they parted in such a way that both parties boasted of the victory. For Eck triumphs with all who, like donkeys listening to the lyre, do not understand the matter, or have always been above Peter Hispanus 1) since childhood, or are otherwise grudging to the Wittenbergers. Martin's and Carlstadt's victory is the less famous or known, the fewer the scholars and wise men are, and those who do not like to brag about their things.

Thus you have the trade, briefly and above told, since much is omitted which so mainly does not belong to the matter. But why don't you also applaud? Perhaps I have not presented the game properly, or you have not yet had enough and want to see more. So I want to fill you up with this meal to the point of surfeit, and describe the leaders of this battle with vivid colors.

Martin is of medium length, lean from worry and study, so that one could almost count the bones through the skin, still of manly and fresh age, and has a clear, penetrating voice. But he is full of erudition and excellent knowledge of the Scriptures, so that he can count everything on his fingers, as it were. He knows so much Greek and Hebrew that he can judge the interpretations. Nor is he lacking in things, for he has a large forest or stock of words and things. According to his life and manners, he is very polite and friendly, and has nothing sour or austere (*stoicum*) about him; indeed, he is able to be at ease at all times. In company he is merry, jocular, lively, and always joyful, always cheerful and cheerful face, whether the adversaries still threaten him so much that one can hardly think that the man without God would undertake such important things. But the one fault all blame on him is that he is a little too insolent and biting in punishing, more than is proper to one who is going a new way in theology (χαίροτο- μούνη), surely, or to a divine scholar. This defect has probably all, who have been taught a little late, in themselves.

9. all this is the same in Carlstadt, only in a slightly lesser degree, except that he is even smaller in stature, and black-brown, burnt face, unpleasant and unpleasant voice, weaker in memory and quicker to anger.

1) Petrus Hispanus was the first textbook of logic at that time. Luther calls it a "children's dialectic", St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1010, § 289, and the same Col, 1016, K 307 at the end: xuerilia.

10 Eck, on the other hand, is tall and long, of a strong and four-toned body, full and quite German voice, which is supported by a very strong chest, that he is not only suitable for a tragedian, but also for a herald, however, that it is more rough than clear; therefore, he has nothing less than the sweet sound of the Ciceronian mouth, which one praises so much in Fabius and Cicero. His whole face, eyes and sight are also such that one should rather make a butcher or Carian soldier, 2) than a theologian out of him. As for his wit and head, he has an excellent memory, and if an equal intellect were present, he would have been quite a masterpiece of nature. But he does not have a great ability to see things quickly or to judge them sharply, without which all other gifts are nothing. And this is the cause that, when he disputes, he cites such a heap of reasons, testimonies of Scripture, sayings of experts, one after the other, without any proper selection, and does not notice how most of it does not rhyme at all, how it, properly understood in its place, does not serve the cause, and how much is not genuine, or sophistical. For that is only his business, that he brings forward a heap of testimonies, and makes a dazzle to the listeners, who are mostly not so perceptive, and teaches them the opinion that he has won. In doing so, he is full of unbelievable impudence, but he can conceal it in the most mischievous way. For, when he sees that he is sometimes entangled in the ropes of the adversaries, he soon directs the disputation to something else. Sometimes, however, he even uses the opponent's opinion in words other than his own, and on the other hand, he pins his unrhymed opinion on his opponent in a cunning way, so that Socrates would not seem wiser than he is, except that the latter pretended to be ignorant and decided nothing but certainty, while the latter pretends to be peripatetic confidence in the knowledge of himself and practices the art of flattery. Behold! There you have a true Apelles, if not such an artist as he was, yet certainly one who does not lack effort and diligence.

11 Now I wanted to think about my own things, but since this is already more than a letter, and your dean is too distinguished to be burdened with too many writings, I will close when I have only added something about other things.

2) Compare Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 24 u.

You will not believe how almost everyone, after we were transferred here, became much more lenient toward Martin, especially the letter carrier (dean); it does not even occur to him that he wanted to write against him. What should he write, the old man who has become childish again? Your Doctor Gainz has correct thoughts about this matter, D. Gabelenz, likewise Heinrich Monachus, D. Germestorff, Johann von Maltiz, a dear man, and quite equal to you. With the others I have not much to do, nor much to hope from them. The Bishop of Trier, however, to whom the Pope has entrusted Martin's cause, does not wish him ill, which I was able to hear from his conversation the other day, when I was invited by him to lunch in my fatherland. That is a wise and generous gentleman, that he does not ask much of those at Rome in this matter. Franz von Sickingen, the brave German hero, is urging Hoogstraten and his companions to compensate our Capnio (assassin) for the damage he has suffered for their sake, and to do so within a certain time, otherwise he threatens to do them and the Cologne country all harm. For Reuchlin's enemies have been condemned to the expense, as they say.

Ulrich Hutten establishes a school of three languages at Mainz at his prince's expense. You see how the whole of Germany has begun to focus on study in this way in just a few years. And this is mainly thanks to Prince Frederick. He is now sending Matthew Adrian, the most learned Hebrew of our time, who is a physician by profession, from Louvain to Wittenberg with a large salary. This school, against our thanks and will, is now coming to Leipzig's ruin beyond measure, so that I should be sorry for the Leipzigers, if hope of better times in the future were not to be drawn from you and your like young people.

14 My prince recently wanted to keep me in Trier, and those in Erfurt have also made efforts to keep me here. Mainz has also offered us a place. What you advise us, I do not know. But I am of the mind that I do not like to move back and forth like swallows. I must certainly travel to Italy to buy the doctorate there. I have planned to do this for about one or two years, but no more. However, I will write to you about this project at another convenient time.

The prince seems to me to be becoming more and more merciful, as does your father and the other great ones.

In particular, the venerable father, Abbot Martin of (Kloster-) Zell, is doing me a great deal of good in my exile, 1) from whose house, which he has in Meissen, I am writing this to you. Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, a very learned theologian in all three languages, has been chosen as preacher of the church in Mainz, which is a very lucrative priesthood there, hitherto possessed by the bad theologians. Theology everywhere will be restored to its former integrity, to which I have also decided to contribute something according to my ability, and therefore have begun to translate four books of theology of Gregory of Nazianzus into Latin, but do not know how happily. For these days Oecolampadius, a preacher of Augsburg, has also written that he intends to do the same. That is why he asks me to give him a detailed written report of what I am doing. For if he knows that I am willing to do the same, he will gladly refrain. But I think it would be better for me to avoid such a great man.

16 Erasmus now writes interpretations of Paul. Germany is now at peace from the war, but almost everything is down with the plague. We hardly have a corner where we can remain safe. I sincerely wish our Hess that he may be well, to whom I would have sent the Crocus books he requested long ago, if they could be had. As far as I know, they are not for sale anywhere. This Crocus of ours lives at his royal court, and calls me in letters to England, but I do not know whether one may trust.

17 I do not send you my Lappereien, which I have published, because I shy away from the nose of the Italians, although Beatus Rhenanus has written to me that they have been reissued in Basel, and would be brought to Italy by the bald bookman 2). Spiegel I wish all the best. Petrus Suavenius, a Pomeranian nobleman, my student, who loves you very much, because he is quite like you, recommends himself very well. I will remember you and your praiseworthy qualities here with all, especially the scholars. For there is probably no scholar in Germany who is famous in something with which I am not, praise God, somewhat acquainted. One respects me more than I find in myself, or this age and my unworthiness deserves.

1) Because he was transferred from Leipzig to Meissen because of the plague.

2) a calvo Bibliopola: perhaps from the bookkeeper Calvus?

Goodbye and write us back very much through the Dean. For I would live with you in Italy if I had known the least about your return and had put my affairs in order at home and here with the Prince. Farewell once again. You will send several keels (calumos) here when the opportunity arises. Meissen, December 6, 1519, in a hurry, as you see.

The Leipzig Colloquium, described by M. Sebastian Fröschel, who himself listened to it.

This report is taken from the preface of M. Sebastian Fröschel to the book published by him in 1566 at Wittenberg in quarto "Vom Königreich Jesu Christi und seinem ewigen Priesterthum" printed in Löschers Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 276 and in the "unschuldigen Nachrichten" 1717, p. 13.

Doctor Eck, when he had now disputed in several universities, as in Vienna and elsewhere, and had commonly been superior and had become a knight; when now D. Martin Luther had also issued positiones against the pope's indulgences and pen Tetzl, a monk in Leipzig, an order of preachers, and had the same positiones publicly disputed and defended in the university in Wittenberg, and had them issued in print; when D. Eck in Ingolstadt had heard, experienced and read such things, he also approached D. M. Luther and offered him and those of Wittenberg the opportunity to have them printed. Luther, and offered him and those of Wittenberg to debate with them publicly in another famous university, and requested this in writing from the lords of the university in Leipzig, as from the theologians, and from the old collegiates and colonels, that they allow him to debate publicly with the Wittenbergers there in Leipzig. But they summarily refused to allow D. Eck to do so. Then Doctor Eck wrote to the Duke of Saxony and asked his F. G. to allow him to debate with the Wittenbergers in Leipzig. The Duke of Saxony wrote to the Duke of Saxony and asked his F. G. to allow him to debate with the Wittenbergers in Leipzig. Eck, should be allowed to debate with each other. Duke Georg himself came to Leipzig at the same time of the disputation, and also lent his castle in Leipzig for this purpose, and had the court room cleared out and made into a lectorium, and decorated most beautifully with cathedrals, which were two above each other, and with benches and tables, at which the notaries sat, and excipitated the arguments, and all of them were invited to speak.

and hang all benches and cathedrals with beautiful wallpaper; the Wittenbergers with St. Martin's, D. Eck with the knight St. George. For D. Eck thought he wanted to become a knight of the Wittenbergers, and thus be knighted for the sake of the Wittenbergers, as he was also honestly knighted by them, then and after the disputation.

Doctor Eck came to Leipzig at that time, before the feast of Corporis Christi, and at the feast in the procession (which was held there, and was quite splendid and magnificent) D. Eck went around in a chasuble - or casel, next to the theologians, and thus let himself be seen well before the disputation, as if he were unafraid of those from Wittenberg. On the Friday after Corporis Christi, those from Wittenberg arrived (as I myself saw), and drove to the Grimmisches Thor in the city of Leipzig, and their students ran along beside the wagons with spears and halberds, and thus accompanied their masters; and D. Carlstadts drove in front, then D. Martinus and Philippus blessed also in a wheeled cart, and all of them had no draped or covered cart. And as they entered the Grimm Gate, and came to the door of the churchyard of St. Paul's Church, D. Carlstadt's chariot broke, and he, the doctor, fell down into the mud. But Doctor Martinus and Mr. Philippus Melancthon passed by, so that the people who saw this said: This one will succumb (meant D. Martin Luther blessed), and the other one will succumb, Doctor Carlstadt, as also happened, and has happened so far. Praise be to God! Also in the hostels, where the Wittenberg students lay, the host had to let one stand in front of the table with a halberd, who kept peace; thus the Wittenberg students came together with the Leipzigers with disputes. I saw all this myself in the house of Herbiopolis, 1) the book printer, where I went to table and sat next to Mr. D. Metzler from Breslau, who had come from Italy shortly before, and stayed for a while in Leipzig, and also read Greek, that he did not celebrate, because he could not be idle. There was also a magister at the table, who lived in the house, and was called Magister Baumgärtner, was a preacher, who had moved around for a long time with the pope's indulgences with Tetzl, and had helped him with his preaching. And the same M. Baumgärtner was so vehement against the Wittenbergers that the host Herbiopolis, a book printer, had to hold one of them.

1) This is Martin Landsberg in Ritterstraße.

with a halberd, so that peace was maintained at the table as long as the Wittenbergers were there at the inn and sat and ate at the table. Shortly after the disputation, the same M. Baumgärtner became so enraged with one of the nobility, on account of D. Martin Luther, that he gave up his spirit soon after; I also had to help him to the grave. On Saturday after Corporis Christi Bock Emser came: Dear *Domine*, from where do you come, you should be called *Parcite*, who would be the pious Emser. The same Bock Emser came to me and to other young magistrates, and asked us on behalf of the rector and the university that we should stand by D. Eck on Sunday, and go with him out of the castle, where they would act and conclude how and when the disputation should be started and held, and in what form. So it was decided there that Doctor Carlstadt should begin disputing with D. Eck first. In short, D. Carlstadt wanted to have the preference, which D. Martinus was well satisfied with. On Monday after Corporis Christi, when the disputation had begun, all the strangers from Wittenberg and Ingolstadt came to the large Collegium, to the large room; there, D. Simon Pifiori's oration was received. Simon Pifiori's *Oratione Latina* received the guests from the University of Leipzig. Afterwards, they went to the church of St. Thomas for mass, and the rector of Leipzig ordered that the magisters of Leipzig should take the Wittenberg magisters to the church, and to the first to the castle. So immediately Magister Vach blessed came to me, whom I took with me. And when we arrived at St. Thomas Church, they began to sing a Mass de Sancto Spiritu, and the Cantor Georgius Rhaw, our printer, then sang a Mass with twelve voices, which had never been heard before. After the mass one went out of the castle, there were ordered a quarter of the citizens, who were there in their armor with their best armor and their ensigns, and had to be every day twice on the castle, while the disputation lasted, to keep peace, in the morning at 7 o'clock until 9, after midday 2 o'clock until 5. And when one came on the castle, there Petrus Mosellanus stood up and held *Orationem Latinam*, afterwards one went to the *Prandio* to table. In the afternoon at 2 o'clock the disputation began, Georg Rhaw, the cantor, was called with his *cantoribus* and with the town pipers, who began to sing and to blow the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*; then they began the disputation, first D. Carlstadt with D. Eck. But what happened in the disputation

The disputation was dealt with on both sides, which is printed in Latin, the scholars may read it themselves. But I must say one thing, which I also heard myself, which happened in the disputation, in the presence of Duke George, who often came to the disputation and listened diligently, that suddenly D. Martin Luther blessed said these words to D. Eck, who complained to him harshly with the Johann cough: Dear Doctor, *non omnes articuli Hussitici sunt haeretici* [not all articles of Hus are heretical]. Then Duke George spoke in a loud voice, loudly, so that it could be heard over the whole auditorium: "This is what addiction does," and shook his head, putting both arms at his sides. I heard and saw this myself. For I sat immediately between his feet and Duke Barnim of Pomerania, who was Rector at Wittenberg at the same time, and went with the gentlemen over to Leipzig to the disputation, and did not miss any of them, and listened much more diligently than all Leipzig theologians and collegians, he was also much more learned *in vera theologia*, than all of them, who were always sitting beside D. Eck, and slept quite gently, so diligently did they listen, and so sweet did the disputation taste to them, that they also had to be awakened commonly when one stopped disputing, so that they did not miss their meal and supper, and did not lose their power and strength, but kept the same until [it] came to a concilio, so that they could use the same against the heretics. That is why they were made collegiate and exempted from reading, as was pretended at that time, and why they were held so great, high and valuable. But afterwards, after the disputation, and when the gospel came to light, and their art was brought to light, the common man learned what they had in their shield, and what their great art and holiness was. After the disputation had come to an end, the cantor of St. Thomas, Georg Rhaw, was appointed with the *cantoribus* and town pipers, and after the oration, which M. Johann Lange, Lembergensis, a Schlesinger, and resigned to the guests, the cantor began to sing the *Te Deum laudamus*, into which the town pipers blew in the best and most glorious way; this happened after noon, when the disputation had come to an end, everyone went home again, and the Wittenbergers went back to Wittenberg. But D. Eck stayed there longer, and met with the theologians and collegians and other people.

carelessly cheerful and in good spirits. So the theologians also arranged and held a disputation in their Lectorio Theologico for his benefit, in which one of them presided, and my and Domini Joachimi Camerarii praeceptor, M. Georg Helt, Forchheimensis, had to respond, whom D. Eck well vexed and tribulated, and accused him of smelling like Martin Luther, which was more to my dear preceptor's honor than to his shame. It also happened and occurred during the disputation, when D. Eck and Doctor Carlstadt first disputed with each other, during the eight days in which the feast of Corporis Christi was celebrated and held in the papacy, that D. Martin Luther came to the church of the Pauline Fathers and preacher monks without any danger before noon, when they still had their sacrament in the monstrances outside in the church on the altar of St. Dominici in their little huts, and the monks held mass on the other altars. As the monks of Paul had learned that D. Martin Luther was in their church, they immediately ran out of their choir, took the monstrances with their Sacrament, and hurriedly carried it into their choir into the sacrament house, and left it and kept it safe, so that their holy Sacrament would not be poisoned by the heretic D. Luther; and the other monks, who were holding mass on the other altars, took their utensils together and ran into the sacristy, as if the devil were chasing them in. This undoubtedly meant that our dear father D. Luther blessed should put an end to the papists, especially those in Leipzig, the feast of Corporis Christi and the fair with their masses, as also happened afterwards, as soon as the Christian prince Duke Henry took the city of Leipzig and the whole principality of Duke George.

Another worth reading description of this colloquium by the Electoral Saxon Chancellor v. Pfeifer.

From Pfeifer's oriKin. lüxxisus., x. 340.

Translated from Latin by M. A. Tittel.

1) The same desire (which Luther testified to) to get to the bottom of the hidden truth was also expressed to Duke George, who, when he heard that Johann Eck challenged the Wittenbergers with grandiloquent words, and that they did not refuse to fight, promised that he would

both wanted to assign a place for it. The bishop in Merseburg and the theologians who were in Leipzig at that time, Matthias Hanensis, Hirsberg, Königshof, Sueven, Düngersheim, Fraendienst and Lungenschneider, were not satisfied with the prince's decision and said that they were doing it at the pope's command. For this reason, the duke wrote to the bishop in Merseburg, and reported 1) that he was surprised that the bishop did not take any pleasure in the use that had been established for the sake of truth from ancient times and had been propagated by the forefathers, by virtue of which they had discoursed on the triune God, on the mysteries of religion and other main pieces of Christian doctrine, without anyone's disapproval, in both ways. It would be quite useful and necessary that the newly raised question be investigated and that the truth be brought out by teaching and listening, whether it is true that if only the money in the pelvis would sound, the souls of the deceased would immediately lead out of purgatory into heaven, by which deception the poor common people would be defrauded of money. He thought that the bishop was backing some bad people who were not much better than timid soldiers, who had their courage elsewhere than in arms, and who would leave before the quarrel. The custom of defending one's cause and refuting the opponents was old; if the theologians could not defend their doctrines as false, they would not deserve the wrath of the pope or the church if they adhered to a better and truer doctrine. But if they taught the truth, even if they could not defend their opinion, they would not harm either themselves or their cause if they were surpassed by the Sophists in ready disputation and appealed to [the] pope. This kind of doctrinal struggle, which has always been going on, would never have been abolished by the pope, who, in his opinion, had a desire and love for truth; no one would be offended who walked in the light, and it would not be repugnant or displeasing to the pope and his councilors if the ignorant were properly instructed in matters that concerned the common salvation of all. It would be very important for all of Christendom that, if something in the heavenly teachings has been falsified through error or ignorance on the part of the teachers, it should be made known to all Christians. But that his theologians did not want to argue, in this act-

They would act contrary to their office and profession, since they would therefore occupy a higher seat on the chairs, and the highest position at solemn school meetings (or gasteries). If they could not or did not want to act according to their office and titles, then old women and children could be fed at much less cost and more benefit to the public, who would be useful to the public and much more obedient to the authorities than some theologians. For old women could spin wool and flax, for example, and thus help the human need, or if they could do nothing else, at least make the audience happy with good songs. The bishop should consider what use it is for a shepherd to have a dog that does not want to bark or attack the wolves. He also asked the bishop not to take on lazy theologians, but rather to seriously persuade such light-shy people that they should not refuse the theological battle, but rather do what their office and duty entails and confidently fight for the truth against the heretics; unless a special prohibition from the Roman pope prevented them from doing so. Surely, if they would only bravely defend the truth, neither the church nor the university could suffer any harm from them, who were so well-disposed against religion, and he, as a Christian prince, would not be suspected of the outcome of the disputation. If, however, neither the bishop's reputation nor the prince's godly and honest will could do anything with such theologians, such obstinacy would be proof from which both he and all intelligent people could assume that they were not theologians but seducers who neither knew nor wanted to bring their teachings to light nor to punish and refute the errors of the newcomers (or false teachers). If they do not continue, he will publicly declare and testify that he has or had no other will than that a godly and honest action be taken in such an important matter, and that the truth hidden in human quarrels be recognized. The same theologians, however, because of their ignorance and laziness, would not only not have been conducive to this discovery, but would even have been most obstructive in that it was not carried out. The bishop should consider what an honor this would bring to the entire clergy, what a glory it would bring to the teachers of theology, and what a beautiful reverberation it would have until their late descendants. Finally

he admonished that in such an important and high matter he would show himself to be a man and a bishop and prove himself in deed.

By this letter of Duke George the efforts of the theologians, who hindered and hated the disputation, were so driven away that afterwards nobody wanted to speak against it or to oppose the will of the prince. The prince therefore scheduled the disputation for July 5 and had a large and spacious auditorium with many desks and benches built in the castle of Pleißenburg.

First Johann Eck arrived in Leipzig with his followers, whom he had brought from Ingolstadt and Erfurt. Then came the Wittenbergers, who, as they were entering the Grimm Gate, broke a wheel on Carlstadt's wagon, so that its load was overturned in muck, as if it were a foreshadowing that it would one day be of little use to the church and break divine law.

4th Carlstadt was followed by the Duke of Pomerania, Barnim, as the then Magnificentissimus of the Wittenberg school; but Martin Luther and Philipp Melancthon followed him in a cart (*vecti petorito*). Around all their carts some students with hatchets [halberds, battle axes] walked as Leibtrabanten to the right and left. The Wittenbergers had hardly descended to their host when letters from the Bishop of Merseburg were posted on the doors of the churches, in which he forbade, in response to a letter from the Pope of Rome (which one is accustomed to call a Decretale) 1) that no disputation on religion should take place. The council had the person who posted such a document seized and thrown into prison for posting something in public secretly and without permission.

5 It had already been agreed between the parties that they would take scribes who would write down everything that the disputants said. Eck wanted to withdraw from this agreement and demanded that nothing of what was said in public be written down. But even though the Wittenbergers insisted that Eck stick to what had been mutually agreed upon earlier, they finally gave in to Eck's obstinacy, since they could not do anything and noticed that Eck was trying to have the meeting suspended again, and they were afraid that suspicion would fall on the Wittenbergers if this happened.

1) Document No. 234.

The first step is to prevent the sides of the plant from being damaged.

When this dispute was over, another question was soon raised by the people of Ingolstadt, about which there was a great dispute. Eck wanted the Pope or some universities to judge the disputes that were dealt with in disputes, but not settled in a certain and complete way. This made Luther very distressed and doubtful, because he could not stand the pope, as the defendant and guilty party, as a judge, and knew that all the universities would stand by him and swear to him. And since he therefore thought about it a little long, Eck said among the people: Luther had little confidence in his cause, and did not want to suffer a judge, but only to penetrate everywhere with his own head and opinion. This was heard, and many who at first seemed to be on Luther's side now became doubtful about it. But whether it was already known what the verdict of the Pope and the universities would be, Luther, in order to escape the evil rumor that had already gotten around, finally agreed that the universities would recognize it; but in such a way that, if he were condemned, he would still have the appeal to a common and free concilium of the church as a refuge.

Since this matter was also settled, and the Ingolstadtians knew nothing else that would have a pretense or honorable pretext for rejecting the disputation, they finally met, as well as the Wittenberg theologians, in due time in a room of the large Collegii, where the most distinguished jurist, Simon Pistoris, in the name of the university, welcomed them with all honors and kindly received them. From there they went to the St. Thomas Church for prayers and from there to the lecture hall of the Pleißenburg Castle. The Duke of Saxony, Albrecht, had kept his princes, Frederick and George, in their still tender years, in Leipzig for the sake of their studies, and George had gained so much knowledge in the sciences that he could speak and write Latin: and some credible people assured that they had seen a piece of a Latin history in which he had described the wars waged by his father. Therefore, he already knew what the situation was at the Leipzig school and what kind of teachers were there, and he enjoyed the scholars' discussions, and was himself at the disputation at that time, to which Petrus Mosellanus opened the door, as it were, with a beautiful and learned speech, in which he faithfully recalled, and wisely and intelligently explained, what he had learned.

Godly advised that one should not argue with anger and displeasure, but should direct all speech and action more to the praise of Almighty God than to one's own glory and honor. For in the theological battlefield, to be down would be human, but to be victorious would not be human strength, and thus the conqueror could not ascribe anything to himself, nor would the conquered have cause to be sad, because the error into which he had fallen out of weakness of nature would be removed from the conquered, but the conqueror would not lead his own cause, but God's. The conqueror would have no cause to be sad, but God's cause, and thus communicates what he has received from Him to the other, so that the conqueror loses nothing more than what would otherwise harm him, and he thus becomes better through what the other communicates to him, so that a pious and truth-loving man would almost wish to be conquered in this rather than to be victorious. Thereupon he asked everyone most earnestly that in such an important matter they would think with proper reverence that not only the whole of Christendom would soon afterwards judge everything that had been said and done, but that God Himself and the holy angels and heavenly spirits would also see and hear everything. Finally, he decided and testified that he had not spoken and presented anything for himself or according to his own opinion, but according to the mind and will of the Prince.

After such a speech everyone went home. And after lunch, when everyone came together again in the auditorium, the singers first invoked the Holy Spirit and sang a song in proper rhyme. Then Eck and Carlstadt rode with each other on the free will of a Christian man. The latter knew the other's sly wit and slippery ways. So that he could hold up to a sly adversary the right reason for what he was saying and saying, he brought the authors' writings with him into the lecture hall, to whose passages and testimonies he referred. Eck was annoyed that he should see himself bound and held so that he could not twist the old authors' writings wherever he wanted and it seemed good to him, because then they seemed to contradict him in the whole speech, as it were coming back from the dead. Therefore, he complained to the judges (Agonothetis) that, contrary to previous usage in schools, the books were dragged into the auditorium by the disputants; he therefore asked that Carlstadt be told to leave out the books and to say from his head what he needed to say and to advance. Thereupon

the judges, who recognized Ecken's request as reasonable, also ordered that no books be brought into the auditorium. Which, when you look at it in the light, would be just as surprising as if a commander ordered a soldier, who wanted to fight bravely for house and court, to go into battle with his rifle outstretched and his hands empty.

The following week, Eck argued against Luther about the supreme authority of the Pope in Christendom and about his supremacy over all, and, according to his custom, he poured out more disgraceful speeches than reasons for proof. For he not only accused him of heresy, but also called him patron (or protector) of the unbelieving Bohemians, when Luther had said nothing more than that he had rejected some of the conclusions of the Costnitz Concilii as unjust.

10 After this, Christians were treated of their repentance, as well as of the atonement of sins among the dead. There are still certain memorials or registers of this disputation, which contain the meaning and words of the disputants, which two scribes wrote out, and one of them, Johann Agricola of Eisleben, Luther, and the other, Johann Poliander, Eck, chose for this purpose, so that each of them may diligently record and write down the words of the latter, who appointed him.

11. At that time, some historians also noticed this and wrote it out as something special, that although at that time many people, out of eagerness to hear such famous men discuss the most important things, traveled from far and foreign places, nevertheless, of three bishops and eleven abbots in the land of the dukes of Saxony, not a single one showed up at this so crowded and famous scene of the entire Meißnerland and the most learned people; either because they shied away from the pope's command, or because they were weaned on scholarship and concerned only with worldly and economic affairs, rarely learning anything, even more rarely teaching others, but least of all and almost never going into the company of scholars, And with nothing she put herself in reputation and honor among the gullible rabble, except that on high feasts of the year she stepped before the altar two or three times in her holy skirt or chasuble, glittering with gold and precious stones, and sang mass or murmured.

12 Although the bishops and prelates forget their office in this, Duke George was not displeased to sit down with the learned and famous men; and since he had diligently listened to the theologians for a few days, he was not displeased.

When he heard Luther's speech, some wicked people finally kept him away from the auditorium, no doubt fearing that the prince's mind, which loved truth so much, would notice the papal mischief and properly grasp the knowledge of true godliness. Afterwards, however, he invited Luthern, Carlstadt and Melanchthon to lunch with him, and had Luthern come to him again in particular; with whom he spoke in such a way that Luther said afterwards: "If Duke George acted according to his own mind, he would not do anything that was not appropriate for a prince, and was to be regretted that he did not follow his natural way, but rather what others told and advised him. 1)

The Prince of Anhalt, George, also always listened to the debaters, who studied in Leipzig at that time and subsequently did much useful service to the Church of God with writing and teaching; as his godly and learned writings still testify to this day.

Since such important things were dealt with, something ridiculous and bad happened, which my father, who also studied in Leipzig at that time and was at the disputation, told me when I was young; and because you can see from this what kind of mind Eck had, I will tell it here, as the wise Greeks of the monkey at Dodona described mischievousness in their histories. Duke George had a one-eyed court jester. He always stood at his side in the auditorium, and as there are always joking and funny people among the great ones at court, they made this jester believe: Luther argued with Eck about his (the jester's) marriage, Eck did not want him to be given a wife, Luther, however, spoke for him. The jester got angry about this, and as often as he came into the auditorium with the prince, Eck made a nasty face. Eck, seeing this, covered his right eye with his index finger and looked at the jester again with a scowl. The fool, noticing from this that his one-eyedness was being advanced, as was the truth, bitterly and shamefully attacked Ecken with a great clamor. The assembly laughed quite a bit about this, and thus a little fun was added to the heat of the disputation, thereby moderating and making the minds more or less cheerful in their zeal and attention.

15 The disputation had now lasted eighteen days, and nothing more had happened between the parties.

1) See Document No. 381 towards the end.

The result was that the indulgence stuff, as it is called, was hissed out and ridiculed. But since Eck subsequently spread a false rumor that he had won, and boasted much about himself in writings, Luther was forced to publicly print the discussion and disputation he had held with him, 1) and to show that he had not destroyed the weak arrows of the human statutes that Eck had shot against him by only using the sword of the Spirit, namely the divine word, not only with the sword of the spirit, namely the divine word, but also completely destroyed and ruined the false concluding speeches that the adversary had unleashed on him with sound reasons from holy scripture.

16 Eck himself seemed to admit this twelve years later, when at the Diet of Augsburg, when Laurentius Campegius, the papal counselor, denied him the priesthood he was seeking, he himself came to Philip Melancthon and the theologians who were with him and complained about the insult Campegius had done to him, and finally asked: What would he gain if he left the papal boys and joined Luther? And when Melancthon answered: if Luther's cause was right, why would he not also join it in vain and defend the truth? Eck fell silent at such words and remained silent for a while, until he finally lowered his testimony, which he had already given to the truth, and reduced it by saying: not everything that could be defended was true.

17 Although in Leipzig in 1519, the disputation may have been divided in such a way that, as each was governed by his love and favor or old delusion, he declared either Luther or Eck to be the victor, or made the victory doubtful, the subsequent experience has shown that many were drawn by such disputations from papal superstition abundantly to the teaching of truth. Not to mention that Johann Poliander, whom Eck had used as his scribe, left his previous error and turned to the love of true godliness in such a way that he finally even became a preacher of the truth freed from papal darkness in Prussia.

The auditorium in Leipzig became quite empty due to their departure; and apart from such a cause, the subsequent addition of two years has caused almost the entire school to disappear.

Melancthon's report of this in a letter to Oecolampadius. Dat. Wittenberg, July 21, 1519.

Melancthon had this letter printed under the title: Dxitornscs ckisputations lüp-
ckisputations lüp-

siuea, Joanni OeeolumMdio in8^riptu. After that it passed into the Latin Wittenberg edition (1550), tora. I, toi. 336; into the Jena (1579), tora. I, col. 3416; into the Erlangen, opp. var. tora. III, x. 479 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 215.

Translated into German.

Philipp Melancthon wishes his friend N. Heil in Christo.

I do not think that much is at stake, nor do you particularly require me to express in many words how I feel toward you. For the good spirit of cordial love has so happily united our minds with each other that I hope our friendship can by no means be offended by the manifold changes in all human things, nor even be rooted deeper by mean and base flattery, I mean that kind of letters by which friendship is commonly entertained. The mind is equally inclined to both, that friendship is made outrageously great, either by disguised or useless flattery. And o that I could only be grateful to him for his good deed who has given me a friend who is not only sincere, but also faithful to Christianity. For there is probably no person who has done me more good from my youth than you, whose kindness has been so generous to me at all times, and was completely the play of the goddesses of mercy. My circumstances, however, did not allow me to repay like with like. And since you have something ahead in this play, I ask, let me also have something ahead. Aristotle demands that he who has done a good deed to someone should be loved by the other as much as the good deed deserves, or at least for the sake of the good deed. This is subtle, but not at all well said. For the purpose of our love is not your good deeds, but the Spirit of Christ, as the author of our friendship. What you did to me, as your friend, in the way of love, you did according to the general law of the

1) Here, "Luthers Erläuterungen über seine zu Leipzig disputierten Thesen", St. Louis edition, vol.

We owe it to you to show love. And we are therefore again bound not to withdraw our services from you if the occasion arises.

As far as the matter itself is concerned, since we have almost everything else in common in the study of science, I would not want to fail to make you aware of what has been said with far greater expectation than benefit at Leipzig about some seemingly ambiguous teachings of the theologians. For I am of the opinion that you are not a little interested, who, according to the dignity of the name of a theologian, are also a holy eulogist in the Swabian arena, namely in Augsburg, and take every care that the theological doctrines may be presented in a pure and simple manner. At first, this disputation was started for no other reason than that one might clearly see what a great difference there is between the old and Christ's theology, and between the new and Aristotelian. But what has been brought out, or on which side the matter has tilted, is not so easy for me to judge. All the more carefully I want to go through everything that is relevant to the matter, so that you may come to a more precise certainty about it. Undoubtedly, many things have come to your attention; therefore, I will relate everything credibly and explain the points of the disputation in the simplest way possible, so that you can see what was disputed by both sides.

3) And that I begin the matter from the beginning, Eck made notes 1) last year about the sentences on indulgences, which Luther posted for discussion; this writing is much too biting for me to be able to contribute anything from it. From these notes, Carlstadt has refuted some of them in his conclusions, which he has published. Eck took responsibility against Carlstadt in a protective letter, in which he wrote somewhat less harshly than before in the notes. Carlstadt published a booklet in opposition to this protective writing. They reviled each other for a long time and made long digressions. Finally, in order to pass over the other with silence, it became popular to hold a disputation. The day was set for it. Johann Eck came to Leipzig from Ingolstadt, Andreas Carlstadt from Wittenberg, and Martin Luther. The main points were brought into a few conclusions, so that it would be made clearer what was to be disputed. I

1) The "Obelisks", St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 536 ff. - Carlstadt's "Vertheidigungssätze" ibid. Col. 590. - Carlstadt's "Defense against Eck's Monomachy" ibid. Col. 632.

I believe that you know well enough what was agreed about the disputation, namely, that the deal should be drawn up in writing by notaries appointed for this purpose and that this document should go out in print so that everyone could judge it. First, Eck objected to those whom the most illustrious Prince George, Duke of Saxony, the great promoter of the fine sciences, had appointed as supervisors of the disputation, against his promise: as he thought, it was not proper for disputants to dietire their matters; the burning heat of those who argue with each other would be completely cooled by the slowness of writing; by a fierce attack, the minds would be fired up, but by hesitating, one would rather let one's courage sink. Whether this can come from theological simplicity, I do not know, since according to it nothing is to be taken into consideration so much as that one does not speak anything with vehemence, or out of carelessness, or in heat. And as I think that in the sciences, and especially in the work of godliness, there is nothing better and more salutary than the confidential and affectionate dispute of learned and righteous men, where one opinion is held against the other with a quiet and peace-loving, but by no means disruptive and obstinate mind, and one does not rejoice at all over the victory achieved: I believe that there is nothing so harmful against it as rabble-raising quarrels, since even righteous people must be concerned about the victory. You know how much Nazianzenus, how much our Erasmus have written wisely about this. Now, however, one had become one about the notaries. For Carlstadt could not be talked into anything else. As soon as the dispute arose, Eck wanted to decree certain judges; Carlstadt was not opposed. Accordingly, Johann Eck and Carlstadt argued with each other on June 27.

4 Of free will it was asked: whether it is in our own will and ability to do a good work? that is, as they call it, whether we deserve grace according to equity (congruo) when we do as much as is in our power? For I adduce their own words. Since one should have acted on it, see where their quarrels have carried them away, what dangerous cliffs they have run into. They should have examined what our will is capable of in and of itself without grace. They turn the question differently, and argue, I believe, for four whole days about whether the will only receives a good work, and whether grace alone brings about this good work. In these unnecessary connections, they have led the matter, which, after all, depends on Carl's intention, to the point where it is not possible.

were far away from the city. Eck admitted that our will had no natural, but only an assumed ability, given to it by grace, to produce a good work, which he initially seemed to dispute. After he was asked by Carlstadt whether he admitted that the whole good work came from God, he answered that it was indeed the whole work of God, but not completely (totalitarian). Behold, however, how beautifully this cunning little finger is suited for the theological sovereignty. So now everyone is free to twist the words in this way. At the beginning, Eck admits that the will is set in motion by God; afterwards, he says that it is in our power to consent. Carlstadt strongly contrasted this opinion with several passages of Augustine and the saying of Paul: "It is God who works in us both willing and doing. And where I am not mistaken, Carlstadt's doctrine has remained unimpaired. Eck took some things from Bernhardus for his doctrine that did not belong to the matter. That is what Eck disputed with Carlstadt. I think we spent a whole week on it, of which I have recently noted the main points. I first learned from these men what it means what the ancients called sophistry (σοφιστεῖν).

It is extraordinary how impetuously, how pompously all this has been done; but all the less can one be surprised that it has been of little use. For the Spirit loves silence for His own sake, by which He takes hold of our hearts, and settles down with those who are not ambitious, but eager to know the truth. The dear bride of Christ does not stand in the streets, but leads the bridegroom in her mother's house. Yes, the rays of heavenly wisdom should not enlighten us, because we have been purified by the cross, to speak with Paul, and have died to the corruptible things of the world.

Afterwards, D. Martin Luther entered the battlefield. Until then, it was not known for sure whether he would dispute, because according to the right of his appeal, he could not easily set judges in the hateful matter. However, since one had become one with him on this, one began to deal with the prestige of the Roman pope and to argue: whether the prestige of a general bishop could be proven from divine law? Luther freely admits that there is a general bishop. Only against this he disputes: whether his authority can be proven according to divine right. About this point, because it is somewhat important, five days went by, if I am not mistaken. Eck dis

He was sharp and crude, and everything in him was designed to make Luther hated by the common people. His first argument was: the church could not be without a head, because it presented a civil body, therefore the pope was the head of the church according to divine right. To this Luther replied: he recognizes Christ as the head of the church, because the church is a spiritual kingdom, and does not want to know of any other head, as Col. 1 says. Eck added some passages from Jerome and Cyprian, which, how much they prove for the divine right, he may see for himself. Now, some passages of these same scribes were obviously in doubt, which he presented as irrefutable. He praised the testimony of Bernhard ad *Eugenium* as an insurmountable defense, while in the same book to Eugenius there are things that not a little strengthen Luther's opinion. By the way, who is so stupid that he should not recognize what one has to thank Bernhardus for in this trade? From the Gospel he cited the passage Matth. 16: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Luther claimed that this was a confession of faith: Peter presented the person of the whole church and Christ called himself the rock, which he proved by many speculations from the context of the whole speech. Also the words came up: "Feed my sheep", which were actually and personally spoken to Peter. Luther answered that the same authority had been given to all the apostles in the words: "Receive the Holy Spirit, by whom you remit sin," 2c., because these words referred to the office given to them; Christ had wanted to teach them what it was to feed and how a shepherd must be constituted. Eck then referred to the reputation of the Costnitz Council, where it was said against the teaching of the Hussites that it was necessary for salvation that one accept that the Roman pope was a general bishop. There one also heard much boasting that a concilium could not err; to which Luther wisely replied that one had not condemned all the articles as heretical, and what was more of the matter, all of which would only be annoying to recount. The investigation of the reputation of the conciliar churches does not belong here either. It is obvious that no concilium can come up with new articles of faith. Luther was not well spoken of because he was seen as opposing the concilium, while the latter did nothing so eagerly as that only the concilium should retain its prestige. Then one threw

He accused the apostles of heresies, the Bohemian Rotten, and other such accusations. Eck admitted that all apostles had the same prestige and power, but it was not appropriate that they were all the same bishops, because there was a difference between the apostleship and the government. For the apostleship is nothing else but a sending forth to the obedience of faith, as Paul says to the Romans. But I do not see the difference between the apostleship and the government. To some it seemed to be unbearable to deviate from the papal decrees or from the words of a holy church teacher in the slightest, but Luther based his doctrine of the pope on the passage Gal. 2, which, according to my insight, suited it perfectly: "Of those (he speaks) who had the prestige of what they were then, I do not care. For God does not respect the reputation of men. But those who had prestige have taught me nothing else." In the meantime, Eck thinks that Christ chose the apostles, but Peter ordained the bishops. From this you may judge of the other for yourselves. To the constitution that occurs in the decrees that the Roman pope should not be called the general bishop, he answered: one may not call him the general bishop, but certainly the bishop of the general church.

(6) Then they began to talk about purgatory, in which question I think they lost sight of the purpose. For since one should have disputed what power the pope had with regard to purgatory, Eck sang another song: that purgatory existed was demonstrable, which is far too well known to have been necessary to raise the question so often in the schools. Eck proved his opinion with the common passage in the books of the Maccabees. Luther disputed it, and said that, according to Jerome's statement, the books of the Maccabees are not valid, to which Eck replied: one should give the books of the Maccabees the same right that is contrary to the Gospel; this is, of course, a statement worthy of a theologian! And he remained stiff and firm. He added the passage of Paul 1 Cor. 3: "He will be saved, but only by fire", about which, as you know, the commentators are of different opinions. He has also taken the words from Matt. 5: "Be ready for your adversary soon," 2c., from the dungeon, and what follows: "until you pay the last farthing. How far this is fetched, and how the words are to be understood, you can easily judge. One does violence to them if one thinks that the dungeon is a

interpret the purgatory. I wish that the people of Christ would be taught better. For most interpretations of this kind lead the scripture far away from the basic text, so that one completely leaves its actual emphasis. From the Psalms he brought to the proof of the purgatory the words on the track: "We have passed through fire and water." And I do not know what he put on more with equal probity. Against the indulgence was not argued so vehemently. For Eck himself was only joking and playing with it. Finally, the doctrine of repentance was discussed, but I do not know whether Eck had hit the main point of the question with his final speeches; he approved of some punishments by means of satisfaction, which Luther conceded; but that divine justice requires a penitence for any punishment for any sin, which is within a man's power to impose, I could not see from his reasons. So these are the most important points that have occurred in this whole dispute. Everything else is far too ridiculous and too childish for me to hinder you in your more important occupations.

The remaining two days were given to Carlstadt. One was devoted to the bar of grace, as it is called, which Eck admitted was not taken away by nature but by grace. The other was debated: whether we sin in every good work, of which many wonderful scriptures were given by Eck and Carlstadt. Methinks Paul gave the greatest weight to Carlstadt's opinion in the seventh chapter to the Romans. I wanted to write more, but I am called away to other necessary business, although this is perhaps already too extensive. However, I wanted to tell you, as my very good friend, about the antics, and I myself saw that this matter was treated with greater expectation than benefit. What others think of such petty quarrels I do not know; to me they seem dangerous. Those of whom I have wished to promote godliness have only shown their intellect, great knowledge and various erudition in this arena. Incidentally, many of us have been immensely surprised by Ecken's splendid gifts of intellect. Carlstadt will undoubtedly already be known to you from his writings. He is an honest man, of rare erudition and unusually highly educated. I must admire Luther's lively mind, erudition and eloquence, whom I have known for a long time through intimate contact,

and his sincere and thoroughly Christian spirit. Greet our mutual friends in my name. You know what the Greeks use to say: xxxxxxx xxxxx xxxxx [there is much news in the war]. Therefore, you must not trust the rumor about the course of this disputation, nor those who make use of gossip, in all things. Fare well. Wittenberg, July 21, 1519.

3. what news of this disputation has come to light on the papal side.

D. Eck's report of this in a letter to Jakob Hoogstraten (*Hochstraten*). Date Leipzig, July 24, 1519.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), tom. I, fol. 335; in the Jena (1579), tom. I, fol. 3405; in the Erlangen, opp. var. urA., tom. III, P- 474 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 222. The marginal glosses, of which Walch says in the superscription: "mit Luthers Randglossen", do not seem to us to have originated with Luther, but we have added them according to the Wittenberg edition. Wiedemann, "v. Johann Eck", p. 501, attributes the "läppischen Noten" to IVI. Tittel.

Translated into German-

Letter Johann Eck

sent from Leipzig to the famous and venerable father, Brother Jakob Hoogstraten, Magister noster in theology, in which he shows with which scriptures, proofs and reasons he defended the articles of the Roman Church against D. Martin Luther in the disputation held in Leipzig in 1519.

1. salvation in the Lord Jesus! It is known to you, venerable father, how I have so far opposed the sacrilegious people of Wittenberg, who despise all teachers from 400 years ago, even though they are still so holy and learned, and bring many false and erroneous things among the people. The most distinguished head of this scandal spreads such things in German printed matter, and thereby seduces and poisons the people. Recently we debated in Leipzig before a very large audience of the most learned people, who had gathered there from all places, where Praise God! their opinion was also brought very low among the people, but among the scholars it fell for the most part.

2 You should have heard the audacity of the people, how blind and ready they are to all wickedness.

are. Luther denies that Peter the Apostle was prince. He denies that the obedience of the church comes from divine right, but is only imposed by human consent or the emperor's permission. He denies that the church was built on Peter: "On this rock" 2c. And when I put Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Cyprian, Chrysostomus, Leo and Bernhardus with Theophylus 1) to him about it, he denied all of them without shame and said: he wanted to resist 1000 alone; supported by nothing else than that Christ was the foundation of the church and no one could lay another foundation. a) I have refuted this from Revelation Cap. 21, 2) 14. of the twelve reasons. He claimed that the Greeks who were divided, even if they were not in the obedience of the pope, would still be blessed. Of the Bohemian articles he said: of the articles condemned in the Costnitz Concilium, some were quite fundamental Christian (christianissimos) and evangelical. By this sacrilegious error, he scared off and turned away many who had previously been devoted to him. Among other things, he said, when I reproached him (in opposition): if the Pope's supreme authority came only from human right and the consent of the faithful, where would he get the religious habit he wore? b) Where then would he get the authority to preach and to hear the confessions of the parishioners 2c.? He answered that he did not want there to be a mendicant order. He said many other annoying and inconsistent things: that a concilium, because they were men, could err; that it was not proven from the holy Scriptures that there was a purgatory, as you will see when you read our disputation for yourselves, because it was written by completely reliable notaries.

But in many ways they overcame me. c) Firstly, because they brought many books with them, in which they were known, and even brought them with them to the place of the disputation, and to these they immediately took refuge, yes, they always read from books, to their great ridicule. Secondly, because they always had the disputation in writing, and afterwards compared it at home. I have never heard a single word [of what the notaries

1) Löscher: [^]lieopli[^]uetus, in the other editions [^]Usopliilus. Neither of them is mentioned in the notary's postscript.

a) It is based on a new [^]Rede game.

2) Wittenberger, Erlanger and Löscher: "12"; Jenaer: "22".

b) An argument, which is suitable for Eck and die Brüderlein.

c) Eck was overcome for the sake of three causes.

until the disputation was over. Thirdly, there were several of them, for they themselves are two doctors, Mr. Lang, the Augustinervicarius, two licentiates of theology, one of them a grandson of Reuchlin, a very presumptuous person,^d) three doctors of law, many magisters, who helped both at home and in public, even in the middle of the disputation. I, however, stood alone, accompanied only by the good cause.^e)

I have instructed your brothers in the order to have a copy of the disputation copied and to send it to you as soon as possible. Therefore, for the sake of) whom I serve, I most earnestly request that 1) you defend the faith^g) which you have long since accepted. I do not ask that you get involved and make yourselves and your order hateful, but that you support me with your counsel and scholarship. For the Wittenbergers did not want with the disputation; indeed, they preferred to seek opportunities to dispute.^h) For Luther at first did not want to suffer any university in the world as a judge; but the most Christian Lord George of Saxony did not want to allow any disputation about the faith, unless he let the masters of our faith judgeⁱ). Luther, who was able and driven to do so by his own, was forced to do so. For if he could not argue and could not stand judges, they would all leave him; therefore, when I had left him free to choose from all universities, he chose Paris and Erfurt. Since I do not know the University of Paris,^k) but your University^l) is very friendly with it, I urge your fatherhood, for the sake of the Christian faith,^m) to write to their acquaintances, or, if it pleases, to the entire University, that if dear Prince George writes and sends the disputation and asks for a verdict, they will not refuse it, but will bravely attack it as a champion, because we have both consented to it as a judge. And I believe that the matter is so clear that it does not require a long investigation.

d) Eck was not presumptuous, but Reuchlin's grandson, that is, Philipp Melanchthon.

e) Eck was accompanied only by his good cause.

f) For the sake of Leo X, Roman pope.

1) Here we have assumed nt with Löscher, instead of et in the other editions.

g) Of the Roman See.

h) 8s Hna68i6rnt, is an Attic daintiness.

i) The masters of our faith are sometimes called magistri nostri.

k) Eck indicates the reason why he wrote this letter.

l) To lions.

m) Eck defended the Roman pope.

do not need. Therefore, at the prince's request, they should judge immediately and conclude what is in accordance with our faith.

5 You see here recently, venerable father, what I would like to have from you in the matter of faith, and this shall also be written herewith at the same time to our teachers, Mr. Arnold de Tongris and D. Michael Swas. Michael Swas. For it is quite certain that the crowd of grammarians (or language art teachers) introduce these errors into the church. And if the pope had proceeded in the same way,ⁿ) and not only, to our 2) both mockery, which the wretched language teachers^o) have caused. If they had listened to us, they would not now be driving over their heads with their murmuring, as they did earlier when they examined the Cabala. And the Wittenbergers, as it were, went off quite madly and almost without saying goodbye to the host. I am already on my ninth day here after the disputation,^p , which lasted three weeks.

Luther had preached a completely erroneous Hussite sermon on St. Peter's Day in the absence of the prince in the disputation hall. On the day of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary and the following day, I preached against his errors with an audience as large and populous as I have ever had, and I completely aroused the people, so that they were terrified of Luther's errors. Tomorrow I will do the same, and then say good night to Leipzig. My business makes it impossible for me to write to Mr. Arnold, nor to you. If you like something to reply, order it through Mr. Michael Swas, who can send it safely to Ingolstadt through the Sveter or Waler. Your venerable devotion (*pietius*) live happily; and if I can serve you anything, believe that it is as good as done. From Leipzig, July 24, in the year of grace 1519.

A letter from D. Eck to two Ingolstadt professors of law, Georg Hauen and Franz Burckardt, dated July 1, 1519, in which he also described this disputation.

The largest part of this letter is found in Latin in Seckendorf's Hist. Tmtti., 115. I, p. 85 ds., beginning and

n) Accusation against the pope.

2) Instead of no8tra6in the other editions, we have adopted nostri with eraser.

o) sOrainniati8ta6 and brannnati66llij] is not uneven double set.

p) He comes back to the point from which he abgekvmmen.

End missing. Walch has in his Ueberschrift: "Anjetzo first from a credible Copey in its completeness German presented." We have used Seckendorf in the revision.

Georg Hauen and Franz Burckardt, both professors of law at Ingolstadt, his sincere brothers.

1. good health! Our friendship requires that I tell you how I am doing. Initially, the strong and hot beer got me sick. From Pfreimbt to Gera, I did not have a good drink. In Leipzig, beer was also constantly disgusting to me, so I abstained from it for six days and felt better. On the way, I encountered nothing adverse, except that it rained incessantly, which, however, was to my advantage. I met the Duke in Leipzig, where he arrived on the very day I arrived from Weissenfels. He received me graciously, and the day after St. John's he departed again. [Lotter and Bodenstein arrived with great state, with them two hundred Wittenberg students, four doctores, three licentiates, many magistri and very many Lutherans, v. Lange of Erfurt, their vicarius, the teacher of insolence Egranus, the preacher of Görlitz, the pastor of Annaberg, Bohemians and Picards sent from Prague, very many heretics, who pretend that Luther is an excellent teacher of truth, who does not follow Johann Hus.

On June 26, the disputation was discussed and an agreement was reached. I yielded willingly, which the Leipzigers would not have thought, although they are perfectly on my side, and demanded that Carlstadt should not yield, because he had united with me on one judge. The call went through the whole city, I will have to succumb to this. Our nation, although inclined to me, has not sought friendship with me out of concern to share in my disgrace. However, as an older doctor, I have been preferred to others everywhere: the duke had a beautiful stag honored to me, and a deer to Carlstadt.

On the 27th of June we met in the large college, where the Ordinary (D. Simon Pistoris) received us with a beautiful speech in the name of the university; afterwards we went with all the guests and the whole university to the church, where the Holy Spirit was invoked for help. Thereupon went

They went to the castle, where the duke had a splendid room decorated with chairs and wallpaper. Petrus Mosellanus, professor of the Greek language, gave a beautiful speech in which he made the duke's will known, but at the same time, after his own fashion, except by princely command, he set out on the scholastics. There are also 76 armed men present every day from the beginning to the end of the disputation, and they always march to the castle with flying flags and sounding music, because there is a fear of a crowd of Wittenbergers and Bohemians. The council is very polite, I want to report.

4 In the afternoon at 2 o'clock the disputation began. I opposed Carlstadt on free will. Oh, how miserably he conducted the matter! I would rather that others reported such things. The man has no memory at all. He also confessed, since he had answered my objection in a slipshod manner, that I have a better memory. With everyone's amazement, I neatly and piecemeal repeated his answer, better than he had presented it himself, and immediately gave my reply to it; but he could not grasp anything; he had a large crowd sitting with him, and now read from this, now from another book, to his great chagrin. Therefore our people only began to get courage and to accompany me in heaps. I did it in one way: I made replies at night and gave him time to think it over until the next day at 8 o'clock. So he came in the morning and brought a notary with him, against the settlement, whom he had write everything down; the doctor had written everything on slips of paper, and read off one after the other, from word to word, to his great shame. I rejected what he had uselessly presented, but did not proceed to the right objections, because he had made his reading so long, to everyone's annoyance; and if I had continued in the opposition, the disputation would have been interrupted, and he would again have had time to consider and write something down; So I diligently postponed this until 2 o'clock in the afternoon, since I drove the wretched man, who could not retain the slightest thing, so far that he had to confess against his will that free will has its effect in good works. Whereupon I did not want to bring further proofs, because I had brought him to the right Christian doctrine. He replied that he had never denied this; but I immediately showed him six passages from his "defense" in which he pretends that free will is completely passive with respect to the good, which he also often says in his "defense".

1) This is where Seckendorf starts.

Disputation; about which I referred to the Acta, written by the notaries.

The last June Carlstadt should oppose me from free will. For he chose this matter. But since he again read everything from his notes, like the boys, I did not want to admit this; he, on the other hand, would not let it go, because he had no memory, like me. I then said, "Why is he disputing?" But I left the matter in the hands of the gentlemen, who went out and held a council about it, called Carlstadt before them, and said, "This is not the way to disputing, he should therefore refrain from it; he could read the sayings of fathers and teachers from a piece of paper, but not the proofs and their execution," to which Carlstadt, after due council, answered, "He could not disputing in any other way, and asked that he be given leave. I was sent for; however, I left everything to the discretion of the gentlemen and declared that if they recognized that I could allow it, I would do so. They all said that it seemed unreasonable to them. I agreed that he would do it this time, but would refrain from it in the future. But he did not want to do this either. I therefore requested a testimony from the gentlemen; and so we left each other without having accomplished anything. Mr. Caesar Pflug recited the entire matter in German in the Duke's name, and told what they had decided against Carlstadt; however, he did not want to enter into this, so they gave him time to think it over until tomorrow. He then sent notaries and baccalaureates of theology to me to ask me to allow him to read the evidence from slips of paper; but I answered that I would stick to the statement of the gentlemen. Therefore, the Wittenbergers were in great consternation, and still are; yet he came today and was supposed to oppose, but brought forward three things alone, without the testimony of a teacher and without proof. He was very confused. I summarized the questions in the neatest way, answered them, corroborated them with testimonies of teachers and proved that the holy and excellent theologians, whom he contemptuously calls school teachers, are in agreement with Augustine, Jerome and Ambrose. Up to here from Carlstadt.

6 From the other beast, Lutter. 1) Upon his arrival, I heard that he did not want to dispute; I made every effort to get him to dispute. We met at the princely commissaries and the university;

1) On the edge of the letter he wrote: "I have done a good evil to Lütter, I will tell it orally.

I have placed everything in their will; they therefore wanted him to dispute under the same conditions under which Carlstadt had disputed. He had made many demands of his duke; but I said that I did not demand the prince to be a judge, although I did not refuse him either, therefore he should choose a university, and if Germany was too narrow for him, in Welschland, France or Spain. However, he did not want a judge at all and was therefore not admitted, because by virtue of the duke's order no one is to be admitted who does not want to suffer a judgment. I demanded that the commissioners and the university give me a testimony about this in his time. There are many Lutherans. D. Urbach, the doctor of the Archbishop of Mainz, the doctor of the Counts of Mansfeld, 2) and others have driven Luther because he would lose everyone's favor, even the Elector's favor, if he could not suffer a judge in the whole world. Therefore, he resorted to lies, by which he greatly angered the Commissars by saying that the whole university was suspicious of him. Finally, the matter came to the point that at the end of the disputation, he wanted to compare notes with me about a judge and dispute with me, but that he was free to let the disputation go to press in the meantime. I opposed this, because he wanted to print it without first obtaining a verdict, in order to seduce the simple; for he undoubtedly wanted to add letters and other things that would be in their praise, so that it would look as if they had won the victory; therefore, he also had to accept this. I do not yet know when the disputation will begin; but the Wittenbergers are all almost full of bile, rage and venom; they cause me much inconvenience. Many threats have been made by them to the council, but it has not yet learned anything definite, but last night it placed 34 armed men in the nearest houses, so that if they came and wanted to do something bad or cause trouble, they would receive their deserved reward. You see that they have become disgraced.

There is still hope for Luther, but all hope for Bodenstein is gone. Luther has not yet been allowed to preach in Leipzig, but the Lord of Pomerania (Duke Barnim), Rector of the Wittenberg University, at the instigation of the monk, demanded that he preach the Gospel to him in the castle, which he did. The whole sermon was

2) Seckendorf has in brackets: Perhaps [D. Johann] Rühel.

Bohemian (that is, heretical), held on the day of Peter [and Paul]. I will preach tomorrow and Sunday, at the request of citizens and doctors, and refute his sophistical errors. 1)

Otherwise, there is nothing new, except that the Electors, with the exclusion of the Frenchman, have unanimously fallen to Carl. On the Frenchman's initiative, the Duke of Lüneburg attempted in Saxony what the Württemberg duke had begun in Swabia, and inflicted great damage on Duke Erich of Brunswick, who, after gathering an army of 3,000 servants from the great alliance in Swabia and 1,200 men from Duke George of Saxony, took almost all of the Duke of Lüneburg's land and burned out six towns. Of Margrave Joachim I will tell orally. There are horny Venus sisters everywhere, and people love a lot in this city.

9 I have often been told to stay in Meissen, but I will go back to Bavaria. Almost all the courtiers and most of the citizens were Lutherans; but now they are beginning to become wise. Dear Franz, see to it that what I have recommended to you is also done in this way. Where highly unjust judges do not come forward, there is no doubt of victory. Be well. On the day before the Visitation of the Virgin Mary (July 1) at 3 o'clock, since since 10 o'clock the insipid and unjust Carlstadt has been disputing against me. From the royal city of Leipzig in Meissen 1519.

Your most devoted
Corner.

D. Peter has been here three days, has also written the money half Zberga at the abbess; highly desires his daughter's welfare. Jr are equally more hopeless than he, that we came out sun kundt.

397 To Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, Doctor of Theology and preacher in Basel, of Johannes Cellarius of Gnostopolis (Kunstadt), professor of the Hebrew language at Leipzig, letter about the true and orderly course of the theological disputation in Leipzig. July 31, 1519.

The old edition available to us (without printer and place of printing) of this letter, which precedes Ecks' 6xpnrZntio, has this title: Lâ chVolpüunZnrm

1) This is where Seckendorf stops.

l'adrieium 6apiLon6m HisoloZiae voetorem 6t eontioliatorem Lasillen. loarr. Obllarii ðnostopolitani l.ip8iÄ6, ti6dral6Ä6 11QAUÄ6 prok688ori8 äb V6ra 6t 60N8tÄlIti 86N6 tlI6oloZl6Ä6 äisputatiovis l'ip8l6Ä6 6pi8tolg,. 4. The letter occupies the first five pages. It is also found in Latin in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 225. - Kunstadt, the father city of Cellarius, is in Moravia, not in Bohemia, as the Erlanger Briefwechsel vol. I, p. 58 indicates.

Translated from Latin.

To Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, Professor of Sacred Scripture, Joh. Cellarius von Kunstadt wishes Heil!

If I let the slightest opportunity pass, dearest Wolfgang, above all to testify to my peculiar esteem for you, then I would be justly accused of the vice of ingratitude, which I have always highly detested, as the beginning and origin of all vices, so that I would not, if I fell into it, be justly esteemed worthy of the bonds of Hippocrates. I have thus wanted to testify what a heartfelt love and honor I have for you, not only because of special merits, but also because of the great love for virtue, scholarship and the scholars, which I have seen shine out in you many times in Latin, Greek and Hebrew sciences.

(2) But what is this occasion or inducement? you will say. Hear such recently. You know, my dear Wolfgang, how much and at what time and how a great dispute between D. Johann Eck of Ingolstadt, and D. Martin Luther and Andreas Bodenstein of Carlstadt, of Wittenberg, because of some (where I am right) outgoing theses: so that after the mere theses, which had been spread out in the whole world before, it finally came to attack and protective writings. But since it seemed to them that this would not be enough for a good outcome of the matter, if they did not also proceed to a public doctrinal battle, a public disputation was finally scheduled with the approval of both sides, and admitted to the laudable and flourishing Leipzig School by our most illustrious Prince George, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, the very mildest protector and upholder of the Leipzig University. And although there are beautiful buildings of the Muses, which we call Collegia, and spacious lecture halls in such a famous university of Your Serene Highness, he did not want such theological disputations to be held anywhere else than in his castle. But in what kind of order such disputations of truth

I think that I will be quite pleasant to you and at the same time show my goodwill toward you.

3 It is now the 26th of June in the afternoon at 2 o'clock, for early the arrived guests were received by the legal scholar and experienced man, D. Simon Pistoris, the Law Faculty Ordinary, after which they went together to St. Thomas Church to attend the service held to invoke the Holy Spirit. Afterwards, they went together to St. Thomas Church to attend the service, which was held to invoke the Holy Spirit, and from there to the castle and to the battlefield, where, by order of the most noble prince, the leaders of the dispute were read how modestly they should behave at the disputation, and then, as I said, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the battle began.

4 First, D. Joh. Eck brought Carlstadt on the path that free will also effectively helps to do a good work together with grace, and that they therefore work together, not separately (*mixtim non divisim*), which he beautifully demonstrated from St. Bernard. Carlstadt, on the other hand, long resisted in his writings: that the free will only behaves in a suffering and receiving manner toward good works, of which it alone is capable. But when Eck had drawn testimonies from the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Fathers, he finally admitted with Eck that free will had an effect in good works, and they now agreed. You should have heard here, my dear Fabricius, with what a mind, and like another Demosthenes, Eck was able to grasp and repeat so completely everything that had been stated one after the other. Carlstadt, however, used to get the reasons and the answers from a piece of paper and from books. And since he also wanted to read out his entire case during the opposition, as he had considered and prepared it at home, Eck did not want to allow it any further, whether he wanted to allow it this time: At present, however, he must refrain from doing so, unless he had written out the words of a holy father or of the Holy Scriptures. Eck said: he wanted to discuss and not read. After the matter had been brought before the gentlemen, it was decided that this was no way to argue, to read the whole thing from pieces of paper, so Eck would not be satisfied with it. Carlstadt should also consider until tomorrow whether he wants to recite the reasons from his head or give up disputing? Therefore, Carlstadt came back in the morning, and according to the laws of the

The Church, however, equipped with many books, and even taught that the whole good work was from God, which Eck admitted that grace and free will worked separately, according to Bernard, with each other, not in a special or separate way, but that one therefore did not have to say that free will did not work. Although God does the whole work, it does not happen in a total way (*totaliter*), so that another cause's participation or contribution would be completely denied. Carlstadt strongly objected to this: that the holy fathers had not spoken in this way. Eck refuted this by saying that the disputation about names (or words) should be left to the stubborn; enough that it was clear from the Fathers that the good work was entirely from God, and yet free will also did it. This is what he briefly said: Entirely, but not in a total way.

Since the matter of free will had been concluded in this way, and it had been put to the judges to be chosen, Martin Luther met with Eck in the matter of the supreme sovereignty of the Roman Church, and brought to the fore: the Pope was not more than the others according to divine right, but rather only by human consent, and also St. Peter had not received the supreme sovereignty over the Church of God before other apostles, but it was enough in the One Head, namely 1) Christ. Peter had not received the supreme rule over the Church of God before other apostles, but it was enough for the One Head of the Church, namely 1) Christ. On the other hand, Eck proved with evident testimonies and reasons that there was one supreme ruler of the same supreme head, Christ, in the Church by divine right, and that God had built the Church on this rock, that is, Peter and his successors, according to the evident testimonies of Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Leo, Bernard and some popes, who testify to this in explicit words. But Martin paid little attention to their reputation, because he based himself on St. Paul's saying to the Galatians and other passages, of which Eck endeavored to prove that they were not repugnant to him. But the judges will have to decide whether he got there.

Eck also admitted that the apostles were equal in priesthood and apostolic office, after Leo and Cyprian; nevertheless, Peter was set as the head, so that the divisions would be prevented. But since Eck reproached Martin: that such Lutheran

1) In the original "s." - seHieet. The long 8 has been read out by Löscher in 4(68um^).

Martin replied that not all the articles condemned there were heretical, but that some of the articles of John Hus were quite Christian and evangelical; therefore he requested that Eck first prove that a concilium could not err. This has not been interpreted by many to the best of D. Martin, just as that he wanted to consider the Greeks, who were disobedient to the Roman church, nevertheless as pious and blessed; but this also belongs to the judges. But when Eck reproached: If the pope did not have the supreme authority by divine right, where would D. Martin get his religious habit? where would his brothers hear confessions? since the parishioners would certainly be against it 2c., D. Martin answered, among other things, that he did not want there to be a mendicant order! But he insisted very much on Gregorius *in registro*, denying that he was a general bishop. Eck explained hereupon in what way he had denied what he had been true, citing Gregorius about C. decretum 2. qu. 7. and that therefore he had resisted the emperor and the patriarch in Constantinople, as reported by Platina, whom Luther had given much credit in historical truths. The judges, however, will pronounce who among the two had judged best.

(7) Then they began to talk about purgatory: where do the punishments of purgatory come from, whether from the Scriptures, whether because the souls of the departed are of imperfect love, or because they are sufficient for the sins committed here? D. Martin answered: one could not prove purgatory from the Scriptures, although he constantly taught and believed it. And since D. Eck had referred to the books of the Maccabees, he denied that they belonged to the canonical writings. Eck, on the other hand, showed that they belonged to the Canon of the Bible (namely with the testimony of Augustine and Jerome in the Preface [to the Bible]) in the Church. And since many holy teachers were attracted, who pretended in their interpretations that St. Paul spoke of Purgatory in the passage to the Corinthians: "He will be saved, but only through fire" 2c., then D. Martin taught a different understanding; but whether he deviated from the opinion of the Fathers, let the judges see.

8 There was not so much dispute about indulgences. For that there were many abuses of the preachers of indulgences, both admitted, and Martin was more lenient than he otherwise wrote.

because he allowed that indulgences would be useful. However, he held on to the opinion that indulgences were a remission of good works. On the contrary, Eck said that it was a remission of the punishments due for sins. If he did not want to believe that indulgences would be enough, he would have been banned already after the last papal bull of Leo X.

(9) Then, concerning repentance and how it arises, D. Eck wanted to show from the Scriptures and the Fathers that repentance rightly begins with the fear of punishment. And to all that had been cited, Luther answered: first, that the childlike fear of wisdom was the beginning, but not the servile fear of punishment. But when D. Eck appealed to Augustine, Cassianus and others that it was also understood by servile fear, Martinus admitted that servile fear was the beginning of wisdom, but with grace. Eck resisted that grace would be before the beginning of grace, since wisdom in that passage, according to Augustine and Bernard, would be understood as love. Whether he rightly resisted this or not, the appointed judges will recognize.

Finally, Eck objected to the 4th and 5th thesis: If the guilt is remitted, the punishment is not yet over; and such punishment, which must be paid off by satisfaction, could be repaid by the pope through indulgences, and by the priest through the imposition of penance. And so such a person would do enough for the Church as well as for God, for the sin. But D. Martin opposed it. Therefore, the matter was left to the judges.

11 However, the masters had decreed that only the most difficult theses would be dealt with; hence it has come about that much matter has remained untouched.

12 Eck then went after Carlstadt again, and wanted to show him that the school teachers were not in disagreement with the church teachers, because of the removal of the bar [against grace], if one understood them correctly; and that if one does as much as is in one, one will be promoted in good by God and will be saved. He also apologized that, since he had said that the matter of the election of grace did not belong to the matter of which they dealt, Carlstadt had wanted to interpret this to him as if he had said that the passages about the election of grace did not belong to the works that should be crowned and rewarded; and that he had read quite well and rightly in Bernardus: Put away free will, and nothing can be blessed. But Carlstadt

would rightly be called a falsifier of the books, if he wanted to read in Bernhardus for: Nothing can become blessed, wanted to read: nothing thereby 2c. (pro quod, quo). To which Carlstadt gave his answer; and it was subsequently put to the judges' verdict.

Finally, Carlstadt objected to Eck's second thesis and wanted to have that the righteous commits sin in every good work. Eck did not want to accept this, and argued that St. Lawrence should have sinned on the grate and St. Peter on the cross. And when Carlstadt brought up Augustine and Jerome, Eck sharply insisted: he should show the place, because this would not be found anywhere in them, but rather the opposite would be proven from Jerome against the Pelagians. Since now many things had been argued for and against the matter, it finally came down to the judges.

Now the matter of repentance was still left, which D. Carlstadt had also long since had recorded with the gentlemen, but because D. Martin was gone and he was also hurrying home, he no longer wanted to make objections to Eck. And so the whole disputation was again concluded, as it had been at the beginning, in a splendid way with a speech, which the learned Mr. Johann Lange of Lemberg delivered very eloquently.

You will, however, my highly learned Mr. Capito, demand to know who the chosen judges were; I will also report this. Eck and Carlstadt were also together before the disputation before the most illustrious Prince George, Duke of Saxony 2c, and the Rector and Concilium of the University. Eck said that he was ready to dispute and wanted to do everything that the gentlemen ordered, if only Carlstadt either agreed to the university's verdict or gave another judge. Carlstadt, however, who was just as ready to argue, asked that what was argued be recorded by faithful notaries or public scribes. Eck was immediately satisfied, if Carlstadt would only agree to a judge. So the gentlemen decided: no one should leave the place until they were one because of the judge. Father Martinus, however, did not want any university to be a judge, even though Eck had chosen him from almost all schools in Germany, Italy, France and England, except for two; on the other hand, he [Luther] suggested that everything that had been discussed should be printed and sent out, so that everyone who read it would be free to do so.

would like to judge. But the most illustrious councillors and the council of the university did not want to let him attend the disputation. So they left the same day and Martin did not want to dispute; afterwards, however, on the advice of his friends, he reappeared and accepted the disputation in Carlstadt's manner.

When the disputation was over, Eck gave the most illustrious prince's councillors under his foot: they would like to elect judges in the presence of Duke George (because the most illustrious prince had often been at the disputation). Therefore Martin suggested the high school in Paris and Erfurt, which Eck also accepted, if only Martin's hermit brothers in Erfurt were not present. Since the duke was away, Martin wanted the whole university to judge, it could be lawyers, physicians or philosophers, but the fathers of the holy Dominican and Franciscan order should not be present. However, it seemed unreasonable to the corner that physicians or people of other professions should judge the highest theological matters or reasons; nevertheless, with both satisfaction, the matter was placed in the will of the most illustrious prince.

17 This is what I wanted to write to you, my dear Capito, in a credible way. Of course, there will be enough who, out of sheer eagerness for victory, will bring all sorts of things to the people, so that it may have the appearance that they have won, even if it is contrary to the truth. But you will believe this report completely: for this is how everything happened properly and truly with the Leipzig theological disputation. I also assure you that I have not written anything to love or harm any part of it, but only how it happened; therefore I refer to our most noble Prince George, and to his most favorable and experienced councils, and to the whole University of Leipzig. When the disputation comes out, everything will turn out that way. Farewell, my most esteemed and learned friend, and greet D. Johann Oecolampadius, who is well experienced in all three languages, as well as Beatus Rhenanus, Bruno and all other good friends of mine. Leipzig, from our house, July 31, in the year 1519.

398: The discussions and answers of the Wittenberg doctors at the public disputation in Leipzig, which will not be able to do much against Eck's thunderbolts, and

**of their hopeful arrival and their humble departure.
Written by Joh. Rubens Longipolitanus. August 13,
1519.**

This writing by Johann Rubens, a Franconian who was studying in Leipzig at the time, appeared under the title: 80Intiono8 U6^Vit
üootormna in pnüüan (li8-
pntntiono lüpsien contrm kntnün bxüviunu parmin protutnru, tñinorepro
miv6ntn8 6t üninilitn" t>ornin raao88N8 p6r,lola ltn. l.on^ipotü.
aoinpurnt. 2^ sheets in quarto, with a borrede to Conrad von Thungen,
Bishop of Würzburg, datirt den t3. August t519; thereafter our time
determination. Reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 252. - Anf
this writing Johann Montanas from Hesse replied under the pseudonym
^Anno ^Vittotmr^cmms, which is reprinted in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol.
III, p. 786 ff.

Translated into German.

1) Two men, who are considered by many to be excellent and outstanding in soul and body, especially the impatient monk, named Martinus, appears, and with him Andreas Carlstadt, full of mockery and an excellent healer, who do not claim to be scholastics, but rather Wittenberg church teachers. For they presume to interpret the Holy Scriptures from their own minds, and in the theological struggle they also deny the Scholastics and the Fathers, who were enlightened by the Holy Spirit, as Thomas Aquinas, Thomas Aquinas, whom they are undoubtedly not worthy to dissolve, Scotus the astute teacher, Bonaventure the irrefutable, Capreolus the highly learned teacher, Albertus Magnus, who is not less than these, and many others, whom I will pass over for the sake of brevity. Although they have sharpened their dog's and viper's teeth venomously and disgracefully against the aforementioned scholastics, and Carlstadt has unashamedly called them shopkeepers in front of many teachers and excellent men, they have finally taken their great refuge in such teachers in the utmost and last need, as in a sanctuary of scholarship and science. But such godless ruffraff is wont to leave a friend and patron in good fortune, but afterwards, when the need arises, to seek his help and protection. Thus the aforementioned two doctors, since they were first able to refute and repel Eck's hostile arrows and reasons by means of the holy church teachers, knew how to rebuke and reject the school teachers; but when they were unable to knock down Eck's Hercules- and Simson-like answers either by their own art or by means of the church teachers' writings, they sought to beat Eck's thunderbolts to the ground by means of the scholastics' erudition. So

the aforementioned doctors have not been able to shut the mouth of some man Eck, who appeared with an excellent and splendid modesty, with their intrigues, deceptions, and reasons shot like arrows. What can I say much? Eck's bravery and his great erudition always kept the last word in the dispute in a splendid and manly manner. For before that, the Wittenbergers cried out that they would get the victory. But due to Eck's triumph, they fell miserably and ridiculously into the pit that they secretly intended to prepare for our humble and gentle Eck. On this learned Eck, who is experienced and well-shod in all sciences, and who was as meek as a lamb, they went out of their house with great tumult and violence, with swords and spears, and turned their raised knives against him, as the poisonous Jews against the Savior, to clear him out of the way. I, when I saw Eck wandering alone, without any company and without a crowd, like a poor exiled man among fierce wolves, my eyes glazed over and I thought with amazement: Even Hercules cannot easily stand against two. Except that two things came to my mind for consolation: first, that all of Eck's theses defended the Christian faith, which our ancestors and parents from long ago have always held and confessed until our time. Secondly, that therefore the great and gracious God graciously assists those who honor Him and keep His commandments. Thirdly, that the excellent D. Eck has said quite nicely and merrily: Not all who wielded great swords could strike down and refute Eck's thunderbolts.

2 However, of the theses that Mart. Luther, everyone can easily see that they are unreasonably against the long and common custom of the holy fathers. For who does not believe that the pope is a head appointed by divine right? Who can imagine that a good work is so from God that man's diligence and effort do not contribute to it? Which wise man will also admit that every priest has the power and jurisdiction which the pope, the earthly God, has in his majesty? Who will say that man commits sin even in a good work, as Carlstadt dreams? Which of the teachers will also claim that repentance, which is most necessary for salvation, starts from love and not from fear of the Lord? Who has ever heard and believed that indulgences are a remission of good works, as the venerable Father Martinus certainly claimed?

wants? Finally, which Christian calls the Hussite and Bohemian articles fundamental Christianity, as the Wittenberg Doctor Martinus publicly asserted in the dispute? This and other such things are contained in the Wittenberg theses and proofs; however, I do not want to pass judgment on such opinions. Let those judge who are chosen and ordered to do so.

3) However, no one will like to stubbornly and maliciously oppose the common opinion and custom of the old fathers and our ancestors just mentioned.

1) After God's office [the mass] was held in the church of St. Thomas, a large crowd of people went to the castle of the most noble prince and duke George, where 2) all of them prayed in song for the grace of the Holy Spirit. The following day, the two Wittenberg doctors came to the theological battle with great pomp and accompaniment, and a large crowd of doctors, masters, baccalaureates and students, all of whom had a great desire for victory over Eck, marched behind the said doctors, and many of them led the said doctors and preceptors back to their dwellings. But as time went by and things went very differently and unhappily, all such trabants gradually looked around for the gate, like swallows that stay in the summer and in warm times, but then suddenly leave in the cold. For since the Wittenbergers themselves doubted that their doctors would gain the victory over the one man Eck, because of his herculean powers and strong scholarship, they made a miserable getaway one after the other, like the godless Jews when Jesus was talking to the Pharisees and scribes, who were accusing a poor and sorrowful woman of her sin before him: For he wrote in the dust the sins and iniquities which every one had committed, saying, He that is without sin and iniquity among you, let him cast the first stone at her. And when they saw and heard this, they went out secretly to the temple. In truth, hardly anyone among the great Wittenberg doctors remained steadfast in the theological struggle. That is why many have mockingly said: "Where is the great bunch of doctors, ma-.

1) This is probably what Rubeus wanted to say. The words, as they stand there, say the opposite: rekikwrs ae pertivaeitsr rslnetari nsmo iiaesitat.

2) in yuo will refer to raunere. The narration is confused. The mass in honor of the Holy Spirit was held in St. Thomas Church, after which the people went to the castle.

gister and Baccalaureen Martins and Carlstadts? where does he sleep or lie buried? Does no one help them any more to forge weapons and thunderbolts against Eck? Does no one continue to secretly blow into them something of science and learned ideas, to their praise and glory? Ah! what shall I say of the venerable father, whom the Wittenbergers worship and adore almost as a heavenly god? I confess that he was once great even with Rubeus; but now I confess also that his praise has entirely died out and passed away in my heart. For the venerable father, before the battle was over, since few knew about it, went diligently to the gates of the city; the next day Carlstadt sought his Martin. When Eck was thus abandoned by his opponents, he took the liberty of going to the other Leipzig disputations himself, so that he might hear the most distinguished and famous teachers in the theological faculty there. Eck was also not ashamed to go to the philosophical assembly.

4. so that I tell the thing a little more extensively, I want to report what the Wittenberg doctors have done. For, that they would like to catch D. Eck, who has so much science and so much knowledge, because they wrongly thought that they alone knew the Scriptures as masters, and that they alone had studied and seen the great books of the church teachers for that reason; therefore, perhaps, as all godly souls easily believe, they did not learn Aristotelian scholarship so thoroughly; and the Wittenberg doctors think that even the scholastics and the holy fathers did not understand the holy Scriptures so astutely, masterfully, wisely and thoroughly as they had and knew all the understanding of the Scriptures; or have probably thought that Eck, the intrepid man, did not read any other teachers at all as schoolteachers. Therefore, like cunning foxes, they wanted to reject all the writings of the school teachers from the scholarly struggle right at the beginning of the theological disputation. Eck, however, as befits a wise, great and excellent man, was able to conceal his intrepid and unconquerable scholarship for a time; therefore he spoke to them quite modestly and humbly: I am not bound to Scotus as to a woman (*nec Scotum in uxorem duxi*). They deny me the one who formerly earned me a thousand gold florins. We do not want to be easily repugnant to you in anything. I will gladly go with you to the battlefield, which, as you think, is brighter and lighter for you than it is for me. Eck also said in a very friendly way: "What have

What have the holy fathers, namely Thomas, Scotus, Bonaventure and the other fathers, whom divine grace has equipped, done, that they are unfortunately! just now completely excluded from the theological and divine disputation by the Wittenberg doctors? However, so that you see that I have read not only the school teachers, but also church teachers, I do not want to attract and bring forward some school teachers in your disputation, although no wise person, except you, denies that such great fathers are highly learned and enlightened by the Holy Spirit, and blasphemously and mockingly pulls them through. This is what Eck once said in the heat: "I can honestly confess that the school teachers certainly have Carlstadt's opinion of free will. And Eck proved this from the school teachers in Carlstadt's conclusions about free will, even if he had denied them indisputably. Afterwards, Eck also once said, as he modestly taunted: "Highly learned Mr. D. Carlstadt, if there are any thunderbolts and astute reasons against the rejected teachers, then I am ready to take them up and refute them, and to protect and assert the holy fathers with all my might. Thus Eck stood fearlessly and heroically, like another Hector, yes, like a lion in the public pulpit for the protection of the faith of the church, and spared no enemy, and said: he had been diligently instructed in the holy fathers from his youth. And Eck has justifiably and well insulted Carlstadt for falsely and presumptuously pretending that Eck had read little or nothing in the books of the Holy Fathers. But Eck, a well-educated man, could conceal the depth of his sciences, and said to Carlstadt in jest: "My dear scornful doctor, I have from the earliest years gladly studied in the holy scriptures, and let myself be taught from them, also read such books enough, and not the school teachers alone, as Carlstadt blames me, but have also perused almost all the church teachers with lynx eyes, not with lucid or dripping eyes, like D. Carlstadt (which the two Wittenberg gods before Eck's arrival never believed). Yes, I have taken the greatest pains to read and understand the divine teachers to the end. And so that the two conceited, proud Wittenberg theologians would get to know Eck and see that he had brought his quiver full of thunderbolts, theological spears and arrows with him to the Leipzig scholarly battle, thereby wounding and hurting the Wittenbergers, to the shame and mockery of all listeners, he said once, with all

Rightly teasing the two Wittenberg doctors: "These two people thought that I had not come so deeply into reading and the knowledge of the church teachers. And indeed, no one doubts that if Eck's thunderbolts had been so well known and knowledgeable to them beforehand, they would certainly not have taken to hurling such ineffectual wedges and arrows at such a great man, and would have eagerly endeavored to repel his projectiles and attacks.

(5) Without boasting (as the writings of the notaries of his time will clearly show), the highly respectable Mr. Eck certainly drew from his incomparable memory, in front of all the scholars present, on the ten proven, competent church teachers, namely not only their names, but also their important, excellent, emphatic and salutary sayings and teachings, for the salvation and right faith of the human race. And yet the Wittenbergers insolently and recklessly blasphemed Eck and pretended that he had not cited any church teachers in the midst of the controversy. But what the Wittenbergers stumbled together from the books at home, they later recited from the books, just as boys recite their lessons to their fox-like teachers. That is why the excellent doctor said to the Wittenbergers with an undaunted voice: A disputant's special task is to grasp all the reasons and arrows in the church dispute without the aid of paper, and to answer and overturn the objections and scruples in the same way: for those who only show their ability in what is recorded in books, and read what they should have in their memory, must fear 1) that when the books burn, all their knowledge will go up in smoke. Carlstadt considered these few words well, and said to his responsibility, although quite läppisch: he would not give a disputator. Mr. D. Eck replied in a bright voice: "Among scholars, however, it is considered the work of a disputer to summarize what is objected to in a delicate, clear, orderly and perfect manner, and to resolve and reject the difficulties of the objections. I am surprised, said Eck, that Carlstadt does not want to be a disputator, since he does and administers everything that

1) What the old translator offers here may have been the opinion of Rubens; we were not able to translate the Latin words either. They read: Hui NNNIHNS in lidromm oUenänt tacnltats rnsrnoias Kunäentsk inunuk oonkerere oonnntittenäa veninnt, ne etc.

A disputator does this, namely by making objections and also answering me with his reasons, which he considers insurmountable. Yes, he went with me to the battlefield for the sake of victory. And before Eck's arrival, Carlstadt and Martin boasted in vain, since (as Eck's enemies would have it) nothing was more certain and firm with them than the victory over Eck, the intrepid and unconquerable man. But one has to name everything (according to Aristotle 2 de anim.) from the end; but Aristotle is none of their business, whom they also reject without justification, therefore they themselves and their followers are mistaken, and they are rightly deceived in their presumption. Their books also obviously testify above with what they really deal, even if not with real wars and physical battles, but with philosophical and theological ones: so they may keep silent, and not protect themselves by saying that they do not want to be disputants. I have at least answered them to this day, and am still today ready and willing to answer the Wittenberg doctors bravely and courageously, and no bullet nor terror shall keep me from taking you on in the public learned battlefield, with all praiseworthy Simson-like and brave courage to obtain victory, by the assistance of the all-good and mighty God, for the salvation of all men, and for praise, honors, harmony and holy fruitfulness, with all the peace of the apostolic chair now left almost without umbrella and protection.

6. And so that it does not appear to the reader as if I were presenting something false about the aforementioned church scholars whom Eck attracted in his godliness, I will soon name them individually; who not only those who were on Eck's side, because Eck defended the old and common faith of our parents and their opinion with power, and said that one must always believe and hope that what our forefathers all faithfully held in firm faith was right, since no wise man yet considers them to be condemned, and therefore we, who confess their faith and religion, will not condemn them either, have heard, but have also heard the shameful enemies of Eck and those who were on Martin's and Carlstadt's side, as good and praiseworthy, to whom all truth of the Holy Scriptures will not have been miserably hidden until the Wittenberg doctors' appearance, nor will have been eradicated from the souls of so many other learned teachers, that it would only have been given and instilled anew by heaven to two Wittenbergers, but not to the previous Holy Fathers, of whom one sings

and says that they live holy forever with the blessed and elect without all fear of punishment.

I can freely confess that the Wittenberg doctors not only heard Eck's words above, but also did not seek to thoroughly consider the actual opinion of Eck's words. And since the Wittenbergers truly could not catch Eck's skill and prudence from the holy fathers' writings, they have sought to entrap Eck in their hams by the words put forward by Eck himself: for words, as they say, catch souls as the bull is caught by the horns. How cunningly and carefully they watched for all the words that Eck dropped! like the Jews who wanted to catch JESum in his words. For when the kind JESus had said before Pilate, Thou hadst no power, except it were given thee by my Father which is in heaven; but when the Jews heard these things of dear JESu, and were enraged and mad at them, they said, He maketh himself the Son of God thereby, take him out of the way. So they also rose up against Eck, an evangelical, zealous lover and defender of theological truth, with great clamor, since Eck had publicly called Martin a heretic and patron of Hussite error. For Martin had called some Hussite errors quite Christian, but Hus was burned as a heretic because of them; therefore he called him so in front of all worthy men in a large assembly. And then the Wittenbergers rose up with great noise and clamor against the meek and humble defender of the evangelical truth; although God does not forsake him forever; and said with gnashing teeth: Behold, he publicly calls our excellent teacher Martin a heretic. And the Wittenberg lawyers cried out: He must protest! The venerable Father Martin, enraged and incited by the Wittenbergers, called out to the sworn notaries: "Write that Eck does not hesitate to call me a heretic and a Hussite in an unreasonable and shameful way. But Eck's modesty and humility said quite kindly without any fear: "I cannot protest much, because I am not a legal expert today, but you gentlemen notaries write and record this: Eck wants to show it through his [Luther's] words and writings. I think that the most venerable Father Martin sometimes did not argue out of right consideration, but merely with his mouth against Eck's thunderbolts. For he [Eck] has already brought many a wretched person to the point that they do not do much thoughtful or right things.

have been able to talk. It annoys many who speak when some words escape them that they did not think of, because they sometimes regret it bitterly and miserably afterwards. And so, when the venerable father Martinus ordered some things to be written to the notaries, which he had read or brought forward, Eck, with his nimble and fresh memory, so that heaven would favor him, knew how to recite everything again the next day, and thus sought to enforce Martinus in his reasons and counter-answer, whereupon Martinus always liked to withdraw and deny his words, so that he often firmly maintained that he had not spoken that. Eck, however, referred himself and Martinus to the public scribes, where Martin's words were clearly found. After that, Eck, according to his native tongue or German, mockingly said against Martin: "Der Haß leidt ym Pfeffer", so that the most illustrious Duke of Leipzig, who was present, heard it.

(8) But that I report once the names of the teachers who have been drawn in the theological disputation, it was especially St. Jerome first, then Augustine, Ambrose, Bernard, Cyprian, Solomon, Chrysostom, David, Lyra, Paul, and the four evangelists; and the others, Scotus, although he is holy, Thomas, Aegidius of Rome, Bonaventure, Albertus, Capreolus, Petr. Nigri, Aristotle, and many other excellent men, who have in no way opposed the church scribes, and have been buried in Eck's head as it were abundantly and frequently, and have made their home there: all of these, who have just been mentioned, the two Wittenberg doctors, as if they were damned, and did not understand the Wittenberg theses with proper insight for a long time, or did not think right of them, shamefully did not want to allow them to be valid in the public disputation of the theological faculty. As if Eck (who cites them, although he does not use it) and them did not understand the Scriptures as well as the Wittenbergers: 1) since Eck understood all the same things and many more and more pointed things in the most exact way, which everyone who heard Eck speak and argue could see. In the first place, Eck was much more able to speak from his head quickly and much faster and to draw his reasons and counter-answers much more comprehensibly from the writings and testimonies of the church teachers than the Wittenberg doctors were able to do by their

The author, who often read from the books, not from memory but from notes, raised his objections against Eck's insurmountable power. He could easily have overcome them splendidly in one day and given the disputation a speedy and happy outcome. I wonder not a little, but quite a lot, why two such great lights in Wittenberg, against the unchanged honor of the holy fathers, have held them in such low esteem and rejected them. The venerable Father Martin, who, as I confess, is very learned and of quite high science, is nevertheless miserably deceived; but by what kind of spirit is hidden from my little understanding. Which wise man is not of the opinion that those who refute the scholastic teachers and act disrespectfully are like sows carrying a bag, which they [the scholastic teachers] certainly do not understand properly, or if they do know something about it, it certainly does not bear much fruit with them, because they only dare to speak above and nothing certain about them; since the highest pleasure of a right disputator is to act accurately not only theological, but also the writings of the school teachers in the assembly of many scholars. For a learned and thorough disputator is not afraid of anyone, but goes after every opponent like Hercules or Samson, bravely and courageously, like a roaring lion; for because he has heart enough, he also gives courage to every scholar who wants to step publicly on the battlefield and calls him to appear. But those who know nothing of the beautiful gift of philosophy do not fight cheerfully, but despondently with the adversary. Those who have gifts of body and joy, but do not bring much learning and science with them, do not appear clever and learned either. Woe to those who reject the school teachers and the holy, divine philosophy, and do not teach it to their apprentices faithfully and diligently in their first childhood! For certainly philosophy forges and carves the weapons and arrows, so that one resists the other on the learned battlefield of truth in an erudite manner and keeps the antagonism; and in theology, of course, there is bad debate if Pallas is not on one's side, since all human sciences serve divine theology like handmaidens, and one always holds out a hand to the other. He seems to me not yet to be feared by one who foolishly and impudently banishes philosophy from his mind and

1) The old translator has given the preceding (not according to the Latin as it is found in Löschner) in this way: we leave it at that, because our original is really untranslatable here.

2) In Löschner: indoctos.

He who knows neither dialectics nor the art of nature, neither morals nor metaphysics, and is not versed in all parts and depths of philosophy. Hence it is that those who appear without philosophy generally give bald, lame, foolish and ridiculous answers when they are asked to resolve the objections and reasons; for they often confess that the reasons are too difficult and insurmountable for them when they say: I have not laid myself upon them.

What a beautiful and noble resolution of reasons is this, which is best suited for a fool above all fools, if you disputator do not want to answer and refute everything in the disputation, but crawl behind the oven at home and bake pears, since you do not like to go back to your study room with shame, disgrace and heartache? Ah! my highly respectable bishop, to whom I ascribe this, if Eck had not allowed the church teachers in the disputation battle to be valid for the Wittenberg doctors (for their conclusions could be proven and presented by school teachers; others may say what they want, but I am certain of this and have no doubt at all): then he would have found in the Wittenbergers full of joy and rejoicing what they thought to obtain so long and in vain before his arrival at Eck. But Eck's erudition is infinite, which the Wittenbergers did not seek in him. They may, if it pleases them, challenge Eck's intrepidity once again in writings to a theological or philosophical battle. The heroic Eck, as I have perceived, does not shy away from any adversary, because he is insurmountable, as Carlstadt attributed this to Eck in praise in mocking speech, when he answered him: I am also unafraid. Be it as it may, the Wittenbergers have brought little or nothing home to their university from the victory, except scratching behind the ears, although Carlstadt threatened our friendly Eck almost fatally, contrary to the free escort, and poured out the fury, barking in German language so against him: That shall get you, as the grass gets the dog! Only firmly believe that Eck is not a child nor a new soldier in the writings and depths of the church teachers, but even an old and tempted soldier, who does not shy away from any of his enemies, nor does he fall asleep or slumber before them; in his presence Eck did not fall asleep either.

10 Moreover, the Wittenberg doctors came to the disputation with only one shield, and thus not well suited for dispute.

equipped. But Eck, well guarded with two shields and equipped for future knighthood, flew here with a right heroic courage on the day before the Corpus Christi feast in 1519. Eck's first shield was a profound and sublime knowledge and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; the other was a thorough and wholesome teaching and science of school teachers. What shall I say much? Eck, the traveler, the serious man, who fears no adversary, stood upright in the public auditorium like a brave lion, with proper and modest gestures and posture of body, hands, eyes and head, before a large and not mean crowd of the most learned, excellent and noble men, finely and well equipped, and eloquence had, as it were, found a seat on his lips. He confidently said to those who boasted that they would present to the corner insurmountably strong and irresolvable reasons and objections: Come on, advance bravely, and send your projectiles and reasons against me: though they seem insurmountable to you, yet they will not be to me. Make haste and come again with more ecclesiastical thunderbolts, I will wait for them confidently; and that is why I have come so far by dangerous ways. Only believe that your reasons and arrows do me no harm; I will accept them all and answer them without timidity. And I do not wait for a single one; no, there may be as many of them as you like. Do not judge so childishly against me only two, four, seven or ten, but the multitude of reasons. I am not afraid of it; therefore only argue against me confidently; run against me hastily, and as many as they are, I am ready and willing to answer everything.

Then Carlstadt, eager for victory, said: "Tomorrow, Doctor, I will present an indissoluble and insurmountable reason to your glory. But so far, Rubeus has really not seen or heard one that Eck has not theologically and from church scholars refuted and nullified. To this the highly learned Mr. D. Eck immediately said: Dear! just present your reasons right away (but it may have been, as I assume, only words at Carlstadt). Eck's excellent memory could happily recite from his head, without books and without faltering, what his opponents had read out, sometimes for more than an hour. One particularly admired this man's way of punishing his opponents: "Take," he said, "you doctors, from me a model of disputing, for I have also often been where excellent philosophers have been.

sophen and scholars have debated together, but they have not, like you, argued with the opening of books, but, being provided with much science and well equipped, have persistently resisted me. Even boys in schools are not allowed to read from the books or to conclude; this is forbidden to them by their teachers. However, said Eck, if you have such a poor and miserable memory, then give a child what you have read together at home, so that it reads this to the notaries. Then I will answer what I have read, without any shame or fear. But certainly the highly important and excellent work is now proceeding quite childishly, since the duties of the disputants, said Eck, have been well and clearly presented, namely, to present the reasons well in the opposition, and to dress without books; then to formulate the objections and counter-arguments properly, delicately, clearly, neatly and astutely, and then to solve and refute the knots of doubt and difficulties; finally, however, also to reinforce the answers with the testimonies or rational reasons given, and to add a reply, if it can be done. For they falsely accuse Eck, the most patient of men, of not correctly citing the witnesses. For Eck has given them the lie and said: If ever a passage is found not to be correct and true, then I will pay a hundred gold florins for one. And whether I speak true, may the present excellent doctors recognize.

12. I am surprised beyond measure that the excellent Wittenberg doctors had such a ready and quick memory against Eck that they tried to poke and prod him again and again with many immodest words that are not appropriate for godly and right theologians, I believe, in order to bring him into armor and zeal, from which there follows hastiness and anger, as it is said by the philosophers, and as Aristotle in his books *Elenchorum* forges the weapons against the one who attacks again and again, that he tries to bring him to anger by irritation, which deprives the mind of its deliberateness, so that he no longer knows what he is talking about. But Eck, as a man whom no movement at all sets on heat, has always been seen with equanimity, as befits a wise man. But they had no memory at all that they could have refuted Eck's reason or answer by heart just once: for they copied all of Eck's objections and answers with great effort and exertion, and thus Eck's reasons and answers were immediately written down.

They have tried never to argue from the head, but with the help of the paper. They did not want to attack their heads. They may have thought they had a child before them, while they found a Hercules. How? if the paper had been secretly stolen from the doctors? I answer: Then it would have been over for them; or it would have happened to them as it did to the good Father, who once went confidently and joyfully to the disputation place, but relied more on a piece of paper than on his memory. But since someone had secretly taken his paper, on which the reasons were written, and it was his turn to make conclusions, he searched to the right and left, above and below, but found no conclusion or reason for himself, so that he said above the search: "The first Mr. Baccalaureus say a word here, and after him the other! Although he did not oppose the responders, he nevertheless said on his way out: You gentlemen Baccalaurei have done well, because there are no reasons, I want to go swimming in the meantime; and thus carried off the praise of the crow by Horace. Carlstadt misrepresented a testimony that he could not prove at all. Eck, whom Carlstadt wanted to accuse of falsely citing passages, punished him severely about it, saying: "If such testimony is found among the scholastics or church scholars, then I will have the stomach torn out. But give me Cyprianus! because, according to your pretensions, I am supposed to have dressed him wrongly. They gave him the book. He found the passage, pointed to it with his hand, and said, "Tell Philip to open his dark eyes, that he may see Cyprian's passage clearly.

13 Since the Wittenbergers saw and recognized that Eck was so learned and versed in the church doctrines, they put forward some wrong resolutions or explanations, and badly refuted the reasons, although he had given them, may it be out of favor or not, time enough to make themselves right and to consider in order to overturn his reasons. On the other hand, Eck did not take any time at all to reflect, because he considered it childish to look for time and to think up excuses, as the Wittenbergers did when they took time to prepare answers against Eck's objections. For when the venerable father once seemed to make it too long for Eck to read, so that he would have time to think up reasons against Eck for the following day, he said: Venerable father,

1) Instead of HUEützualn read HnamHULm (Walch).

I pray, let your reasons come out now, that I may not have the night to refute your arrows, that tomorrow I may hear fresh and new [reasons].

14 Although the Wittenberg doctors came to Eck for the sake of disputing, they seemed to exercise more the office of readers than that of disputers, so that many excellent men have said to me that these doctors were not disputants, but readers, like the schoolmasters. That is why the highly learned Mr. D. Eck once left the disputation because of the reading of these doctors, because he thought that it was not appropriate to always read from books in such an important matter; the listeners left at the same time as Eck, since Carlstadt was reading for the notaries on the high chair. Finally, the master and doctor walked behind the students and listeners in a wrong way, and not the listeners [behind him]. Moreover, all masters and doctors left.

15 But Eck alone has always remained constant and firm, like Mary in Christ's suffering, unchanging. For although the excellent and learned theologians at Leipzig, also the philosophers supported by the medical faculty, likewise the extremely experienced jurists, have sent their sentences to all of them individually as brothers, so that the foreign guests might hear what great and much skill there is in all aspects of philosophy in the Leipzig masters: yet none of the splendid and excellent men at Leipzig has wanted to dare to fight. Rubeus excuses the Wittenbergers, since none of them is interested in philosophy, which is why I think they cannot debate; but what kind of philosophical sect they belong to, and in what kind of art they teach and instruct their own, and thus earn their pay, I do not know to this day, since both the masters and the students want to exterminate and exterminate all philosophers boldly and freely, to their harm and destruction. In truth, I have heard with my ears that some masters, baccalaureates and students of Wittenberg, with whom I have quarreled almost to the point of tearing my hair out, have scolded Aristotle, the light of nature, a seducer of youth with great insolence, defiance and conceit, since some of the above-mentioned persons, since I have asked them something little and bad, have known nothing of science to answer, because they had not entered deeply into such mysteries. To them I said in anger: Just tell me, to what kind of

What good is wasted in the study of your parents, and under what masters and leaders of learning and art are your minds applied? They answered: They laid on the dainty arts and languages. But they shamefully did not know that the dear philosophy was secretly hidden in the bottom of the poets and in their core sayings and writings. For they did not know that a poet is a man who is composed and built of everything that is called science; and so it seemed to me that the good people set about high and splendid books of [great] authors without first having a ground in some science. Would to God that they did not, without benefit and honor, fall miserably from the heights to the ground.

16 The following miserable, bald and insipid answers have always been put forward by the Wittenbergers when they could not answer anything right and proper to Eck's objections and reasons, which I and many others have written out word for word: the first: I answer with the word: I deny. The other: You have missed the point. The third: This is none of my business. The fourth: Your reason is for me. The fifth: I pass over the reason, because it is useless. The sixth: The Lord John attracts an invalid warrant here. The seventh: Your rights against me are ludicrous. The eighth, since they said scornfully and with laughter: This serves nothing at all. The ninth: No letter serves to refute our opinion. The tenth: The Concilium could have erred, because they were men. The eleventh: I believe more in my witness than in all your testimonies. The twelfth: We don't know the attracted unknown and obscure warrantor at all. The thirteenth: I leave the reason to the judges. To this Eck said with a reference: So my reasons shall disprove the judges and not you? this is a good answer, but it is not valid with me. The fourteenth: Tomorrow I will give insurmountable reasons, and answer. The fifteenth: Your reason is a false Aristotelian conclusion. It is a good answer among ignorant people who let bald remedies count, but it has nothing to mean. The sixteenth: The erudite Doctor seeks to divert me from the matter at hand to something else. The seventeenth: The testimonies he attracts are dragged by the hair. The eighteenth: I do not know what the Herr Doctor means when he says, what is to be laughed at, "in a wholesome way". 1) It is quite a

1) Namely, that God does the whole, but not entirely.

prickly strange monster. Alas! poor doctor, why do you so often mock such a learned man, so experienced in many sciences? since all those who know the language know that "the whole thing" and "in a complete way" are not the same. Doctor Eck at least clearly explained to Carlstadt in the disputation what "mainly", what less "mainly", what "completely" means, like a teacher punishing a pupil in school: Who does not know that, what else should he know? Since Carlstadt, with his awkwardness, did not understand the words, 1) why then did he not ask Philipp Melanchthon about it without hesitation? I am also very surprised about Philippus, since he has blown so much into the Doctors that he has not also explained the "gänzlich" and "hauptsächlich" to them. But I will hold Philip excused. He has thought approximately: Such a man, like Carlstadt, would have explored such bad and childish things in philosophy for a long time. I cannot, truly! wonder enough that Carlstadt does not know what "mainly" and "entirely" and "less mainly" mean in school teachers, and that he calls these words spiky strange monsters, since he has publicly boasted that he wants to argue with Eck in Scotus about cloth for a pair of pants. But since Eck also showed that he knew more important, higher and more perceptive things in the school doctrines, he also told Carlstadt for reprimand: And I also want to argue bravely with you about a splendidly decorated hood (*pro undulata veste*). But Eck, who is experienced in all depths of science, has always tried to penetrate the above-mentioned bad answers and refutations, because of which even boys, if they had given them in the schools, would have been beaten, much more thoroughly, more learned and truer. Or the Wittenbergers may have brought forward the above-mentioned answers against Eck, so that they might incite the mob against Eck, the meek man, or so that they would not seem to be shamefully silent before Eck out of ignorance. Be that as it may, I do not like such ways of answering, they may please whom they please, although they were highly valued by the Wittenbergers.

17. I want to answer a secret question (that one wants to raise) and give a report,

what such high and excellent men have done on feast days, so that it would not be seen by the common people how they sagged in the body. The venerable father, that I may say what he did well, did not dare to go to the temple of God and the saints because his conscience made him disobedient 2) to the pope, but Carlstadt, as I assume, perhaps wanted to forge indelible and insurmountable arrows against Eck at home, or to make Eck's spears and reasons blunt. Eck, however, as it were, taught the Scriptures shrewdly in a disputating manner, and presented the divine word clearly and happily before the common people.

By the way, Eck may have studied little or nothing with the Wittenberg disputants during the theological battle, since he testified quite nicely before a large public assembly of many people what he had said against the Wittenbergers: that although they had always considered Eck to be overcome long before, they had finally dragged a whole load of books with them. Eck, on the other hand, rode around on the lovely, flowery terrain with the council's servants, and yet afterwards appeared on the battlefield sufficiently and over-armed and ready. I think he realized that the Wittenbergers did not have such great thunderbolts and deep reasons in their heads that he would need the erudition of the Sibyls, or of an Apollo, or the help of Oedipus, but he could quite well give the bravest and most thorough answers to the objections or answers of the Wittenberg doctors from his own strength, which he brought with him from his study to the Leipzig battle in his vivid and most happy memory.

(19) I am truly not surprised enough that Philip Melanchthon did not want to understand what the common saying says: The chariot must pull the ox; and: He brings water to the frogs; since Eck once gave him one, saying: The Spirit blows where he wills (and another time he also gave him a reprimand in German: Philippe, tell me also once something), that Philippe had not given him these mean and hackneyed ways to answer also under the foot; the first: It is well true according to you, but not according to me; to the other: Your reasons are right before the midday meal, but not after it. With the help of such answers, they would have undoubtedly

1) This is not in Latin, but the, as it seems to us, untranslatable words: Lsroi. Morurn

verkorum iZiisvis sus tsnuerat. We have assumed with the old translator: 6uru (üarol. iUoruiv verUorura seuteutism iMsvis sus non donnerst.

2) Instead of in otreäientis, read inoiredielltis.

soon and without effort easily dissolve and refute all the reasons put forward against them, even though the good Philip childishly forgot them out of fright and shock at Eck's voice. For Carlstadt himself, in public before so many learned people, let himself be heard rather rudely, Eck to his shame and disgrace, against theological modesty: Eck roars with an ox's voice. Eck, however, did not pay attention to such invectives, but kept silent; for both Wittenberg doctors, in such an important and divine matter, brought up such coarse antics, which are not appropriate for a shepherd; and he said in German: "Ich kündt also wol Schendwort geben als ein ander, wenns wohl stünd", but I stick to Eck's modesty. However, I do not think that Eck can be accused of having an ox voice, as Carlstadt rudely said of Eck; rather, Carlstadt, such a great man (about which scholars may judge), is resented for not knowing that St. Lucas, the evangelical drommete, is compared to a bark, or even Thomas Aquinas, whom Carlstadt disrespectfully despises. Albertus, with his roar and salutary erudition, has preached to almost the whole world, whom Eck will undoubtedly equal in his time, according to everyone's confession, so that the Drommete will not perish. It will happen that Eck will still enlighten the whole wide world with his roar and with his holy, high and salutary teachings, for the benefit of many people and the salvation of immortal souls. All this was said by the excellent and famous doctors at that time in public.

Rubeus has copied it exactly from word to word. Therefore, I do not now present my words in pen or in this writing, but only those of the three doctors, and ask them to forgive me and not to look askance when I take the liberty of telling their words and story here. Either their words have been good and honorable, or shameful and unjust; if honest, they and Rubeus are praised, for the meaner the good, the better it is; but where dishonorable, they are resented, but not Rubeus, for one does not avoid evil unless one knows it. So much with respect!

Luther's complaints in a letter to Lang about the so-called "new booklet of the laudable disputation, held publicly before princes and lords, before the highly respected and the unrespected, in the valuable, highly prized city of Leipzig," which Joh. Rubeus had written in German rhymes.

See Appendix, No. 49, § 3.

400. Luther's thoughts about it to Spalatin opened.

See Appendix, No. 37, 8 5.

The same report to Spalatin that v. Eck had these rhymes reprinted at Augsburg at his expense.

See Appendix, No. 51, § 1.

Section Four of Chapter Five.

Of what took place at this disputation in Leipzig. *)

A. How the Acta of the Leipzig Disputation were sent to the theological faculties of Paris, Erfurt, Cologne and Leuven, in order to obtain their opinions about it.

402: How D. Eck has Hoogstraten request the Parisians to take over and accelerate the evaluation.

See the 395th Document.

Luther's letter to Lang, from which it is clear that the theologians at Erfurt did not want to pass judgment on the religious dispute, and Luther says that they acted very wisely if they did not get involved.

See Annex, No. 35, § 1.

404 Another letter of Luther to Lang, of the content: he had heard that the people at Erfurt had a

*) In the 23rd volume of Walch's old edition there is an addition on p. 33 ff. which is supposed to belong to this column: "Intimation of the highly famous University of Erfurt in Martinum Luther, by Wolfgang Rufen ver-".

He assured them that if this were the case, he would expose their inequity and ignorance to all the world.

See Appendix, No. 49, § 1. 2.

B. Of Melancthon's and Eck's dispute that arose over this and the writings exchanged with each other on it.

Melancthon's letter to Oecolampadius from the Leipzig Disputation.

See Document No. 394.

406 Eck's protective writing against what Phil. Melancthon, the Wittenberg language teacher, falsely attributed to him because of the Leipzig disputation. July 25, 1519.

This font has the title: dōiāprds
 ^okii, nd sā yuae lul86 sidi kkilippus Nelaneūto" xrnMntieus
 VuittenderMn DieoloMÄ disputntione lūpsion ndsorisit. The first of
 the four editions was published by Martin Landsberg in Leipzig.
 Reprinted in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1550), tom. I, col. 338; in the
 Jena (1579), tom. I, col. 343 d and in Löschner, Ref.-Acta, vol. ill, p. 591.

Translated into German.

Johann Eck to the gentle reader his greeting!

1. since I had disputed at the laudable Leipzig University with the father Martin Luther and Andreas Carlstadt about important theological matters, and it had been decided by the most illustrious prince, Duke George of Saxony 2c., and the Leipzig University Council had decided that our disputation would not go to print before the judges to be chosen had judged which of us had spoken in accordance with or against the Christian faith: nevertheless, the Wittenberg language teacher Philippus, who even understands his Greek and Latin, took the trouble to issue a letter 1) attacking me and using many names to defend not my, but the faith's cause.

1) Meant is Melancthon's letter to Oekolampad, Document No. 394, against which this writing is directed.

and to usurp the office which we have entrusted to the University of Paris. To this I must reply, not for memet's sake, but for the sake of the simple, so that they are not seduced by sweet words or plunged into error. But I will go through his little letter with short remarks. You will like it, dear reader, and spend a little time to consider them.

2. 1) Philip writes: I would have asserted before the most illustrious prince's appointed commissioners that it was the right of the disputants that nothing be written out. He attributes this to me falsely. For I have never mentioned such things to the commissioners; I have always said that I would like the notaries to write everything down. In private conversations, I confess, I have said that the disputant's mind would be dulled by the delay in writing, and the sharpness of the intellect would not be as tense as the zeal or heat of a disputation required. The commissaries of the most noble prince and the whole council of the university will testify to this.

3. 2) From free will, he says, it was brought up: whether we deserve grace according to equity (*de congruo*)? Since this was the question, he accuses me of having drawn him to a completely different matter than Carlstadt's intention, namely, whether grace alone works the good work? But anyone who reads my seventh thesis can see how impudently he does this: He is mistaken who says that man's free will is not master of his actions, because he is only active in evil, but suffering in good. And no thesis has anything to do with merit in equity. In the end, however, we have disputed a little how it is with a man who does as much as is in him. The bold little man, however, has not shied away from judging Mr. Erasmus in the edition of the New Testament, and therefore also presumes to judge here, and says: Carlstadt's opinion has remained firm and un rebutted. This much I know that Carlstadt finally conceded: the will has an efficacy for good works. But I pass no judgment, for I am a party and not a judge. And yet the bold little man may say: I have stated improper things from Bernhardus. If the

When the disputation comes out, it will be seen whether the language teacher was telling the truth.

4. 3) Since I had said that the good work is entirely from God, but not in a total way (*totaliter*), the teacher of the language laughs at this, as if at a little fiddle, which is not at all appropriate for the theological majesty, since I have explained myself clearly in the disputation. He does not know that the essence of God is seen completely by the blessed, but not in a complete, full way, because the blessed cannot grasp it completely. The essence of the main species (*quidditas generis*) is completely in one *subspecies* (*specis*), but not in a complete way, because it is also in another. Thus the soul is also wholly in the hand, but not so that it is not also in the foot. Thus the good work is wholly of God, but not so that it is not also of free will, because they work at the same time, not alternately; together, not separately. Bernhardus says this explicitly in a way that rhymes very well with the matter.

5. 4) He reproaches me that I have spoken many rude things against Luther, and in short, that I have done everything to make Luther hated by the people. All honest listeners know that this is wrong. And my reason against Luther, from the head of the church, he attracts mutilated.

6. 5) He charges me that passages from Jerome and Cyprian have been attracted by me as genuine, which are nevertheless doubted. Look at me the blamer! Jerome I have cited lib. I. contra Jovinianum, col. 18, Cyprianus epistola ad Pupianum, lib. 4. epistolarum. Let the diligent reader read them and judge whether I have brought forward a doubtful passage from Peter's supreme majesty. With other passages of the same voice, yes, by Luther's writing, I have proved that Cyprianus believes in this passage that the church is founded on Peter. But this belongs for the judges.

7. 6) He speaks even maliciously: I would have raised St. Bernard's testimony to *Eugene*, whose reputation he secretly belittles. I think more of the one and only St. Bernard than of Philip and all his followers. If St. Bernard has said something in this book in favor of Luther's opinion, he may ascribe to himself why he has not attracted it. It is certain that Bernhardus is against Luther's opinion in everything.

8. 7) From the passage of Matthew: "You are Peter, and on this rock" 2c., he quite rightly argues that D. Luther's opinion was presented with many probable reasons. But the

he conceals that I have drawn from Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Leo and others that this rock is Peter. But this belongs to the judges. But it is strange that he attributes something false not only to me, but also to Luther: for he would have answered that Christ, when he said to Peter, "Feed my lambs," afterwards gave the same authority to the apostles, when he said, "Receive the Holy Spirit," 2c., for Luther, according to his great learning, would not have committed such a shameful error. But so it goes when the cobbler does not stick to his last, and [judges about other things. Here I must compensate D. Luther that he did not make such a mistake.

9. 8) He rebukes: that I have attributed to D. Luther the heresies of the Bohemian mob and other such crimes. But he conceals that I had to do this for the Christian faith, since he [Luther] claimed that some articles of the heretic John Hus, which were condemned at the Costnitz Concilium, were quite Christian and evangelical. How wisely this was done by him, as Philip says, the judges may recognize.

10. 9) He implies to me: I would have said that the apostles were equal in the apostleship, but not equal bishops. But this is the language teacher's dream, and not a statement of Eck. I have said: they would have been equal in the apostleship, priesthood and bishopric, but not in the power (*commissione*) and administration of the regiment. This is what St. Leo, Jerome and Cyprian wanted. Therefore I despise the language teacher's miserable conclusion.

11. 10) He says: I believe that Christ chose them to be apostles, but Peter ordained them to be bishops. This he has presented a little more foolishly (*crudius*) than I have expressed it. My opinion has been this: I do not remember to have read where the apostles were ordained bishops, the common opinion is that they were ordained priests at the last supper; therefore I could attribute the ordination of the apostles as bishops to Peter, as the supreme ruler of the church (*Hierarcham*), because many things happened that are not written.

12. 11) From the general bishop he brings my refutation mutilated, because the words of the decree are those of St. Gregory, who opposed the emperor for the sake of this matter, as Platina writes. Let the judges judge this.

13. 12) The teacher of the language again reproaches me for not having met the purpose of the question about purgatory, namely, about the Pope's power over purgatory, but for having started another little song. Here, I say, the little man of speech makes excellent antics, because the purpose of the question was the sixth thesis, namely, that the souls in Purgatory would not be enough for the punishments of sins. That was my point at the time. In the twelfth thesis, however, is the question that the teacher of the language thinks of. But I confess, since I had this thesis in mind, D. Luther said: it is not proven from the Scriptures that there is a purgatory, although he knew that there is a purgatory. I then took the trouble to prove purgatory from the Scriptures.

14. 13) He says mockingly: the speech is suitable for a theologian, namely that the book of the Maccabees is as valid as the gospel. But also here the teacher of the language attributes something wrong to me. For I have stated that the books of the Maccabees were suitable for controversy, because St. Augustine in the 18th chapter of his book *de civitate Dei* says that the Gospel is as valid as the books of the Maccabees. Buche *de civitate Dei*, and Jerome in the Preface [to the Bibles and in the Decrees say that this book was not in the Canon with the Hebrews, but the Church included it in the Canon; just as we do not know now, since several Evangelia have been written, which are of undoubted credibility, except by the approval of the Church, which approves four Evangelia and rejects the others. So also the book of the Maccabees must be the undoubted truth for a Christian, because of the approval of the church. Augustine's words are well known: I did not believe the Gospel 2c.

15. 14) The teacher of the language considers it most wrong that I said that Matth. 5 can be understood as purgatory under dungeon, and wishes that the rabble would be better taught than by such kind of interpretations. But tell me once, you teacher of the dusty school, whether you consider it wrong to explain the Scriptures as St. Ambrose did, who explains a similar passage in Lucas in the same way. Do you thus mock St. Ambrose, and wish Christians a better interpreter than he? If you kept yourself within your limits and in your profession, you would still mean something, but now you disgrace yourself completely.

16. 15) But if he blasphemes, "I have not met the purpose of repentance. Behold the sincere and uninvited judge! He himself has not met anything that we have discussed about repentance. We have been discussing whether the atonement is of the

Love of God or fear; according to the third thesis. But when we came to the fourth and fifth theses, we dealt with the remission of punishment according to the remission of guilt. But whether I have rightly asserted what is ours, or D. Martinus has better defended what is his, that will be judged by the highly learned judges of the University in Paris, without regard to what the language teacher thinks.

17. 16) He writes: that the indulgence has been a loud game and amusement for me. This is also wrong. For I have shown quite seriously that indulgences 1) are useful, which Luther also admitted. I have also shown that it is not a defect of the good work. Finally, I have tried to prove that through indulgences there is a remission of the punishment due for sin, where Luther vehemently contradicted me and said: Indulgence would be a remission of good works. But in this I refer to the writings of the notaries of the university. However, we both agreed that the abuses of those who proclaim indulgences should be censured.

18 I wanted to make this known to you, dearest reader, both for my own sake and for the sake of the common cause of Christianity, so that if you were not at the disputation (as Philip warns very strongly that one should not believe the common rumor or those who like to spread rumors), you should not believe him either, who has attributed things to me without hesitation that I have not even thought of. And although Philip is not the kind of man that a theologian would want to get into a theological fight with him, I have, that I do not want to concede by silence what he interprets to me, hereby want to oppose him badly, because Augustine also had no hesitation to write against the language teacher Cresconius.

19 But you, dear reader, believe those who were present at the disputation and are not influenced by passion or even by friendship and favor, like Philip. Our justification, however, you may interpret for the best. God is my witness that in this matter I seek the truth of the Christian faith and the glory of God. Farewell and greetings. Leipzig, July 25, in the year of grace 1519.

1) Löscher offers posnitontlas instead of inäulZelLias here.

407 Philipp Melanchthon's defense against Johann Eck, professor of theology. Perhaps still in July 1519.

This writing came out, as Löscher says, "presumably before the month of Julius was completely over, at Wittenberg" under the title: Dokonsio kdilippi Akelantlionis contra ^otiannoin lHrinin, Dtioolo^iao ?rok688or6N2. Walch says it was first published in Leipzig in 4. It is included in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1550), torn. I, toi. 339d; in the Jena one (1579), torn. I, toi. 345, and in Löscher's Ref.Acta, vol. III, p. 596. Only Löscher gave the name Oecolampadius; in the old editions it is iV instead. It seems that Löscher had an original edition at his disposal.

Translated from Latin.

Philip Melanchthon sends his greetings to the gentle reader!

1. Recently, a letter from me to Oecolampadius came into the public domain, in which I outlined, more than described, a few pieces of the Leipzig disputation to the righteous and honest man, my hearty good friend; For at that time, I did not have more time to spare for other necessary tasks, and most of the things in this battle were of such a nature that one could not well go on about them without hating them; and some things did not seem to me to be worth so much that I wanted to bother a friend with them, who has far better things to worry about. And in this I have been especially careful not to offend anyone, since in my whole life I desire and seek nothing more than that pious, righteous people may be favorable to me. And just as it is not Christian to repay one who has done evil in kind, so I consider it something quite inhuman to offend one who has done us no harm; in that respect, I hope no one will lay some blame, nay, not even the suspicion of such blame, on me. So also the well-known virtue and erudition of those who have disputed has been able to remind me of my duty and to move me not to rudely puncture anyone; for I am not so silly that I do not see how badly I might fare for it. In short, Oecolampadius is held too high by me to want to abuse his name to blaspheme anyone. Therefore, I have written everything that is written in that letter of mine, so help me God, in simplicity and with historical fidelity, and thought nothing less than that anyone who should read it would ever be annoyed by it.

2 Eck alone is evil to speak of, who has not been attacked at all, so much so that D. Carlstadt and D. Martin Luther would rather be angry with me if they wanted to interpret what is ours in an evil way. Martin Luther would have to be angry with me if they wanted to interpret ours badly, who are just as concerned as Eck with what I said about the whole way of disputing, indeed, about most of the things that were included in the disputation as something untheological. And I do not hope that Eck has such an impudent brow as to deny that many things occurred at this disputation which were more suitable for the [crude] lapiths in Lucian than for theologians. I confess that I have told a little more about Eck [in the letter], namely that he played the first role in all things in this whole game, since he argued as one, with a more than Herculean courage against two. And that is why I have also noted in more detail that which was either quite clever and subtle, or has something about it that seemed to me, I don't know how, to deviate too far from the theological majesty.

3 For what should I remark on mean things? I prefer to remember some important things that have been written down to some extent under the dispute. I did not want to blame Eck at all, but rather I liked some of his subtleties. Some of them I may have carried through a little freely; but I was driven to this more by a holy concern and zeal for the holy Scriptures, to which I owe such a debt, than by any hostility; for Eck has sometimes interpreted them somewhat more boldly than equity requires. For there is nothing wrong with his citing great authorities whose opinion can be followed with certainty. For we shall also show hereafter how honestly he has often used them; and one need not immediately consider everything good that Ambrose or Jerome have said in some way. I am of such a mind against the holy Scriptures that I consider nothing more shameful than to pull and tear them apart in the manner of human fables, yes, like Penelope's ball of twine, soon unwinding it, soon unwinding it again, according to each one's will; but that I do not even think how ungodly it is to twist the Scriptures according to human will or inclination, and to defile the holy of holies with unclean hands, yes, sacrifices to idols. Eck himself knows what we have to thank in the respect of the miserable question theology (quaestionum theologiae), which concedes so much to human appetites, although he wants to be its protector and defender. This, then, dear reader, has been the whole intention and design of my letter. And if I should have said something in it by mistake or by chance

I hope that it can be forgiven, but it certainly cannot be interpreted in a bad way; For I am fully aware that I have written nothing out of malice or hatred, and regret very much that I am drawn into this game, and must be a spectacle on the battlefield, to speak with Paul, on which, however well I do it, the reputation of the adversary presses me down, and even if everything runs smoothly, nevertheless one blasphemy always grows out of another, and, according to the well-known Greek proverb, one quarrel always stirs up another. That is why I initially wanted to let Eck's blasphemies pass with a deaf ear, that is, as a blunt arrow, especially since they are of such a nature that, if one holds them against my letter, one immediately sees what could be answered to them, and also the public book of the whole trade gives us sufficient protection. However, since some good friends have advised otherwise, I will clear myself only with a few things from the accusation of falsification, which no godly person should pass over with silence, as they think. In the meantime, I will behave so moderately in the matter that it cannot be said that I have been too rude and immodest to Eck. For Christ is certainly more to me than such an unworthy accusation.

4. 1) I am said to have acted quite unreasonably, according to Eck's pretence, in making known some parts of the disputation, because the parties had agreed that the disputation should not end until the judges had spoken in the main matter.

First, you see that it is none of my business what the parties decided, for I have never had anything to do with Eck, and have sat as an idle spectator of the Leipzig battle among other common people. Secondly, it has been denied that the disputation is not printed; however, I have only written out a few sayings from it and let them go out, so that one might see more about what was disputed than so that one might recognize who was right or what judgment should be made about the matter. Dear, am I then judging from victory when I say that Eck and Carlstadt did not deal with human justice, or with merit according to equity (*congrui*), but with whether the will merely receives the good work? I merely report what is argued about without saying who won.

(6) But if he says, I take the office of a judge for myself, my letter, in which this is written, acquits me sufficiently. For he who has

It is not so easy for me to judge whether I have achieved victory.

7. 2) That Eck did not want that the scribes should be denied to write it down, of this are distinguished and honest men witnesses, who partly insisted on it before the commissions, partly saw that those who were on the spot were rather biased. And even if I admit that such a thing had not been sought before the commissions, it is obvious that he had no desire to have it written down. And why did they not want to admit that the whole world would judge about it, but I do not know what to assign to individual persons, if he did not want to have acted in the dark with the cause of faith, as he calls it?

8. 3) Carlstadt intended to assert his eleventh thesis: that free will, before grace, is good for nothing but sinning. Eck disputed this. One can see that it deals with human powers, and thus with human justice, or merit according to equity. And I do not dispute now whether a special help comes to it or not; for the teachers of the questions [the scholastics have different opinions about this, too. At least the schools unanimously do not allow that such special help is the grace of Christ. And this was what the audience eagerly expected. Since he refers the reader to his thesis, no one would be so stupid as to think that Carlstadt took it upon himself to defend Eck's thesis. From such an intention, the matter has gradually been drawn to whether the will only receives? since among Carlstadt's theses there is one that asserts, as it were, in passing, that the good work is entirely from God, which Eck also admits, if only the work is not entirely or solely from God. I am assured, however, that Carlstadt never had in mind to play the matter into such narrowness (*symplegadas*). I believe that this is why he came to say, and rightly so, that the whole good work is from God, because the nefarious school of Eck does not distinguish the works of grace and nature in any other way than only in respect of reason, *respectu rationis* entirely of one kind or type, which nature either works without grace, or the will and grace with each other. Now here the barbarian Heraclitus, Scotus, should have been either defended or excused, of whom you remember what Christian things he teaches in his patched-together witness (*rhapsodiis*) of this.

(9) What he has added about the Lord Erasmus, the prince of godly arts, you see, dear reader, is only to make me hated by the dear man and by all righteous people. Eck may have a good year, and pass through us, and rejoice over the little ones; Christ will give us strength and courage for such blasphemies. I can see for myself how much all students have to thank Erasmus, as well as I in particular, to whom he has done so many good deeds in general and in particular. After I have begun to recognize them, but I have begun to do so by Christ's grace and assistance, I also know how grateful my heart has been to him. 1) The other I have to attribute to the school, as the forge of an evil mind.

10. 4) The subtle answer of the whole and in a complete way did not please me badly. For it is fine, and all the more pleasant, because it is new, and suits Eck's profession, in which today is the judgment of words and things. That he now teaches us what difference there is between such things, such an effort of a friend is quite pleasant to me; although we, too, have already learned Porphyrius, and now hate to see that one wants to direct us again to such cricket-like antics (*nugalia theoremata*). But what was it necessary to assert the power of free will with such new and completely fictitious interpretations (*glossematis*), since even among the highest school teachers, namely the *occamists*, this doctrine is completely in vogue, that some activities of the will are merely received.

11. 5) Luther honors and claims a general pope's authority. But he has only argued from divine right, which Eck proves from him from the saying of Matthew: "You are Peter, and on this rock" 2c., and thinks that because the holy fathers have declared this passage of Peter's supreme sovereignty, with the universities and *authiliarities*, the authority of the general pope would be amply proven from this. But with what modesty and honesty Luther refuted such a thing, the matter itself will give once. Only see what Eck, when he so strongly praises the reputation of the holy fathers and places all hope of his victory on it, is doing with it. First, I do not want to take anything away from anyone's reputation; I admire so many lights of the church, so famous advocates of Christian doctrine. Secondly, I believe that it is not in vain that the holy fathers

are of different opinion, as it is wont to be, that they are accepted according to the judgment of Scripture, but not that Scripture suffers violence according to their discordant judgment. For there is a certain and simple understanding of the Scriptures, as well as a certain heavenly truth, which must be taken by comparison, with the Scriptures, from the speech which hangs together. For this is why we are commanded to search the Scriptures, that we may test men's opinions and decrees by them, as by a touchstone. Furthermore, if the holy fathers are to be used at all to judge passages of Scripture, it is best to take the opinion of Scripture from such passages where they intend to explain it, but not from such passages where they act as orators or are in some way taken in by their emotions. As we ourselves often experience, that we understand the Scriptures in various ways, depending on how we are led by such emotions, since we like sometimes this, sometimes that mind, because each one leans to where his desire or craving leads him. And just as a polyp takes on the color of every rock to which it clings, so we try to bring out, to the best of our ability, what we feel like and desire. How often does it happen that our mind acquires the real and louder meaning of a saying, and for some time delights in it in an incomparable way, which it afterwards, when it has fallen away, 2) absolutely cannot find again? Thus the holy fathers, too, have often misused the Scriptures out of this or that inclination, not to an evil, but nevertheless quite clumsy understanding, which I do not condemn, but nevertheless assume in such a way that I think it can be of little value in the dispute. For they run (according to the common Greek proverb) well enough, but out of the way (*χαίως τρέχουσιν, αλλά έχτός οδοῦ*). Yes, I may also say this, that the holy fathers have sometimes explained the Scriptures according to such an understanding, which some lively emotion or movement has given them, which may well be good and not unseemly, but which we poor people nevertheless do not see as agreeing at all with the letter, because our weak mental power leads us elsewhere. For it is a secret food of the mind, and a manna, which I believe Paul calls the spiritual mind, which can be perceived rather than described in words. But who does not see.

1) The following sentence is only with extinguisher.

2) Instead of *pueril* - *elapsnm* we have assumed *elapknrm*, referred from *viw kententiae*.-

That the ancients misused the Scriptures most freely? Much has been done according to the times, much according to the disputes of the heretics; one could cite innumerable examples of this kind. Sometimes it also happens, especially in the moderns, that the interpretation itself disputes with its origin.

I do not want to say much about the school teachers, to whom the Scriptures are often something quite different from something simple; indeed, they make, so to speak, a proteus out of the fact that it must give them sometimes an allegorical, 1) sometimes a tropological, sometimes an anagogical, sometimes a literal, sometimes a grammatical, sometimes a historical sense.

(13) I come again to the ancients, of whom I have hitherto said that they misuse the Scriptures; but now I say that they also often err. Dear, how often Jerome, how often Augustine, how often Ambrose stumbled! For they are not so unknown to me that I should not dare to say this freely; indeed, they are perhaps somewhat better known to me than Aristotle is to Eck. How often they disagree among themselves! How often do they recant their errors! In short, the one Scripture of the divine Spirit is pure and true throughout, which is called canonical. What great sin is it, then, if Luther occasionally departs from some doubtful interpretations of the ancients? And why should he not do so? In the interpretation of the passage Matth. 16: "You are Peter, and on this rock" 2c., Luther follows Origen, who is as good as many others, and that in a place where Origen is just above interpreting; Augustine in the homily, namely in the explanation of the Gospel; Ambrose in the 6th book about Lucas, the others I pass over. Let it be that Eck also confirms his opinion with some testimonies of the Fathers, namely Jerome and Cyprian, on which he particularly defies; for Bernard and Leo will not have much to say about this; so one can see that the other opinion of the Fathers also has testimonies on its side. What is it then? Do they argue with themselves? What is the miracle? It follows so much that it is not proved from the holy fathers that the place of Matthew belongs to a general bishop. For I believe the fathers, because I believe the Scriptures, to which I do not give force by their various opinions. Therefore, Luther has a firm and certain understanding from the right context of Scripture and the order of the matter.

1) Compare Table Talks, Cap. 52, § 5, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 1341.

The best commentators, who explain this whole passage, are of great help to him. Now you see on whose side the strongest group of the Fathers stands. On Luther's side are those who explain the whole passage; on Eck's side are those who misuse the passage of Matthew in a completely different, alien matter, so that, if one wants to see it quite obviously, they often doubt and deny their own things again. Jerome improves his opinion and thus moderates it: But thou sayest, The church is founded on Peter, though the same is done in another place to all the apostles, and they all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and on them all the firmness of the church is built in like manner. Nevertheless, one among twelve is chosen, so that the cause of division may be removed. So you see how Jerome's opinion is softened and moderated here. Eck may thus tell us: How the church 2) strength is built on all alike, and yet one is chosen only for the sake of division. And how many other passages from the same can be set against this one of Jerome. Cyprian's passage to Pupianus clearly belongs here: there must be One whom the people obey, not the people of the whole world, but in all districts. Whoever wants to read the letter correctly will, if I am not mistaken, not judge differently.

14. 6) It is not written in our letter: After Christ said to Peter: "Feed my sheep" 2c., then the apostles were given the same authority 2c., but so: After the same authority had been given, that is, after the same authority had been given in the words, "Take ye" 2c., thereupon it was said to Peter, "Feed my sheep" 2c. Now if Eck had consulted even the language teachers, as he calls them, he would not have forged our letter. You see, my Eck, that I stick to my last. And there will be no danger that you will make us hated by our Luther here, since you can judge our affairs so well yourselves.

15. 7) That the books of the Maccabees are as valid as the Gospel, he has obviously said, and he cannot deny it, although I do not know why he pretends, and it is not hidden to anyone how rightly this is spoken, who has only looked at Jerome, who says thus: "As the church, then, has 3) Judith, Toby, and the other, and has not yet been able to understand it.

2) Only Löscher has here correctly: ecclesiae; Wittenberger and Jenaer: ecclesias.

3) Only the Jenaer reads here correctly: qnidero, the other editions: qniäarn.

and the Maccabees reads books, but does not count them among the canonical Scriptures, it also reads the two books, namely Wisdom and Jesus Sirach, for the edification of the people, but not to reinforce the teachings of the church with them. So there is a difference between the books of the church, which accepts some books differently; that therefore it does not follow: This is among the books of ours, therefore it is also a writing of the Holy Spirit.

16. 8) That we blame Ambrosius immeasurably is the fault of Eck, and it would be worthwhile here that I treat him somewhat harshly, for I have spoken of Matthew's passage, but he explains that of Lucas. Now it is certainly another adversary in Lucas from whom we should disengage ourselves; another in Matthew with whom we should seek to compare ourselves, against whom I have spoken somewhat more harshly, because of those who consider it something soon to be reconciled, and, as they call it, permissible, not to show a compliant mind to the enemy; in short, against those who have brewed the commandments and evangelical counsels for us into one another in such a way that an honest heathen often stands far higher than a Christian. Although the passage in Matthew also seems to me to hold something more in itself, because in the Greek it says: *ἀντίδικος* [adversary, enemy]. After that, Ambrose explains the dungeon in Matthew by extreme darkness, which is undoubtedly a description of hell. Finally, he wants, which seems to be in favor of the corner, that by the image of the penny the payment of the debt is understood, and, as the text says: "until you pay the last penny", does not say that once the last penny is paid off: so also Ambrose, who says that by the image of the penny the payment of the debt is meant, does not add that such payment is made to the dead, yes, rather he obviously contradicts this, if one wants to draw it to the payment of the punishment to the dead. I will be able to deal with the passage sooner, when I will explain what is necessary according to the frequent figure of speech of the Hebrew and Greek language in the word "until". So you see that I do not dislike Ambrosius, although I do not consider it a sin to disagree with him when he lets go of his right mind. Furthermore, he also has all sorts of thoughts in the same chapter in Lucas about the heller, since in Greek only xxxxxx xxxxxx stands, which is a part of the Heller's amounts. Yes, what he says about the devil does not please Jerome himself. That he now says: I will become completely dark here has good reasons. For I am quite happy to be hidden under the shadow of Eck's name.

17. 9) We have only answered a few things above. There is still more in Eck's booklet, which will probably not be necessary to refute, because the list of notaries will show it sufficiently. For I would have preferred to pass this over in silence, too, if it could have been done. Of course, I have not given him an unfriendly word. Therefore, I ask him not to argue with invective, but with the matter. For we owe this to love, which I, as surely as I want to have a gracious God, wish to have unharmed and unoffended from the bottom of my heart.

18 But that he considers us too clumsy to deal with the high questions of the theologians, I put up with. If only he would allow the common Christian people to talk about some godly questions from time to time, and we, who are not completely unfamiliar with theological studies, may occasionally refresh our minds with such holy morsels. How much better it would be to encourage the little ones, among whom we are also, with benevolence and favor to the holy science; yes, if they also fail a little out of ignorance, to overlook such things for them, than to scare them off with such pompous speeches! Fare well, dear reader, and take this defense to the best. For Eck himself will be witness that I could have carried out this matter more hostilely in some places, where I would have wanted to follow my desire and courage. Farewell again! From the famous Saxon city of Wittenberg, Anno 1519.

468: Oecolampadius, to whom Philipp Melanchthon had addressed the above-mentioned letter, soon after published a paper under the title: *Canonicorum indoctorum Lutheranorum ad Jo. Eccium responsio*, or Answer of those whom Doctor Eck called the unlearned Lutheran canons in semem Sendbrief to the Bishop of Meissen. December 1519.

This writing appeared, as Löscher and Wiedemann, "D. Johann Eck," p. 140, indicate, in December 1519. It is printed in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1550), toin. I, toi. 368k; in the Jena (1579), tom. I, toi. 361k; in Adam Petri's *Knoukrationum pars nna*, roonko Inio 1520, p. 359; in the Erlanger, opp. var. ar^a, tom. I.V, p. 59 and in Löscher's *Ref.-Acta*, vol. III, 935. about October Eck had the liosponsio pro II. linsor, contra maiosanam Kntkori vonationom, ad lok. do skioMitL, licci. Dislu. lipisconm (St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 910) print.

In it, he used the name "Lutheran", which was first used by the Minorites in Jüterbock, and he also pretended that no one of the clergy agreed with Luther, except some unlearned Canonici in the lower monasteries, whom he had enchanted. Already in 1520 this writing was translated into German. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 929, note, likewise the introduction there, p. 29.

Translated from Latin.

Contents of the following missive.

The unlearned canons answer Eck how far and for what reasons they are Lutherans, because in his letter to the bishop of Meissen he called them unlearned Lutheran canons and propagators of his errors.

Answer of the unlearned Lutheran canons to Johann Eck.

The unlearned canons send their greetings to the most glorious, most learned observer, Magister noster, Master Johann Eck, theologian.

If you had not reproached Luther with anything else about the ignorance that you impose on us, excellent Eck, to whom we are more favorable than to the truth, according to your wisdom, truly, we would have been deterred by your wondrous and proud master's degree and would have been content with our quiet rest, which luck those have before others who are uneducated. For just as God gives you a miserable, laborious life (yes, you inflict all this evil on yourselves through the intemperate desire for science and through arrogance), so he does not begrudge us the quiet and peaceful life. Therefore, because almost always at no time has our pen been hostile to one of those who keep quiet and withdrawn under its roof; therefore it would not be put on standby against you either. For would that not be a great folly? Would it not be nonsense that we unlearned, as you call us, should contend with you, the son of Apollo, the timid with the most sacrificed, and the unknown with the most famous?

2. we are not so careless, not so hasty, not so unintelligent, not so stony-minded that we would freely put ourselves in danger, which we should defend ourselves against with all diligence, especially since we have known for a long time that at no time, whether you speak or write, perhaps even when you are dead, do you lack words.

(3) Therefore, until now, as you have sought praise and glory with great diligence, we have cultivated tranquility, not so unwisely as despondingly. But now,

because your famous modesty, which has also become a proverb, calls Martin Luther, who is dear to us because of his holy life and is the most diligent and free representative of Christian theology, secretly and publicly a Manichaeen, a Viking, a Hussite, and with innumerable other names, and cannot stand that he is considered a Christian; and because you, so that your honor may also increase from us, in your epistle to the reverend bishop of the church at Meissen, according to your great deaf and so very theological simplicity, denigrate us against this most gracious prince, and make us, as much as is in you, suspicious of the whole world, and call us Lutherans and propagators of his errors, that is, as you think, the very worst chief heretic's helper, protector, friends and patrons: therefore, willingly or unwillingly, we are urged to give you, as a patron and champion of the Christian church, and a cleanser and purifier of the children of Levi [Mal. 3, 3.] to give some account of our life, whether we would like to cleanse ourselves from this stain. For, as you yourself teach, the accusation of heresy is far too malicious to be patiently endured by Christian modesty.

4 But we could (for this can also the unlearned, who sometimes also with their thorns wildly behaved), according to the example of your severity,* also leave the modesty and be completely nonsensical, if your kind and nature were not completely known to us. You again seek people on whom you may rub off your scabies, you again seek people whom you may scandalize (αἰχίζης == maltreat with blows), so that you ever leave no one unnoticed, so that you ever spare no one, so that you ever provoke everyone to displeasure, so that you, like Ishmael, as one, may fight everyone. You let yourself think that it is too little that you war with the learned, if you do not also challenge the unlearned. And just as if the war with the teachers or masters had been accomplished, you rage against both the students and the patrons, so that nothing remains that is not destroyed by the force of your arm. Afterwards, when you have either subdued us or not, let the printers take care, let the presses take care, let everything that is near take care, so that it does not fight with you in an unequal battle, because you are still senseless through the fresh defeat.

(5) But we consider it worth much more trouble to save our innocence and honor than to respond to your reproach.

Words. Therefore, first of all, so that we do not quarrel with each other in a feminine way, because you cannot deny that so many specimens convict you, including your own, which you have incorporated into your epistle: tell us, however, in what way such insults, yes, invectives, may be either concealed or even softened, so that finally and irrevocably all displeasure may be lifted. Truly, we have no way to excuse you, but very many causes take our side. For what you call a Lutheran, namely a man tainted with poisonous and heretical delusion, you have sufficiently and to excess instilled into the ears of the whole world, albeit in vain, for a long time now. And even if you had kept silent most diligently: is it not true that among right Christians names of parties are hated in themselves, even the names that are otherwise praiseworthy because of the holy fathers' memory?

6 Nevertheless, you consider this to be nothing, and you also call us propagators of errors, which you shout out as exceedingly pernicious much more forcefully than you prove. Moreover, so that it would ever be known that you were not repentant of what you said, you wrote in the margin, instead of an asterisk: "the unlearned Lutheran canons," 1) and perhaps you feared that an industrious reader might walk by and not notice the word. Therefore, you thought it necessary to remind him to stand still, to consider such a word diligently, to imprint it faithfully in his memory, to look forward, to thank and applaud you, and to be angry with us.

(7) Here, my good man, you see that everything here serves noticeably more to move people's minds against us than to make them inclined toward us, and that so much that you fully deserve to receive retribution for it. But that is inappropriate for our purpose. Therefore you should read, if otherwise your glory (*magnificentia*) has no weight, what has made us inclined to the man of God, and how far we are Lutherans. You must not have the suspicion that it comes from selfish friendship, we have not dealt with each other so much. Here is no hope of gain. He is a mendicant monk, he lives on alms. But we were seized by the desire for the renewal of things, 2) not by the one that

is a disturber of peace and unity, but a reconciler. For nothing is more perverse and corrupt than the customs of this iron age, which he endeavors to heal by his art, proclaiming peace, preaching obedience, praising humility, and doing nothing more unpleasant than to be driven, with you and your like, to lose the good hours with quarreling.

He continues to show the contempt of worldly things, the honor of heavenly things, and the goal of the Christian life. He rejects ambition, abhors the avarice of the clergy, and scolds simony and the deceit of Roman robbery, and other corruptions. Who would not wish and desire, if he were even nonsensical or completely forbidden, that such great destruction would be done away with? What Christian man would not want the kingdom of the Lord Christ, which transforms, renews and improves all things? Who is there who abhors the mockery of our inexperience, and does not wish that the unfruitful, unholy, corrupt teachings be done away with, and the more fruitful, blessed, and holy studies of science be restored? And would God have us see that just as the good arts flourish again, so also good morals arise again, which is Luther's endeavor. But you persecute the teacher of respectability and, as far as science is concerned, you patch up new bundles to spoil the splendid facilities of young people, just as if we had not been overwhelmed with useless things before.

(9) Moreover, this desire to renew things is done with too little danger to be excused with many words. But if one ever wants to condemn this in us, then we will perhaps not be unlearned because of it. In addition, there is the main reason: Luther is a godly sorcerer who makes us and our peers, the unlearned, dependent on him through love potions. Otherwise no reason can grasp that such coarse-headed people, other than enchanted, should have an inclination to the sciences. It must be a wondrous potion that he who prepares it makes drunk those who are as far away from him as another world. But we earth children want to speak more clearly, and must [as they say] call a punt a punt, and a saw a saw. The tender truth and unaltered virtue, which can also move God and men to love one another, these are the very things that make us dependent on Luther.

1) In the margin of Eck's writing is written: Oanoniei Inckoeti ImcZerani. See Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 929.

2) Löscher correct: eepit; Wittenberger and Jenaer: "O6pit.

But now we let ourselves think, as if we saw how Eck's modesty opposes it, how he throws his hands, eyes and head around, how he testifies with hands and feet that nothing has ever been spoken that is more unlike the truth. But one must leave the man his way, which no one but death will take away from him. We want to show our intentions with more certain proofs than with mere assertions. For a long time, many of us did not know whether Luther was black or white; indeed, Luther's name was completely unknown to us. But a few years ago, some of his little sermons for the people, which we thought were written suddenly and in a hurry, came into our hands, in which he interprets the Ten Commandments of Moses and takes the veil from his eyes.

(11) Therefore, both by his scholarship and by his clear clarity, he has brought about that we unlearned, above the custom of schoolteachers, should think more highly of the Lord Christ and more holily of the gospel, and with the abandonment of hope should ascribe little, even nothing, to ourselves, but rather ascribe much, even all things, to God, the Lord Christ.

So he first gained favor with us. Afterwards, when the rumor came and showed us the man's blameless life, it confirmed the opinion we had of him. My good Eck, what should we do? should we be grudging? should we despise him? should we be ungrateful? How were you going to deal with such students?

(13) However, some preachers, who were not well aware of their office, have in many places attached more than is right to the papal graces called indulgences, and have deceived many people, who put their trust in such comforts that they would attain salvation even by rejecting the cross of true repentance. What kind of fraud, what kind of deceitfulness, what kind of deception is practiced under the pretense of holiness by the mendacious sellers of lies, although we keep silent, is not hidden from anyone today. All theologians were silent, the bishops looked through their fingers, yes, they approved of it, no preacher preached against it. Therefore, as if from a God-fearing silence, the insolent injustice increased in prestige from day to day. And the evil had got so out of hand that now no longer in the jubilee or golden year, or even every fifty years, but every year, not once, but again and again, not out of honest and urgent, but quite minor, injustices were committed.

and fictitious causes, many indulgence seekers did not wander about without seducing souls.

At that time, as we know, when Luther had considered this unjust action, he first began to discuss these things in school in Wittenberg with good misgivings, after several theses had been presented. These were immediately spread with miraculous speed through the German lands, and were also accepted with special favor by all the most learned, whom you either do not know or despise, because many of them were well aware of the frauds, although none of them wanted to be the first to put themselves at risk, as is customary. Then you, Eck, raised your comb against it, as one of the foremost warriors, and wanted to confuse heaven, the earth, and all things, so that only the indulgence would remain in its dignities. We pass over many things. Since the disputation has come about, it is said that nothing colder has ever been done, and that the indulgence has even been laid down, so completely that if it should again come to life, one must either devise a new one, with which one again leads the old one out of hell, or else honor the deceased indulgence's image. Should it not be due to your modesty, excellent Magister noster, to say the highest thanks to Luther, who has made you, if not in other things, at least in this matter more learned.

(15) But therefore we do not concede to you that errors should have been sown through us; for if Luther's writings and doctrine (*Lutherana*) had not already been sown, how would they have reached us, who are of the unlearned common people, and almost live in another world? Is this not the business of the printers, who, as soon as they become aware of something new, which is according to the truth and pleasant, so that they may gain from it, wrest it from the people more than they seek it from them with request; yes, they steal it more than they wrest it. But who cares that your wars may not be hidden? Is it not true that you hardly ask the printers with some conditions? and you do not give them your things, but impose them? Hardly any of the things you have written are printed again, unless perhaps so that you are the more reviled. But you know that Luther's writings and doctrine are now often printed, even in various printing houses, and yet you think that we, the unlearned canonists, have tried to avoid so much trouble, while your

However, these things are despised by not 1) a few scholars and rejected by many unscholars. Do you think that the truth can be hidden under a bushel? Do you think that the thing that is from God can be eradicated?

But that is where the origin of this trouble comes from. You call it error; we have not yet been persuaded of it by sophistical sophistry. For we unlearned hold only to the books that are canonical and accepted by the approval of all; we pay no heed if something else is raised that is contrary to it. We regard as great that which comes closest to Scripture. We also do not want to hear an angel or an apostle, even if he came from heaven and spoke against the gospels. But the interpretation of the Gospel Scriptures, however unlearned we are, we would much rather learn from the old teachers, who were not so far from the times of the holy apostles, than from you and your like teachers. We also prefer to believe the chronicles and histories than human and certain tyrannical statutes.

Does Papias of Hierapolis, a disciple of St. John, seem to you to have unwisely and unlearnedly written his preface to the books of the interpretation of the sermon of the Lord, that he did not want to follow the delusion of many, but to have the apostles as his masters, as St. Jerome and Eusebius write of him? But he listened to the living apostles; we, forced by necessity, are content with the writings of the holy apostles and those who have the spirit of the apostles. Hereby it is evident enough whether you or Luther walk closest to the Gospels, which of you relies on the most trustworthy 2) sources, which of you is most faithful to the fathers' sayings and most learned, which of you strives for the most honest goal. We seek the springs of living water; will you lead us to the foul marshes and murky waters? We seek the Lord Christ; show us where the Lord Christ is born.

Either follow us, and we will show you the way, or go ahead of us, and we will follow you. But you, much more cunning than Herod was, would endure us if we followed you, and would call us sometimes Vilefites, sometimes Manichaeans, and, sitting under the idols of your sophistry, would not agree to be our companion. Where are you drawn to by your raging

Who could suffer your presumption, who could suffer your hopefulness? Those who read and love your books and doctrine should be learned, but those who read and love the fine books of your rival are unlearned and heretics, even though they are closer to the gospel and the church teachers.

(19) We shall read thy books, lest we be called unlearned; and our eyes shall be put out, lest we be accounted blind. You have recently found out what kind of Lutherans we are: as far as Luther is a friend of the gospel and of Christian freedom, we are part of him; if you will also be like that, there will be nothing to prevent us from being dependent on you as well. Therefore, your modesty should not have offended us with insults. For we are not to suffer slander because in pure faith we are not disparaging to the most Christian theologian. And Luther's cause is not worse because it is considered the most Christian even by the unlearned. We confess our ignorance, and perhaps acknowledge it with no less honor than you everywhere trumpet your own praise. We are unlearned, we do not know how to keep our backs to those who are excessively eager for shameful gain. And in this the pope also keeps it with us. For when you, like a hired servant of the merchants, humbly begged him in petitions that he would recognize the very unfair contract (*contractum*) of their company as fair and right, it was denied you; for your little feet were above the pope's understanding, while you were ready with your fine tongue and hand not only to force and twist the whole scripture at once, but also to corrupt it, lest you ever come back with dishonor.

(20) We are unlearned, for we do not see in what way the perfect can follow the poor Christ, when they may swear oaths concerning temporal things. But how? Of course Erasmus, who is a shining star in our time, must, according to your judgment, be mistaken in the same matter as we are. We are unlearned, because we cannot tell the manifold ceremonies of the first church, but again many of the most learned join us. We are unlearned because we do not penetrate the innermost secrets of the divine majesty. But the great apostle Paul is also not ashamed that he does not know what you collect in your book Chrysopassus.

3) In the Jena the words: nsmnli 8(üts, tainetsi,. because not understood, are omitted.

1) Wittenberger nos instead of von.

2) Wittenberg rsosxtoribns instead of rseextloridus.

We are unlearned, but nevertheless we could report many such pieces that would bring you more dishonor than us. For in sum, there is none of your journeys so blessed, of which you recount many childishly, I will not say gloriously, that have not brought you and your fatherland more dishonor than glory. No booklet, no matter how small, has gone out from you that would not either contain the grossest barbarism [in Latin] or would not be full of great errors. Therefore, most clever corner, you would not be acting unwise if you stayed at home for a while and received the praise, which you cannot obtain with talk, with silence. For how unhappy it is for you when you enter into dispute with learned people can be judged from the fact that even the unlearned are no longer afraid of you. You should also not venture to hope that you will gain victory over us; we, the unlearned, are many, and although we do not all know how to argue with sophistical projectiles, there are still quite a few scholars who can hurl strong spears, which you will not be able to defend yourself against, so that you will completely commit yourself to true theology and to Christ, the almighty God, setting aside the insults and worldly arts. Farewell. Anno 1519.

Luther's report to Spalatin about how Oecolampadius had written to Melanchthon that he had done the previous writing, and how Eck had complained that this writing had hurt him the most.

See Appendix, No. 52, § 2.

410 Georg Spalatin's Collectanea von Eck.

From Kapp's *Nachlese nützlicher Reformation-Urkunden*, Theil II, p. 428. This writing is a piece of the satyr: Doeins cksäolatns (the planed Eck), which appeared in its first edition either with Frobenius in Basel or in Strasbourg with Ansheim. A second edition, printed in German letters, appeared at Erfurt in quarto, 4 sheets, and has the date: Feb. 20, 1520. (Wiedemann, "v. Johann Eck," p. 141.) From this Werthlosen Posse, Wiedemann brings almost seven pages, pp. 141-148.

Translated from Latin by M. A. Tittel.

From Eck's modesty.

As the perfect master of the life of men, and the some Apollo of Christianity.

Eck, the right master of the art of blasphemy.

That he may not let the poisonous writings go out on the said Riz, our most powerful king's medicum, and either wipe out a wicked man's scab or atone for such disgrace.

The comedy of the smeared corner was held on February 21, 1520.

Eck, whom you always call Keck, and rightly so, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures and of Canon Law, although unworthy, offers his greetings to the learned and respectable men, the theological faculty doctors and *magistris nostris* in Leipzig.

If you, esteemed gentlemen (scientifici), are well, it is dear to me. But I have neither the time to write nor you to read about the distress and danger I am in. Only this I want to say, that I am almost as badly off as someone who is in the worst situation.

Since I have fallen into such distress for your sake, from which salvation or health itself could hardly save me, even if it wanted to, I beg and implore you most earnestly to send a proven medic to a friend who is in a foreign country and with whom things have come to a standstill, so that he may restore me to health, not only for myself but also for you, and especially for the Roman See, which now calls me, as it were, a champion of the Roman Church. If this happens, I will have to thank you not only for my health, that I still enjoy life, but also for the apostolic gifts I hope for, and for the cardinalate itself. Farewell, you brave comrades-in-arms and zealous Lutheran enemies, and do not postpone helping your friend.

Cito, cito, cito.

C. How Eck blackened Luther in the worst way with the bishop of Brandenburg, so that he was quite violently brought up against Luther.

411 Luther's report to Spalatin on how the bishop not only believed Eck's lies without investigation, but even spread them further.

See Appendix, No. 54, § 3.

412 Luther's report of this to Staupitz, in which he states how the bishop had spoken that he would not lay his head gently until he had thrown Luther into the fire, like the stick which he, speaking this, had thrown into the fire.

See Annex, No. 36, § 7.

D. How Eck sued Luthern in writing before the Elector Frederick of Saxony.

413 Eck's letter to the Elector Frederick of Saxony from the disputation in Leipzig, July 22, 1519.

This letter together with the reply of the Elector is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 68d; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, M.146(b); in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 273 (in the wrong place, namely before the disputation); in the Leipzig, vol. X VII, p. 250 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 604. In all these editions with the wrong date "July 23" (in the Witt: "July 32"). Correct only in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 90; but there the proof of the Wittenberg and Jena editions is missing. We have followed the text of the Wittenberg, since that of the Erlangen correspondence seems to us to be very erroneous.

I. Most Sublime, Highborn Elector! To E. C. F. G. my subservient services, together with my poor prayer to God, are diligently prepared. Most gracious Lord, that I have engaged in disputation against E. C. F. G. Doctores at Wittenberg, I humbly request that you do not hold this against me, or accept it in disfavor; for I have not begun this to the detriment of E. C. F. G. University, as I am highly inclined to serve it, so that E. C. F. G. is famous before other princes in the realm, quod et literas et literatos foveat. But only for the benefit of the truth of the holy faith, D. Carlstadt has caused me terribly, and has also let Conclusiones go out in public with many contemptuous and disgraceful words against me; although he is not skilled to scold the people in such a way. But for the sake of D. Martinus, with whom I have a pity that his beautiful ingenium has come into such singularitates and has gone into such matters, I have been caused by his manifold writing out of many matters, thereby, according to my little understanding, causing much insanity and annoyance.

The author may accept that he denies and negates the opinion and interpretation of the holy fathers, Augustini, Ambrosii, Hieronymi, Gregorii, Leonis, Cypriani, Chrysostomi and Bernhardt. This is a bad thing among Christians, that one misses to know from his understanding the meaning of the holy scripture, because the holy fathers with each other.

2. is also difficult to hear that he says, even in the disputation, many articles Johann Hus and the Bohemians, condemned by the holy and laudable Concilium at Constance, are *christinnissirni* and *evangelici*. What joy the heretics received from it is good to signify. That he wants. St. Peter did not have *primaturn* over other apostles of Christ, with many other bits and pieces, E. C. F. G. as a Christian prince may well accept, whether such and such many other points in Christianity may be allowed. According to my little mind, I cannot see that.

Therefore I want to resist such things, if I can, for the sake of truth alone. For neither V. Martin, nor anyone else can say that I have ever received heller and heller worth from the most holy father, the pope, or from the great heads; but, although a poor pawn, at my expense, E. C. F. G. Doctoribus moved in, and am still required, where D. Martin thought that he had not yet disputed enough, I will move with him to Cologne, Leuven or Paris. For I was quite mistaken, if they reproached me with the University of Leipzig, they would also let me know there; which they have refused and rejected, even since I have set it up with the University for the High Reigning Prince. By all this, most gracious Lord, I do not want to disparage D. Martinum, nor do I write to his detriment, but only to apologize to E. C. F. G., where otherwise she would be presented with my displeasure, because the truth is in her; and so that I also give occasion to E. C. F. G. to consider what you owe to Christ, the Christian faith, country and people. For I would have liked to apologize to E. C. F. G. recently and promised, for this reason, to visit E. C. F. G. six times. C. F. G.'s court in Augsburg, but I do not know why I never came before E. C. F. G..

4 And although E. C. F. G. Doctores have left with some urges to write a lot, I have disputed that there would be no need to write. Our convention is also too quiet.

until the sentence is given by the ordained universities. Therefore I have left them a free choice of all universities that are in reputation in the whole of Christendom, of which they may justly make do. Well, they write, is not almost repugnant to me; I would like, however, that they would do this with a bravery, as the matter requires, not so frivolously, luxuriantly and with disgraceful words. As I then fully believe, E. C.F. G.deß bear no favor. What is written by a theologian should read in such a way that only a man who reads it may understand that a theologian has written such, in the opinion of seeking the truth, not a buffoon, 1) who alone presumes to revile the people. However, after I willingly accepted the two universities offered to me by Doctor Martina, he first wants to drag in the legists, physicians and artists; it is easy to assume that he wanted to settle his erroneous opinion with the crowd, not with those who understand the matter. Since he writes against Sylvester, he considers him, although an old, famous theologian, not skilled enough that he could understand or judge such theology, since he, Martinus, deals with it; and now he wants to judge the legists, physicians and artists learned enough about it.

5 Let not C. F. G. accept this long letter of mine in disgrace; for I alone do it for my excuse. If God, E. C. F. G. should fully recognize my mind in this case, there is no doubt that such a thing would be graciously acceptable to me. For I would not like to be noticed in such or such a frivolity, to give a carriage in print, 2) as E. C. F. G. D. Carlstadt has done, and quite mockingly spurned me with a printed name in it. I could also make a carriage, but I did not want to put a horse in it; but that is no art. I command myself most humbly to E. C. F. G. as my most gracious lord; and if some matter is brought before E. C. F. G. by me, I am most humbly requested that E. C. F. G. give me to understand this, then I will put it down and answer for it by writing or personally in all obedience to E. C. F. G.. However, if I do, speak or write something else out of ignorance or lack of understanding,

I will gladly let myself be guided away from this at all times and refrain from my presumption. For to serve E. C. F. G. would be a special, great, high joy for me. Date Leipzig, July 22, Anno 1519.

E. C. F. G.

subservient chaplain.

Also, most gracious Lord, it seems to me that since I have disputed against D. Martin de potestate Papae, I have intended all of his "foundations". For it is not a new song that he holds; many other people have also held it before. But from such mere suspicion he has drawn an opinion, as if some E. C. F. G. subjects should have answered and handled Doctor Martinu's booklet, newly printed; and namely they have let themselves be noted against He Caesar Pflug, as if D. Peter Burckhard; I say it is fiction, and one does injustice to D. Peter and others; for Doctor Peter has never said a word to me about it, so I have never seen it to this day, because as much as I think he reads from it to his liking; although I can calculate with one like it what is in it. It would be quite praiseworthy for E. C. F. G. if you would burn them in a heap. Order me E. C. F. G. *Date ut supra*.

Johann Eck, Doctor.

414: Prince Frederick of Saxony's short answer to D. Eck, July 24, 1519.

See the previous number.

Our greetings first, esteemed and worthy dear special. When you now wrote to us in matters concerning some doctors of our university in Wittenberg, and concerning the next disputation held in Leipzig, we read its contents. Since you have not written anything to us about this matter before, and the doctors of Wittenberg have not reported the disputation to us, we want this letter of yours to reach the same doctors and hear their answer and instruction. And if we find from this that something further needs to be sent to you, it shall also remain undisclosed to you. We do not want to save you from this, because we are inclined to be merciful to you. Date Altenburg, on Sunday after St. Mary Magdalene's Day [July 24], Anno Domini 1519.

1) A meanly scolding scoundrel. Cf. "Holhipler," St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 2395.

2) See documents No. 355-358.

3) "from me", that is: about me.

E. Of Carlstadt's and Luther's joint responsibility sent in on the basis of the Elector's order and Eck's communicated accusation, and what Eck replied against it.

415: D. Carlstadt's provisional letter of responsibility sent to the Elector of Saxony from D. Eck's indictment. Wittenberg, the

July 31, 1519.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 695; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 1485; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 275; in the Leipziger, vol. X VII, p. 252; in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 99 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 609.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord! To your F. G. may my prayers and submissive services be ready beforehand with all obedience. Most gracious Prince and Lord! The respectable D. Eck has let E. C. F. G. handle his handwriting and complaint, in which, among other things, he highly disparages me to E. C. F.-G., as if I should speak too clumsily to him, with his avoidance; and it is no different that I consider my pettiness, and my disgusting mind that I have no desire to dispute with such a boaster and screamer. Accordingly, I have indicated the cause, printed in many places above. But that his letter suggests that I should be inferior to him, please let E. C. F. G. know that he has not taken anything from me, but has at times publicly, at times covertly come to me, and has had to deliver my sentence in the disputation, although D. Eck teaches differently in his sermons than in the school. Most gracious C. F. and Lord, I have read him my Solutiones from the books which he has advanced to me and cited against me, and I hope honestly to my mind; also I have told D. I have also publicly told D. Ecken that he has not read and heard his books well, as I prove by reading them. This hurts him and some others, for which reason he despises and scorns me.

I also cannot deny E. C. F. G. that the much-mentioned D. Eck alleges heretical books and uses them against me in matters that highly concern the Christian faith, as he himself indicates in his letter of complaint, and finally, at the last, he brought forward an authority hieronymi, as this, *quod justus non semper peccat, dum bene facit*. Then I said I would see about it. 1) When he heard that, what a shout

and rattling was heard from him! But I held firm and indicated that in such a brave matter should be acted with all deliberation, and no levity should be exercised. But D. Eck lost his books, where the authority was not written in the upset book. I searched for it further than I needed to, and did not find it, and therefore had much talk; and on the day of my departure, I sent my Magister Notarium 2) and two witnesses to him, and requested through them that he should show me his authority, or give me his books, for which I wanted to scold him a *falsarium*, which I could do in the right, if it was found that he willingly alleges *falsely*. But the good doctor shows me nothing yet. I did not want to salvage all this in a hurry, not to leave E. C. F. G. without an answer when I was ready to leave, and I am glad that E. C. F. G. came home healthy. May the merciful God grant E. C. F. G. a long life, with health and victory. Date Wittenberg, Sunday after Anna [July 31], Anno 1519.

E. C. F. G.

undersigned Capellan

Andreas Carolstad.

Most gracious Prince and Lord, the venerable Lord and Father Martinus and I want to answer E. C. F. G. recently and all together. We ask that E. C. F. G. now graciously forgive us for not having been able to talk to each other at such a time.

416 Both Wittenberg theologians, D. Andreas Carlstadt and Martin Luther, detailed letter of responsibility to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, because of D. Eck's accusation. Aug. 18, 1519.

This manuscript was first published without any indication of time or place under the title: "Doctor Martin ludders Unterricht an Kurfürsten von Sachffen. disputation zu Leypßig belangent: vnnd D. Eckius briue. of the same." 6^a quarto sheets. Edited by Michel von Eck, Eck's cousin. In the editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 71; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 150; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 277; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 277; in the Erlangen, vol. 53, p. 10; in De Wette> vol. I, p. 307 and in Löscher's Ref.Acta, vol. III, p. 612. Löscher's statement that this writing translated into Latin can be found in the Jena edition, tönn. I, toi. 358, is erroneous; the text No. 383 is found there.

2) This "Magister Notarius" is M. Johann Agricola of Eisleben; compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 42. The Erlangen correspondence erroneously has a comma between Magister and Notarium.

1) Compare Col. 1114 ff.

To the Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, Elector, Imperial Majesty in Saxony Lands Vicario, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, our most gracious Lord and Patron.

JEsus.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! To Your Electoral Grace, our obedient servants are ready with our prayers to God beforehand. Most gracious Prince and Lord! We have received E. C. F. G.'s writing, together with D. Johann Eck's letter, and understood its contents, how the same D. Eck does not intend to disparage us against E. C. F. G., and yet with his sophistical tricks works towards it, as he has done to E. C. F. G., by his usual loose talk. by his usually loose talk to testify to us only in view of his letter and quick judgment about the country; we are not surprised that he considers E. C. F. G. such a person and may write such a letter to such a prince. For we know and experience that D. Eck is and remains D. Eck, he does what he wants.

2 But E. C. F. G. did not want, first of all, to forgive us that we did not report it at the time of the disputation. For it is an unfunny thing, which is driven by pure hatred and envy, respected by us; therefore we did not want to be the first, that one should not say, as here D. Eck fears without need, that we had sought someone's unhappiness with our glimpses.

3) However, since we have been caused by D. Eck's letter, we ask that E. C. F. G. would graciously listen to the reason, although we do not like to do such long useless chatter in front of E. C. F. G.. But let the matter speak for itself, whether D. Eck, according to his fame and legacy, is the one who is inclined to serve or disgrace E. C. F. G. University.

4 First, D. Eck complains that I have let Andreas Carlstadius issue several Conclusiones against him, with barbed and contemptuous words, since he does not consider me skilled enough to scold people. I say: D. Eck may regard me as he pleases; but it would almost have been fitting for him to have added to his complaint also

would have, as he did before, us and E. C. F. G. Universities to shame and disgrace, D. Martinum so that [it] would have been too much for a wicked woman: scolded him by his poisoned *Obeliscos* a *Bohemum*, *haereticum*, *seditiosum*, *virulentum*, *procacem*, *novum Prophetam*, and only judged according to all his lust, of which I did not do the twentieth part to him for the salvation of our honor, and acted too much moderately against such mischief.

5. for I also consider D. Ecken much less skillful, who should not only revile such a man, but all of us, before E. C. F. G. University to shame, blaspheme, and without any reason and cause so sacrilegiously. And so D. Ecken der Kitzel so fast rühret, so sind die gleichen *Obelisci* noch vorhanden, 1) wollen sie wohl an Tag bringen, die wir bisher, seiner Ehre verschonet, verhalten haben, so je so großer Undank we verdientet, dass wir ihn nicht mit gleichem Maß bezahlt haben.

If it is necessary, let us also, as he has done, collect a note full of his nasty, pointed, annoying words and comments, so that the disputation will be a real hindrance to the truth.

7 Secondly, he lets my chariot go to waste and thinks he can make one, but not with a horse, but perhaps with a donkey. I have neither named nor painted anyone in the pictures of the chariot, but have shown the common errors of the theologians, that we were promised in the country and everywhere, and yet no one was allowed to give his reason or to challenge us. I will let him make a wagon and put a donkey in it, as he wishes; perhaps we will find a driver for it.

8. that he has mercy on me, Martini Luther, praise God; but would like to hear the singularitates, of which he punishes me so mercifully, although with him nothing is to be done to me in articles concerning faith, except perhaps repentance; the other is *opinio de indulgentiis, purgatorio, potestate Papae*, in which I confess that after his-

1) The "Obelisks" were never published in print. Only in 1545 they were published in the first volume of the Latin Wittenberg edition together with Luther's Asterisks. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 536.

no little mind (as he himself says true) has caused much error and annoyance, not to the common people, but to the *phariseis* and *scribis*, to whom also Christ and all the apostles caused annoyance; of which, of course, I still do not want to moderate myself today, I then experience the great mind of D. Eck. Eck, how he will defend me.

9 He blames me and does not blush, I should deny all the holy fathers Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Leo, Chrysostom 2c. and so on, and attribute my understanding to the Scriptures alone. Thus a Doctor of the Holy Scriptures should speak before such a prince with force and with his mouth full.

May here E. C. F. G. notice with what service D. Eck is inclined to us, who may write such a piece cheerfully from us. If he had said that I had denied some fathers, there would have remained an appearance; but all of them denied, his clear conscience knows that [it] is not true.

11) But that C. F. G. knows the reason: "I have probably introduced a doctor next to the text of the Bible, against another, the doctor Eck bare, naked, without a Bible, and will not desist from doing so for the rest of my life. And that means that Doctor Eck has denied all the Holy Fathers and is considered evil in the New Eckian Christianity.

For more information, I will indicate one of them. The saying of Pauli Apostoli Gal. 2,6: *Deus personam hominis non accipit*, I have led with St. Hieronymi's interpretation against the primacy of the Pope; thus, that the person of Peter (that is, the greatness and everything that he would like to be externally) is not respected before God. For the Scripture says that in the sight of God, lord, servant, great, small, poor, rich, highest, lowest, 2c. are equal; and everything that is outwardly seen in man is called person. But if *persona* and *primacy* were *jus divinum*, God would not despise them, but would have commanded them; so Paul would lie when he says: *Deus personam hominis non accipit*.

13 On the other hand, D. Eck says with St. Ambrose that the person of Peter is the poor fishermen of St. Peter; but the text of Paul concurs with St. Jerome, not with Ambrose, because St. Paul wanted to resist the Galatians, they

should not be mistaken about St. Peter's and the other apostles' high standing, as they presented the false apostles, no doubt not the lowly fishermen's standing, but the high apostles' standing and first and foremost St. Peter's title was preached to them, as the text (before which Eck allzeit grauet) clearly brings with it.

Item: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram etc. [Matth. 16,18. [Matth. 16,18.] I have understood with St. Augustine and the whole scripture through *petram* Christum, when Paul says: *Petra autem erat Christus*, 1 Cor. 10,4. D. Eck wanted to have Petrum with many other teachers. Thus, Eck did almost the entire disputation, always fleeing from the text of Scripture, only looking for how he could find naked sayings of a teacher. And that means denying all fathers. I would like to say that he has denied and fled the entire holy scripture.

(15) About all this he did not want to pay attention to what other teachers, or how a teacher in another place wrote and held against himself, just as if I should consider D. Corners for a god, what he would bring forward, badly blindly receive.

16 St. Augustine taught me, and is referred to *dist. 9 in Decretis*, that all teachers, no matter how holy or learned, should be tried beforehand and judged according to the text of the Scriptures, as Christ, Paul, and John have also commanded us. D. Eck knows something better, and despises such a commandment, teaching us that we should judge the Scriptures according to the teachers' opinion, and that it should be enough if one or two teachers say something, leaving the others with text and Scripture. And is his some babble which he exalts: Let no one interpret the Scriptures according to his own reason, but follow the teaching of the fathers.

17 Thus I said that if I had a clear text, I would stick to it, even if the teacher's interpretation were against it, as St. Augustine often did and teaches. For, as the jurists also say, one should believe more a man who has Scripture for himself than the pope and the whole Concilio without Scripture. From this the dear friends, D. Eck and the Leipzigers, conclude a round judgment, saying, I have denied all teachers. What should one do with such deceitful hearts?

and tongues do good? According to the way he has accused me of the Concilium Constantiense, that he blames me, I have denied it; to this I want to answer him honestly in his time, and to expose his false heart in day. Now be enough to report to E. C. F. G. that D. Eck has undertaken to prove primatum Papae jure divino, and has taken his some strongest reason before him the Concilium Constantiense, placed himself, or perhaps does not know, that Concilium est jus humanum, and may not jus divinum ἡ ἀρετὴ ex non jure divino. Against this I have set the whole orientalism Ecclesiam, a thousand and four hundred years long, which has never been under the pope.

If now primatus would be de jure divino, then in the 1400 years too many Christians would be condemned, also almost the most holy fathers and great teachers of Christianity, as Basil, Nazianzenus, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and the St. Jerome tells, lib. de illustribus viris. For they have ruled without the Roman See's command and authority.

19 On this my D. Eck publicly scolded unashamedly that the Graeci were all rebelles, schismatici and haeretici; that I have never heard of the sacrilegious, wanton blasphemy of the holy churches orientali; yet even in the law books Graeca et orientalis Ecclesia is famous, also never rebuked. It is true that in orientali Ecclesia were heretics, Ariani, Macedonii 2c. But they have been in ossiäntali also, as Manichaei, Pelagiani. But for the sake of Judas, one should not blaspheme Christ and the apostles.

20 Secondly, I have brought forward the most Christian and greatest Concilium Nicenum, and also Africanum. For if the primacy is ἡ ἀρετὴ, then the same Concilium Nicenum and all the popes are all heretics and condemned, because they have statued there and had it statued that the Roman bishop should only have regard to the French churches, and Alexandrinus to the Egyptian churches; in addition, the bishops were not ordained from Roma, but by the next two or three bishops. As St. Cyprian writes, and all of Africa and Gallia lived and followed the same lukewarm time; which is all against the jus primatu8 and current custom.

although the Roman See has confirmed the same Concilium many times and still, and holds it equal to the Gospel. Now there is no man so blind (be silent a theologian), who does not know that jus divinum no one has power to walk; which nevertheless has happened here, when all bishops are to be confirmed jure divino by Rome.

Thus D. Eck has made heretics of me and blasphemed the whole Ecclesiam orientalem, Africanam, Gallicam, and the most holy Concilium Nicänum, where the whole of Christendom has held and still holds, as they have acted against jus divinum, so that he imposes his Constantiense Concilium (which he himself neither understands nor wants to understand) on me to give us Wittenbergers a defeat, to please his Leipzigers.

22 And that E. C. F. G. notices how D. Eck, out of sheer courage, does not want to understand the Constantiense Concilium, but only wants to revile and blaspheme E. C. F. G. University, I give E. C. F. G. to know:

First, that the same Concilium does not censure all articles of John Hus haereticos, but some erroneos, some tmsrario8, some offensivos, and it is still undiscussed which are haeretici or not. Then D. Eck with his Leipzigers should have looked at the letters rightly and considered how difficult it is (as I often told him in the disputation) so many Christians in Orient and Africa through so long a time, for the sake of the primacy, scold and condemn heretics. This did not help; my dear Doctor Eck, as if he alone were more than the Pope, Concilium, and all of Christendom, and he was commanded to master the same determinationes of his liking, he freely made all the articles haereticos, and the Leipzigers, who should have resisted this, let it please them; which, God willing, should not please them at all. Demi which articles are not haeretici nor erronei, they must be Christian and true, they be temerarii, offensivi, seditiosi, as they like. For even the holy gospel is at all times offensive to the great Hansen and molliculis auribus, scandalosum, even, as Apostolus says [2 Cor. 2,16.], odor mortis et verbum offensionis. And does God know where the condemnation comes from, that a saying.

is rejected because it is offensivus and not haereticus nor erroneus. Perhaps the Holy Spirit watches where the theologians sleep too deeply.

24 Secondly, it is found that several times are condemned articuli contrarii, namely: *Deus facit malum*, *Deus non facit malum*, which are both christianissimi, yes, invented in the text of Scripture. The first Is. 45, 7, and Amos 3, 6., the other 1 Mos. 1, 31. Although I would have preferred to spare the word of Scripture, and among other words, condemn the heretics' error. And I do not believe that a council has the power and authority to condemn clear sayings of Scripture for the sake of heretics' abuse. For in this way one would ultimately have to condemn the whole Bible, from which alone all heresies come, so that some fools call the Bible the heretics' book.

25 So one has acted to Costnitz also Contraria. To the first condemned the article: *Primatus non est jure divino*, and yet determinirt, the Concilium is over the pope. This would be heretical and erroneous if the pope had *jure divino primatum*. For then the Concilium would be supreme on earth, and would have a primacy over the pope's primacy, as the right vicar of Christ, in plenitudine potestatis omnium.

26 Therefore it follows that the Roman church is not above other churches, but all churches are equal. And I believe this to be true, because St. Peter, Apost. 8, 14, subject to the church at Jerusalem, was sent with St. John to Samaria. Peter and all of them would have hardly sinned against this, if Peter had been *jure divino* supreme, and had allowed himself to be sent as an untern. So, if *Primatus* was *jure divino* of the pope, then the Concilio had no right to take over itself, and to depose the pope as a subject, to rule and act as it pleases. For *jus divinum* can neither be governed nor changed. And if the pope is over all Christians, and the Roman church over all churches, he is certainly also over the concilium, which is nothing else than all churches.

27 In Rome, in the Concilium against the Costnitz Concilium, it was determined that the pope was over the Concilium, and that the

The Concilium of Basel has been abrogated, and so the Concilia go against each other, and, if we build on them, we do not know in the end where the pope, the Concilium, the church, Christ, or we remain. All this must then have been done by the Holy Spirit, and be *jus divinum*, that we must be heretics at one time according to one article, and Christians at another time, as they think good. So they put it in our mouths that we must say, willingly or unwillingly, that the Concilium has erred.

28 Now I will not put my finger between the contrarietatem of the determination and erroneous trades of the Conciliorum, nor undertake to concord them, or to explain or discuss articles, of which D. Eck subjected himself to. It is enough for me that Concilia do not make *jus divinum*, and D. Eck may not raise a consistent argument against me, out of such *jure humano*, in addition fickle, partisan dealings and determination Conciliorum; nor may he say (without force and lies) that all articles are heretical or erroneous, but much Christian and true.

29. so I have said, and will well receive it before v. corners, whether God wills that some articles are christianissimi, as, the: *Primatus Romanae Ecclesiae non est jure divino*. First of all, because a much greater, much holier, much more certain Concilium Nicenum, with the whole of Christendom, all the world, and also the Roman See's opinion, has been differently established, approved, and so far more than a thousand years barred and confirmed, considered by the Roman See to be equal to the Gospel. All Christians of the Orient have lived up to this, and the D. Eck is to leave me blasphemed and unheretical, and not to say that they have acted contrary to *jus divinum*. I have held this point against him many times in Leipzig; but the little nut has always been too hard for him, and his nasty solution has not helped him, so that he thinks that Romani pontifices have imposed this; *jus divinum* can neither be hanged nor beheaded.

30 Secondly, because not all articles are heretical, nor have they yet been discussed, nor have they been explained, nor have they been acted against in the Concilio itself; from which trade the understanding is to be taken more than from the letter.

31. so the article is also Christian: *Divi-*

nitās et humanitas sunt unus Christus. And there is nothing in it that the logicians have invented. Item, which is also true: *Omnis actus hominis est bonus aut malus*, and concordant mit Christo Matth. 12, 33.: *Aut facite arborem bonam, et fructum ejus bonum; aut facite arborem malam, et fructum ejus malum*, and the like many others. Let John Hus or the Concilium have a mind of their own, the articles as they stand are true.

God never wanted a devout Christian man to understand a saying of Scripture correctly and form it in his mind, and then reject it for the sake of some erroneous minds, regardless of his right mind. About this one should deny pope and concilia, for the salvation of the holy scripture. For where this article is heretically scolded, the Gospel, Paul and Augustine must perish.

Before I do this, I will use my Christian liberty and say thus: A concilium may err (as all teachers of Scripture and law write), and has erred several times, as the histories show, and the present Roman indicates against the Costnitz and Basel. So in the articles the Costnitz also errs; or prove that it has not erred, especially if one should believe more a layman who has Scripture than the pope and concilio without Scripture.

34 Also in this way, D. Carlstadt and D. Eck held and concorded in this disputation that *liberum arbitrium ante gratiam nihil valet, nisi ad peccandum*. If this is true, then this article is also true: *Omnis actus etc.* For he says that all works apart from grace are evil; so those in grace must be good, so there remains no remedy. So D. Eck must also go against the concilium. But if he redeems himself, he must also let us do so, or he must also be a Hussite and speak all his blasphemous words about himself. Although the Concilium is not against me, or it is not clear whether it is against me, Doctor Eck did not want to leave this to the judges, but became a judge himself, and put me to all shame, proclaimed a heretic and heretic-patron and had it written. So me and all of us, before E. C. F. G. Uni.

The people of the University, publicly deprived of our Christian honor, by such an intolerable insult, have sacrilegiously broken the royal promised and ascribed escort; and those who should have resisted such mischief, sat quietly, and put up with it, as if they had advised and helped them.

Yes, they have strengthened, justified and protected him publicly before everyone. For since I called upon Mr. Caesar Pflug, as the princely administrator, he and the Doctoribus, after the end of the disputation (that ever Doctor Eck had our disgrace and E. C. F. G. University), and gave me this as an answer: D. Eck speaks, what he said, he wants to prove. So I had to have the slap as if a dog had bitten me. I also wanted to forget my moderation, to have accused Doctor Eck of being a sevenfold heretic and blasphemer of the Most Holy Nicene Concilii and of the whole of Christendom, as he is then also true, and must still hold it against me, even if I will now also judge in my escort; but we were publicly defied with the escort, we had to hold that, Doctor Eck might do, let, as he wished.

37 However, because we have come to this and D. Eck causes us, we want to tell E. C. F. G. more about how we are held to Leipzig; E. C. F. graciously will not bear any disgrace.

Since I had responded to D. Eck for three days, and the fourth day was mine to oppose, D. Eck also took the same day, only to spoil the time with useless words, and we were commanded to end the matter on the same day. So I was left with a whole hour of the same day by D. Eck's grace and favor; I did not want to have that either. And if Mr. Hans von Plaunitz, E. C. F. G. Captain at Grimm, had not been there, I would have been Hans back there; as the same E. C. F. G. may well report.

39 He had to have the first and last word, so that to more appearances his retained arguments would remain unanswered at the last, and [he] would be like a *victori*.

40 If a day was determined and precessed on a matter, D. Eck might well change it, because that is how the masters wanted it.

41 Also that he does not argue for the sake of truth, but only to our disgrace, he shows by the fact that he took all my books and what I ever wrote, picked up, and would have liked to disgrace it all in front of everyone and znnicht made, whether it was not ad propositum. He searched for nns in such an ugly way.

He also could not help not wanting to leave the poor monkhood unchastised.

I did a little sermon before our rector, my gracious lord, Duke Bernimo, but three holy days were not enough for D. Eck to tear me away with my sermon and to revile me before the people. In the meantime I kept silence. For that is how one should keep a monk.

44 From my book Cypriano, which he had falsely allegorized to me, and was supposed to point out to me, and in two days still might not find, he did me the honor of saying that I had figned in margine: Hic fallitur sanctus vir, which after all comes to nothing at all, it had to come out, and with disgrace in the feathers.

Although these and similar pieces are much too childish, E. C. G. notice from them what lies behind D. Eck and the Leipzigers, who deal with such little points so childishly in the brave cause. We respect that if D. Eck and the Leipzigers had known about the murder and all the disgrace of nns, the disputation would have had to remain, and everyone would have heard and read this. For some also start to write that I carry a devil with me in my can; all these are signs of a despondent cause and desperate trade, which has to strengthen itself with shouting and such wicked little friends.

We would not have brought this to E. C. F. G.'s attention if D. Eck had not desired to report and apologize with his hateful writing. Not that we want to denigrate D. Eck against E. C. F. G.; even if we do not need revenge, we want to atone for it in another way, he is not yet over; but that we do not have to suffer that E. C. F. G. blasphemers and taunters want to adorn themselves first and foremost for willing servants.

He also gives his wisdom a noticeable particle that he believes the heretics are pleased with my opinion. Shall I first and foremost, for the sake of D. Ecken's suspicion and belief, keep my

If you want to change your opinion or let go of the truth for the sake of the heretics' joy, then I have truly come across a delicious master in D. Eck. Almost all of D. Eck's arguments were full of sharpness and subtlety, and have pleased the Leipzigers.

(48) That I do not give St. Peter the primacy over the apostles, and that he opposes this and more, God help him, he may well do so, especially since he considers himself the sole patron of the wretched, abandoned Christendom. Let us see, by God's grace, how we can protect ourselves from the resistance that has so far been so gracious to us. Although we are justly surprised at what the free hero encounters, that he fears the light so horribly, and does not like to write, and has had so much trouble that the disputation is suppressed and does not come out before the people.

I gave St. Peter Primatum honoris, non potestatis, because he had no authority to make, send, govern, or ordain the apostles.

50 I do not dispute D. Eck's juridical and dense Distinction de apostolatu et administratione, because it shows that Doct. Eck does not yet know what apostolatus means in Scripture, who nevertheless presumes to fence jure divino.

I do not want his disputation, but give it the right name, that is, crimination unb perditio temporis, so that I know how to act on it. There are now barely two points in the whole disputation, and yet with loose, dnrcühbeten 1) arguments, which I was ashamed in front of learned people. Shouting, talking, a lot of chattering, and getting nowhere, these are D. Eck's disputation.

We have not suggested Leipzig to him; because his great, highly famous memory has forgotten their letter that Leipzig is accepted by him, by us. We would have preferred Erfurt or another city; now we have understood why Leipzig appealed to him. What broke him in Wittenberg, under E. C. F. G. Geleit?

We also wanted nothing better than that E. C. F. G., who submits himself to Doctor Eck

1) "practicing through" - tritis, trivial.

We do not doubt that it is not recognized according to the shouting and the arguments, as those at Leipzig are doing now without any command. There is no doubt in our minds that it is not recognized by the shouting and the talking, as those at Leipzig are doing now without any command.

What good shall they recognize in Leipzig, if they now, blinded by envy and hatred, give D. Eck won; if it is nevertheless in broad daylight, and they may not deny that Doctor Carlstadt's positions have come home unharmed by D. Eck's grace, although D. Eck has written against them a great, pompous title, *contra novam doctrinam*, as if he wanted to devour them raw. In addition, he must confess that he has admitted *Liberum arbitrium*, and all of Doctor Carlstadt's positiones, and has joined Carlstadt; Scotum, Capreolum, thus denying the Thomistic, Scotistic, Modernistic sects, otherwise he would have come a Pelagianus to Ingolstadt. And so the great bubble of the title, *Contra novam doctrinam*, has been holed and torn, and now holds it with Doctor Carlstadt in all points, so that he has also confessed it himself. So Doctor Carlstadt has won, but D. Eck has the cry. This is how the scholars of Leipzig judge, whom D. Eck desires to be judges.

It is true and necessary for the sake of the truth that we are minded to write against D. Ecken. Eck boasts with his pomp of having won that which he himself holds, and is one with Carlstadt, and by such false boasting makes a delusion that he holds it differently than Doctor Carlstadt, and with such his damned honor takes away the honor of the tender truth, which looks good to no pious man. Therefore, he must give us the carnival larvae and let us see who he is, if God wills.

It is not true that our convention is to stand still until the sentence has passed, but D. Eck says this about himself, as he says almost all other things. Even if this were so, D. Eck would have kept his writing, judging, praising, and judging much more cheaply, and would not have attacked us before princes with writings and words.

falsely recited. So he says that one should stand still, and yet he acts as if it were not true; for he lacks the beautiful memoria, juxta proverbium: *Mendacem memorem esse oportet*.

It is agreed that the disputation, written by the notaries, will not be printed before the sentence, to which D. Eck and the Leipzigers forced us, against his own writing, seal, promises, and first pact, that we would speak a free disputation in the pen and give it to the light of day before all the world. Now, however, they have used their coarse stubbornness to make a clamor, to pass a bare judgment, and to exert judges to their liking, so that the matter would be suppressed everywhere, and with the judgment thereafter all printings were put down.

58 He is still not satisfied with this, now wants to have only the theologians as judges, refuses the legists, physicians, artists. So much does the Eckische and Leipzigsche truth fear that it alone crept into the corner of the theologians, whom it knows to be against us; and adorns itself with the kitten, as if the theologians were the only ones who understood the matter, the others incomprehensible. Why, then, did he earlier want to call E. C. F. G. and the high lordly prince, E. C. F. G. cousin, Duke Georgen, to judge, if he does not like anyone but his theologians. Perhaps he was not serious! But I want the whole university, not only the theologians. For D. Reuchlin's matter has amused me, how learned the theologians are, and how they judge. If the legists, physicians, artists and lay princes had done so, 1) the truth would have been given to the theologians like a sheep to the wolves; that is what D. Eck is looking for here, too.

He also says too much that he has accepted two universities of my liking. I could not come to the favor; I had to let Freiburg and Basel, which I like, go, refused by him.

At the end, he gives fables about the honorable, pious man, D. Peter Burkhard, as if I should have suspected him of having taken my little book to him, and of having read it without my knowledge.

1) The opinion of this sentence is: If the legists, physicians, artists and lay princes had not been there, the truth would be 2c. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. V, 251. 668; vol. VIII, 1035, 812; 1052, 8 54 2c.

and scornfully scorned unheard (as he himself writes); for perhaps he still intends to put his dreams to us for rule.

Doctor Peter is a pious man, I have not criticized him for this or that. If D. Eck has dreamed something, he makes a prophecy out of it, so he loves it. I am not idle to answer all his fantasies.

62 However, I like his decision, since he says: E. C. F. G. would be quite praiseworthy, whom: she burns all my books in a heap. Haec Eccius. Such a letter should have such a seal; that is a respectable theological piece, not to see a book, and yet to judge to fire. But it is not necessary that SUs teach Minervam.

63 We hereby humbly request that E. C. F. G. would let us be in her command, and not to pardon our much chatter and long letters. And E. C. F. G. should believe that we have told the truth, and we want to bring it to light in the best possible way with Latin writing.

64 God spare E. C. F. G. for the salvation of his people long blessed, Amen. Given at Wittenberg, on the 18th day of August, 1519.

E. C. F. G.
servants and capellan
D. Martin Luther.
D. Andreas Carlstadius.

417 Carlstadt's and Luther's accompanying letter to the Elector of Saxony. August 18, 1519.

The original of this letter is in the Ood. ordurt. 379 Lidl. Ootti; printed in Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden," vol. I, p. 406; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 624; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 321; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 26 and in the supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 28.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, Elector, Imperial Majesty in the Saxon Vicariate, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, our most gracious Lord and Patron.

Jesus.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord. To your princely graces, our servants are ready with our prayers to God beforehand. Most gracious Prince and Lord! After E. C. F. G. requested from us an answer to D. Johannis Eck's writing, we have begun to take every possible pains to issue a transfiguration by public pressure against his erroneous opinions and untruthfully presented pieces of our *proposition*, in which we shall provide D. Eck and everyone with sufficient reason and instruction. However, we hereby send E. C. F. G. a German written reply to his letter given to E. C. F. G., specifically directed as to whether E. C. F. G. might like to send the same to D. Eck, which we would like to see, since we suspect that he will take this as a serious reason to flutter out, as he is wont to do, and thus the matter would be given the ground. However, we place all this at the pleasure of E. C. F. G.. We publicly feel that from D. Eck's various writings and works that come to us from Nuremberg, Augsburg and everywhere else, that he intended to blaspheme and revile the Wittenbergers with lies and deceptions to the worst of his ability. He surrendered. Now God help the truth. We tell this to E. C. F. G. so that she will not think that we are perhaps doing too much to him. Hereby we humbly command E. C. F. G.. God spare E. C. F. G. long blessed, Amen. At Wittenberg on the day of Agapiti [Aug. 18] 1519.

E. C. F. G.

The underserved chaplain and servant D.
Andreas Carlstadt. D.
Martinus Luther.

418 Luther's private responsibility against Eck in a letter to Spalatin, in which he particularly responds to the point that Eck had falsely claimed in his defamatory letter that Carlstadt and Luther had suggested Leipzig or Erfurt to him as the site of the disputation, since Wittenberg had been suggested to him first, which, however, was not up to him.

See Appendix, No. 53, U§1.2.

419 D. Johann Eck's response to Carlstadt's and Luther's letter to the Elector of Saxony. Date Ingolstadt, November 8, 1519.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 75d; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 155 d; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 282; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 259 and in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, 626.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince! My submissive, obedient services, along with my poor prayer, are ready beforehand for Your Electoral Grace. Most gracious Lord! I have received E. C. F. G.'s letter, together with the responsibility of E. C. F. G.'s doctors, in all humility, as is due, and have also read the same. And while waiting for the decision of Paris, my opinion would have been to remain silent. Again, I have considered that Doctor Martinus Luther interprets the untruth to the holy Concilio, and to this end, I consider it necessary to discover the same to E. C. F. G., asking in all humility most humbly that he not receive it in disgrace, nor have any displeasure.

(2) First, I let it remain that they say that the dispute was driven by envy and hatred. May God be my witness that this is not so on my part. But I proposed the disputation to them for the sake of explaining the truth, and so that the matter would finally be decided by those who heard us disputing, so that the disgraceful writings would be avoided and abolished. And therefore, since they did not want to come to Paris or Cologne, I accepted Leipzig at their request and followed them to their province, since I did not know any doctor or master. But if E. C. F. G. Doctores have disputed out of envy and hatred, God knows that.

3) First, Doctor Andre Rodolphi 1) of Carlstadt apologizes that he has let his disgraceful Conclusiones go out against me, that I have previously touched Doctor Martin Luther in obeliscis meis. I confess, most gracious lord, that I have made annotations at the request of my most gracious lord of Eistet, on 18 Conclusiones Martini; but have not let them go out, nor have I provided that they should come further. How they were answered to him is hidden from me; but this much I say that I do not have a copy of them, because only how

Martinus wrote them with his hand. I do not die from their suspicions, but I ask that I let the theologians of the noble universities of Paris, Bononia, Leuven, Cologne, Vienna, and Leipzig know whether I have done the Annotationes correctly or not, and whether they are right or wrong, and follow the same judgment, that they do so, and have the choice of which they like.

4 On the other hand, he apologizes for his paltry carriage, half of the painting. I did not complain about the painting, because I think he is sitting on the lower wagon himself, but that he attacks me with expressed words and scolds me: if I put donkeys in wagons, he would drive the donkeys, I let it be; if he can, he is probably lying in Welsh land.

5 Doctor Martinus thinks that the pieces do not meet the faith, of purgatory, indulgences, papal authority, it is opinion. I do not mean that one would have burned Johann Hus propter opiniones, dig up Wiklef, condemn Marsilium de Padua, Johannem de Jandavo, Pauperes Lugdunenses for heretics. But that Luther may deny before his sovereign without shame, as if he had not denied the holy Doctores, I show myself on the Notarien Schrift, and so D. Bodenstein has secretly taken away a copy to Leipzig, against the princely councils and the university's command. In the same, E. C. F. G. can clarify: Quod si etiam Augustinus et omnes Patres Petrum intellexerint per petram, resistam ego eis unus [that is]: If already St. Augustine and all the Fathers had understood Petrum through the rock, I united will resist them. I had allegorized the Fathers: Chrysostomum, Ambrosium, Hieronymum, Gregorium, Leonem, Cyprianum, Bernhardum.

6 Now judge E. C. F. G. whether I have written correctly, I will put the point to E. G. to recognize. Therefore, it is a flowery and colored excuse that he does not introduce one doctor against the other, about the words of Paul Gal. 2, 6. Those of Paris will well judge who has introduced the Bible, the holy scripture, and understood it more correctly; but E. C. F. G. according to his highly renowned understanding and reason, knowing richly in everything, can well judge what blindness is there. God does not look at the person of man; therefore St. Peter has not been mighty above other apostles. I say: God

1) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 1.

2) tügt - taugte, put by us instead of: "adds" in the editions, which we cannot make sense of. The reading we have assumed is also found in Löscher, Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p.106.

do not look at the person of man; therefore Moses was not placed in authority over the children of Israel. So your doctor understands the holy scripture beautifully *secundum novam grammaticam*. It also does injustice to St. Jerome that he understands it against the primacy and supremacy of Peter, who expressly says that Peter was made head of the apostles by Christ, *ut schismatis tolleretur occasio*.

Furthermore, Luther shows how he understood the words: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram* etc. with Augustino through the rock Christ; no one has denied this to him, for it is true. But that I also understood Peter through the rock, so that Christ is the rock and the Lord, on whom the church is built, and yet Peter is also a rock, on whom the church is built, as a vicar. And I have not become fugitive from the text, as Doctor Martin maliciously accuses me of; for I have taken the word of Christ, Matth. 16, 18.

8. and that my understanding is just, I have proved from the fact that the understanding of the text has had the holy fathers, and the Christian church, as Cyprian, Origen, Augustine, Hilarius, Chrysostom, Beda, Leo, Ambrose, Gregory, Cyril, Ignatius, Maximus, *Concilium octavum* generale, and the greatest Concilium Chalcedonense. These are not little sayings: I want to believe the saints more, where they understand the holy scripture so unanimously, than a young doctor. I do not refer to the young ones who have written in 400 years; for I know well that Luther despises and rejects them according to common hope.

9 And from the following words, E. C. F. G. can deduce what art D. Luther has in the holy doctors, that he says: One has written and held against himself. This is a small honor for the holy doctors. But I say that he does them an injustice in our case. For the two are not repugnant: Christ is the Rock; Peter is the Rock; as the saints, Ambrose, Leo, clearly indicate. I have never done dishonor to any holy doctor in the disputation, that I would have rejected one, like Doctor Luther and Carlstadt: and yet they wrote themselves *Ecclesiasticos*, and called me *sophistam scholasticum*.

(10) And because every Christian knows that the Scriptures are praised and honored above all others, I have written: Let no man interpret the Scriptures according to his own reason, but follow the doctrine of the fathers. Thus Doctor Luther brings it forth, and calls it my own verbiage, and will direct himself to it, if he has a clear text, so let him

He would stay with it, although the teacher's interpretation would be against it. Notice E. C. F. G., what insolence is there in the cowl. This has seduced all heretics, their obstinacy, that they do not want to follow others, and think they understand it better than the holy teachers. If the text is clear, they want to stick to it. If the text is clear, how did the divine teachers not understand it? How would it be if someone thought he had a clear text and was mistaken, like the heretic Arius?

I rather believe the dear saints than my coarse mind. And my useful doctrine he calls a babble, and yet it is not mine, but St. Clementis dist. 37. c. perlatum: It happens to us how some, dwelling with you, resist sound doctrines, and teach not according to the old fathers' interpretation, but according to their understanding.

(12) That Augustine wrote against the doctors of his time, when the Holy Scriptures were not yet explained as they are now, is good to think that he might well have done so. Now E. C. F. G., like D. Luther, has unreasonably and falsely attacked me, as if the Leipzigers and I had thought of him as having thrown back all the holy doctors, which is evident from the notarial Scriptures, and I wanted to prove this with 200 people.

Luther further wrote that I wanted to prove the authority of St. Peter, that he was a prince of the apostles set by Christ, with divine right. This I confess. But that he pretends that I have had some reason to believe the Concilium of Constance, which is only a human law, not divine, I say that D. Luther is telling the truth. For I have based the authority of Peter on the holy Gospels; as the scripture of the notaries clearly shows; I am highly disconcerted how he may present such a thing before E. C. F. G., and I know that it is not so.

14 Thus, only in the third disputation do we come to the Hussian articles and to the concilium. And that he says that the Concilium is not able to make one according to divine law, is therefore true; but if a holy Concilium, properly assembled, decides to be something of divine law, we are to believe it.

15 But that further D. Luther E. C. F. G. indicates, he has set against me, the whole church towards the end of the sun 1400 years, which had never been under the pope, would be damned, with so many great teachers of Christianity, as Athanasius, Chrysostom 2c. What to say of such great error and falsehood, a prince before-

to carry? I speak, and E. C. F. G. should always believe that the Oriental churches in Asia, Egypt and Greece, because they were pious, have always recognized the Pope and the See of Rome as the highest in Christendom, and have also been obedient to him. And that it is true, St. Athanasius with three other saints, when he was deposed by the heretics, appealed to Pope Marco in Rome, is almost 1200 years.

16 After that, Pope Julius summoned the bishops from the Orient to Rome, and when they disobeyed, he passed a sentence against them, and reinstated St. Athanasius in Alexandria over the sea. And brother Luther is allowed to denounce St. Athanasius that he was not under the pope!

The Pope also restored St. Chrysostom, who had been expelled from Constantinople, and Theophilus, who had expelled him, wrote to the Pope, as if he were to confirm him; but the Pope Innocentius recognized that Theophilus had judged wrongly, and had expelled St. Chrysostom (who also declared his innocence to the Pope) unfairly. Doctor Luther is still allowed to pretend the insanity of E. C. F. G.. St. Chrysostom had not been under the pope.

18 I do not want to dispute now, but only to reject Luther's false pretensions. For that the churches have been under the pope at Rome, even though they have had special patriarchs, I would like to show through the dear holy martyrs and popes, St. Victor, Fabian, Zepherin, Eusebii, and others, who have shown their supremacy over them. Therefore, do not give credence to Luther in this case.

19 But it is astonishing that D. Luther is not ashamed to present the untruth. Luther is not ashamed before his sovereign to present the untruth that the Greeks and other churches were heretics and unruly, when they are highly praised in Scripture. On this I say that he does me wrong, and in this he shows that there is nothing good in him to inflict such disgrace on me. And I refer to the writings of the notaries who wrote out our words, that I said that it is well known that the Greeks and Orientals were Christian and pious people; but at that time they were under the pope, as St. Gregory himself sent pallium to the bishop in Greece. But since they fell from the obedience of the pope, they were heretics and breakers of Christian unity, so that the Constantinopolitan emperor and patriarch in

the Concilium came to Florence, and again did obedience to the Roman Church.

20 Therefore, Luther should not conceive such a false thing against me with untruth; for the pious Greeks have recognized the pope, as Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, appealed to the holy pope Leo the First, Ignatius to the pope Nicolaum, and both were again legally appointed.

And about the foregoing, I would like to indicate at length how the pious Greeks have always recognized the Pope and obeyed him, as through the holy popes Iginium, Leonem, Innocentium, Gelasium, Pelagium, all of whom were before St. Gregory, through Concilia 2c. But I do not want to burden E. C. F. G.. It is true that in the disputation I accused Luther of wanting to mix the dear holy Greeks with the heretical Greeks and to defend them with them; he should separate the obedient ones from the pope and the pious ones from the disobedient heretics. For this I speak freely: He who separates himself from the Roman church is a disruptor of Christian unity and a servant of the devil.

When Luther further indicated that the holy *Concilium Nicenum*, at the time of the Luther wrote that he had decreed that the Roman Pontiff alone should be in charge of the Roman Church, and the one in Alexandria of the Egyptian Church, and that the bishops should not be confirmed by Rome, but that two or three, the closest bishops, should ordain him.

(23) Most gracious Lord, I do not know what to say, whether it is malice or ignorance. For first, I know that D. Luther never saw the Concilium; he also alleges it incorrectly in German and Latin; nor does it contain a word about the French churches. But this is in the sixth canon of the Concilii, that he of Alexandria has power over Egypt, Lybia, and the five cities according to ancient custom; for the same custom is also held by the bishop of Rome. The Concilium wants that, as a pope of Rome would have power over the bishops in his patriarchate, so also the one of Alexandria over the bishops in his patriarchate. But it does not say that the patriarch of Alexandria is not under the pope. For St. Athanasius was patriarch of Alexandria, and yet he recognized the popes Marcum, Julium, Felicem as his superiors, as is reported before, and yet he was in such a council.

24. and that brother Luther has his poisonous tongue

I want to tell E. C. F. G. one more thing in all humility, that this holy council, held at Nicaea, which among others has always been considered the holiest and the highest, and held equal to the Gospel, as D. Luther indicates. From this it is clearly indicated that the pope is above all bishops. For there is a law made that any bishop who would be accused by his primate of abdication should appeal to Rome. And by virtue of the statute, St. Athanasius appealed to Rome.

(25) Again, Luther erroneously and unjustly judges the holy Concilio by saying that one should not confirm the bishops from Rome, which is never reported with a word. And with ordaining, Luther says that two or three bishops may ordain one; this is an error that cannot be excused or defended. For two cannot elect one bishop. But he speaks of it like a blind man of the colors, has never seen the Concilium, and does not understand it either. But the 4th canon of the Concilii says that a bishop should be ordained by all the bishops in the province; but if they do not all want to come from a distance because of the way or other need, then three should ordain him, as happens today by day. For it is different to confirm a bishop and to ordain a bishop; and he who does not know this does not know what a bishop is.

(26) My brother Luther also introduces another falsehood, as if I had ever said that all the bishops of Rome should be confirmed by divine right; in this he does me an injustice, and spares the truth. By the grace of God, I know very well how things have been in Christendom in the past, because Luther. Why should I speak such things? For I know that every patriarch has confirmed his bishop, and that sometimes the bishops primas *sedis*, that is, the primates, have done so; as the pope through Greece ordered the bishop Thessalonicensi, who instead of the pope confirms the bishops through Greece, which belongs to Rome and not to Constantinople or Antioch. Although now, unfortunately, Christianity has come to a patriarchate, as Bahanis predicted many hundreds of years ago, to be in the future. Therefore, D. Luther attributes to me what I have never thought or said.

27 It is even more unpleasant that he spares the truth after that and, according to his evil habit, accuses me as if I wanted to make heretics of the churches at the beginning, in Africa, France, and the holy Concilium Nicenum. However, it is clear from the things mentioned above that he has

truth, and does not know or understand what he is saying.

But if D. Luther quite freely and out of a heretical spirit (as is to be assumed) said in the disputation at Leipzig that some articles of Hus, condemned in the holy Concilio at Constance (which was assembled from all Christendom), and Hus their holder and compiler burned, were the most Christian and evangelical, he now wants to apologize and color himself against E. C. F. G. according to his custom; he says yes, some articles are condemned as heretical and some as insane. C. F. G. and color them according to his custom; says, yes, that some articles are condemned as heretical, some as insane, and some as sacrilegious, which offend Christian hearts. Therefore, he supposes to receive some damned articles as Christian and true.

29 But the wickedness may not be hidden, most gracious Lord. The holy Concilium does not separate the articles of John Hus in such a way, as D. Luther indicates, but calls them in general all in such a way that they are heretical and insane. He also does not understand why the holy Concilium names the articles in such a diverse way, which I will now leave for the sake of brevity, because one should soon see it in print.

30 And what an outrage it is that the Articles have been condemned by the Concilium, of which there has been none for so long, with so many persons and unanimity of all Christendom, since three popes have surrendered their justice to the Concilium, or have been deprived of it; since French, German, French, Hispanic, Angelic, 2c. all come into one obedience, and by the nations, not by the pope's trustees, as D. Luther proclaims, the Articles have been condemned. If he first wants to make them the most Christian and evangelical, I put this to E. C. F. G. for consideration, and will therefore leave it at that, whether the Holy Spirit is watching over Luther or not. I will therefore leave it at that, whether the Holy Spirit watches over Luther or over the holy Concilio.

But that Luther indicates: Yes, repugnant things are often decided in concilia; I say: In the points concerning faith, D. Luther will never make this true, where concilia are properly assembled in the whole community. For a concilium of a province may err; so may a concilium generale of a patriarchate err; but a common concilium universale, that may not err, and not even now concilium generale. Therefore I do not accept that he brings from the article, but he shows me in which concilio. For in truth he has never seen a few Concilii Canones in their origin; so I have 42 Concilia, in none of which the two articles stand. Therefore, I think he is doing with it, as I have often experienced him now, and is inventing it.

The same sacrilege is in that he says that the Concilium at Constance has decided repugnant things, and Brother Luther wants to revile the whole Concilium, and so many learned people, that they would have been repugnant to themselves. But of this I will say later.

33 Whether it would be so, that the two would be conciliarists, properly decided in the Concilio, as D. Luther indicates, yet he does them wrong, that they would be contrary to themselves. For the two are not against each other, that the pope retains the primacy and supremacy over all special persons of all Christendom, and yet the common assembly of Christendom, as a concilium is, is over the pope. This was the reason given by the Patriarch of Antioch in his booklet against the pope Eugenium. Therefore, Luther himself errs and deceives himself with such sophistical arguments and dissolute causes.

34 If D. Luther begins to argue before E. C. F. G. with his stupid and lazy arguments, I ask you, most gracious Lord, not to be displeased that I recently reject them, because they come from a wrong mind. First, he says that Peter was subject to the church at Jerusalem with St. John, because he was sent in Samariam [Apost. 8:14], and he who sends one is superior than he who is sent. This has been a dilapidated reason of the heretics Arianorum, by which they wanted to prove that God the Father would be more in divine essence than the Son, if God the Father had sent into the world. Therefore it is an insanity that he who sends one is always more than he who is sent.

35 Also, the Concilium does not want to depose a pope, because by divine right he would be the supreme one in the church. I say, D. Luther truly does not understand all this. But recently to decide that, I confess that an undoubted pope, unless he becomes a heretic, may not be deposed from the church. And even if the whole of Christendom were to raise one against the pope, to whom they all wanted to be obedient, he would still be guilty, for the blessedness of his soul, of being under the pope. There is no need to talk further about it.

But in order that brother Luther might hide his evil, false opinion against the holy Conciliarities, he brings up one thing that we have not discussed, whether the Concilium is about the pope; as if the two Conciliarities at Constance and now at Rome had decided disgusting things. I say, most gracious sir, that I do not want to discuss this now, which is not addressed in a few words.

but to reject the venomous argument of D. Luther against the holy Concilia, I say that D. Luther will never again argue that a Concilium is a general Concilium. Luther will never argue, if he knows more truly what a concilium is, that I have a great doubt that the Constance Concilium universale, a general concilium, decided to be a concilium over the pope. It is true that the part that was under the obedience of John the 23rd decided that; but that was not a complete concilium, because they were still under the obedience of the other two popes Gregory the 12th and Benedictus the 13th, therefore there was no concilium at that time. They may have doubted whether this was a true concilium or not, as it could be told by its length. That is why Luther speaks quite blasphemously of the concilium, that they have erred, now setting this, now that, and have made Christians err, which no devout Christian should speak. Therefore, from all that has gone before, it is easily noted how D. Luther maliciously rejects as not wanting to take a consistent argument from the holy Concilia. For a Christian should not speak of the holy Conciliar that they are fickle and determine partisan trades; for thus God would have left the Christian faith in doubt.

If something were to occur from the Holy Scripture that D. Luther understood it that way, and I otherwise, everyone would think that the text was for him. Luther would understand it this way, and I would understand it the other way, everyone would think that the text is for him, then Luther does not want to turn back to papal decision; then the Concilium would be unstable and erroneous; and therefore we must remain in doubt. This is not to be said of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would have left them helpless in the matters of faith. In this way all heretics would make do with the accusation that the Conciliar and the Popes had erred.

38 Most gracious Lord, how can E. C. F. G. allow that D. Luther still persists in his erroneous, false, heretical opinion that some articles of Hus, condemned by the holy Concilio at Constance, are Christian and true, which he wants to maintain against me. As far as my person is concerned, I would not care much that he wants to preserve them against the holy Concilium, but listen to what E. C. F. G.'s neighbors, the Bohemian heretics, say; for from time immemorial they say that their master was burned for Christian and true articles.

Luther recounts several articles and brings up the *Concilium Nicenum*, of which it is sufficiently said how he introduces it falsely; he has never seen it. The Concilium is also completely against him. E. C. F. G. see

but how lavishly brother Luther pretends to be when he says: "I did not like to bite the little nut. I put this on E. C. F. G.'s knowledge, whether I have not shown rightly with the truth, how the Concilium of Nicaea is not with him, but against him.

40 He also used such falsehoods with the Concilio in Africa, which he also alleges for himself, although such allegations are nowhere in the Concilio. For he has seen none, as I have said; but thus he has been deceived. For C. primae sedis 99. distinct. is a rule of the same Concilii, and since it is short, he has also meant the following words, which are Gratiani, they are rules of the Concilii. But how to understand the words Gratiani, Pelagii, St. Gregory, I show in my booklet of the Superiority of St. Peter.

If D. Luther says that the article is Christian: Humanity and Godhead are One Christ, I say that the article is condemned and belongs in the fire. But I believe that, as St. Athanasius speaks in the Christian faith, that one prays in the prime time, 1) or that D. Luther reads, God and man are One Christ.

(42) Furthermore, he shows the article to be Christian, that every work of man is virtuous or blasphemous; I say against it that the article is condemned and belongs in the fire. And it does not help that he wants to strengthen the obstinate, who believed too much in themselves and considered the Concilia to be erroneous. I certainly believe that the holy Scriptures are in the first place with us. But if brother Luther says, one should understand it thus, and that is the right sense of the text; the pope and a holy Concilium say, No, the brother's mind is wrong, so one should understand it: then I believe the holy Concilio, and let the brother go. For otherwise all heresy would be renewed; for they have all founded themselves on the holy Scriptures, and have supposed that their understanding is right, and that the popes and Concilia are in error, as Doctor Luther now thinks. Therefore they have remained obdurate.

(43) Therefore it is not Christian liberty for one to boldly cry out of foolishness, "Let the concilia err. For I say against it: Whoever says that a common holy concilium, properly assembled, errs, is to me like a heathen and an open sinner. But that the false concilia have erred, as Ariminense, Ephesinum, etc., it is because they are not properly assembled.

The following is a summary of the events that have been collected; as long as it would take to write what would have been lacking, which I omit for the sake of brevity. With the Concilio of Constance and that of Rome has been reported.

44 If D. Luther has deliberately misrepresented my words about free will, I will leave it at that; for soon after he will come back with it; then I will show E. C. F. G. how D. Luther has spared the truth in the article, as is also his custom. For I remain with the holy Concilio, as I know well to maintain against Doctor Luther, not only with mere words, but also inherit me for the laudable universities, Paris, Louvain, Cologne, Bononia. And whoever lies below, let him pay the costs to the other, according to the knowledge of the same universities.

45 D. Luther complains most highly that I have called him a heretic and heretic patron in Leipzig and thus deprived him of Christian honor. Luther highly complains that I scolded and shouted him out as a heretic and heretic-patron in Leipzig, and thus deprived him of Christian honor. Also accuse those of Leipzig, as if they had strengthened me in this, that on his complaint such things were not forbidden to me, and left him the slaps. I ask E. C. F. G. to graciously hear how D. Luther is not ashamed of any shot, and as I now report to E. C. F. G., I will draw on the writing of the sworn notaries, and the gentlemen of Leipzig, will also gladly give me in E. C. F. G.'s name. C. F. G. punishment, where they will not find all things as I say.

It has the form: Luther wanted, as also here in the letter, that the Greeks had never been under the Roman church for 1400 years. I say that he wanted to protect the heretics and breakers of Christian unity with the appearance of the pious Greeks and saints, if he took the years all together, and thus mixed the evil and the good, which he should separate, since there is no comparison of the light and the devil. Then D. Luther interfered with my speech and said: I am speaking impudently and lying about him, and testified to that.

After that, I accused him of saying against the holy Concilium at Constance that some Hussite articles were most Christian and evangelical. Then Doctor Luther spoke out again and protested that it was not true that he had spoken against the Concilium. To the third, I pointed out to D. Luther that the damned heretics would like to establish themselves and take such speech to help them, which would be useful to them, and thus say against the Christians: If the Concilium at Constance erred in the articles, then the authority and faith of the Concilii will also waver with us,

1) In the old prints: "Prim. time"; the first of the "seven tides" or Korns onrLootions.

in other articles. But Doctor Luther testified that it was a lie. In response to such immodesty, I modestly said nothing else, because I wanted to prove and make true what he had said and what the notaries had written out.

48 Most gracious sir, note E. C. F. G., who broke the escort, who was more lewd, also how such a Luckmann 1) is Doctor Luther, who protests that it is not true that he spoke against the Concilium at Constance, when he now in his writing much and often goes about keeping that in which he erred. I also caught him on such a pale horse in Leipzig. For when we were before the gentlemen, my gracious Lord Duke Georgen 2c. and the university council, I referred to all the universities in Christendom (two excluded), that they should recognize which one was right in his disputation, so that when the disputation took place, one would know who was right; not as now, that each party says it is right, and becomes much more evil after the disputation than before.

I have also offered (although the matter, concerning the faith, belongs to the papal see at Rome), I do not want to force him to do so, but to appeal to the universities, as I have reported. This is what the councils did for a long time with D. Luther, who did not want to grant some universities, wanted to have a free disputation, which they did not want to allow him by princely order. From this alone it appears that he cannot have almost a good thing, because he does not want to suffer any judges.

50 Thus he left, that he did not want to dispute, and refused me the disputation; after that he poured out, the councilors did not want to let him dispute, he wanted to let the pope judge about the disputation. 2) The pope did not want to let the councilors judge about the disputation. Thus he wanted to denigrate the honorable councilors and make himself beautiful. May E. C. F. G. well consider how this is not honest, nor is it proper for a pious man. I refrain from doing so, and I refer this to the noble councils of my gracious lord Duke George, the high lord prince, and to the university, also to the strict, highly respected lord of Plawnitz, knight and doctor 2c, E. C. F. G. captain.

51 When I offered myself before the Lords,

1) "Luckmann" will probably be as much as Lugmann, Lügenmann. The same expression returns in § 80 of this writing.

2) Inserted by us.

they gave further information, which Doctor Luther would have behaved according to his own nature, if I had offered to take from the writings of the notaries, who would have written out all things, and would have entered the disputation, so they wanted to let them know about it, who would then judge the whole disputation; that D. Luther complained unreasonably to my understanding. Luther complains unreasonably, to my mind.

52 And so Doctor Luther writes that he would have accused me of being a sevenfold heretic, and a blasphemer of the Most Holy Nicene Conciliar, and of all Christianity, as I truly am. Only when D. Luther would have done this to me in the disputation, I would have answered for it to him in such a way that I would not have had to refer it to him. But that he now writes out of a poisonous, envious heart that I am such a one, I add: It is certainly true that those who are poisoned with heresy easily revile other pious people by calling them heretics; and therefore Luther speaks no truth to this, and does me an injustice. He has also never had or seen the holy Concilium Nicenum right, which he also falsified. And that he now often comes forth with it, why did he not bring it forth in Leipzig?

I have relied on the noble, highborn prince and lord, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia 2c., who, as befits a noble Christian prince, has permitted the disputation, has ordered it, and has not incurred a little expense in it; he has often been at the disputation himself. I also rely on his noble councils, on Rector and Doctores of the famous university, on an honorable wise council of a noble city. But how E. C. F. G. Volk held the escort is well known in Leipzig, as they once grasped the swords when we were disputing. Item, how they shouted at me at night time in front of the house, so that an honorable council had to keep my hostel for me.

But that E. C. F. G. recognizes my innocence, and Doctor Luther's seductive, insane, heretical teaching, I inform you that a disputation note has recently come to me from Wittenberg, printed; among other things, this is also a position: It is not heresy not to believe in the sign of baptism, in Latin *characterem*, and in the transformation of the bread in the sacrament. Notice, E. C. F. G., how the holy sacrament of the tender Corpus Christi of Jesus Christ is touched, that it cannot be safe from them, and want to bring forth the old error, that without the sign of baptism it is heresy.

Heresy one may say that the bread still remains in the sacrament and is not transformed. Then E. C. F. G. may well consider, according to high reason, what insanity and heresy will arise there, if one does not look into the matter differently.

55 If, furthermore, Doctor Luther comes to the disputation and shows how his time for disputing has been cut short, I will inform E. C. F. G. with all humility that Brother Luther is telling the truth. For he and D. Bodenstein have first asked the most noble Prince Duke Georgen 2c. to break off the disputation; because their university would be missed by their absence, also to present everyone with heavy costs. When my gracious lord ordered the judges to do so, D. Luther decided not to argue against me in any conclusion, because in the 13th he dropped all the others, and also took Doctor Andre alone. But I took seven against Luther and two against Andre, which I led out, although Andre left one behind; and I would rather have taken more, if I had been allowed to, because I would rather have six weeks than three.

56 Doctor Luther also says that he has had enough for one or two hours. But that he complains how I have taken his hour from him, know, most gracious lord, that Doctor Luther is again keeping up his pretense and telling you the truth. We had half decided on my part, and the day was free for him to oppose, as had been said; then he first began to dispute my previous decision, and introduced something new, which had not been on the track before, therefore I had to answer for the same. And I must not complain about the time, because I made him so tired that he no longer wanted to stand on the chair. You can see from the notary's handwriting who had the last word. So I have kept completely to the way the noble councils have managed with me, and have not left the contract; therefore I will come to the princely and university councils.

That I had all his little books in my hands, and what the matter gave him and D. Bodenstein, as he had written here and there before. Bodenstein, as he had written here and there before, I do not refer to myself, but attribute to my diligence and prudence. Thus he falsely ascribes hatred to me, if I used it, which I had good reason and right to do against him.

58 Furthermore, D. Luther, I have scolded him the poor monastic state. That is the truth, most gracious lord, since he wrestled with Rome and the pope to such an extent that he alone could not have been

I felt that the habit was pressing him hard, and I said to him, "Where did he and his brothers get the robe they were wearing, who had confirmed their rule, who had given them authority to preach and hear confession, when the parish priests and bishops had not consented to it? Then my brother Luther says, I have reviled the monastic state. But he conceals that he said to me: He did not want there to be a mendicant monk. Then E. C. F. G. recognize who has reviled the monastic state more. And when you establish and build monasteries, he wanted none of them to be mendicants. I give this to the dear fathers of all Christendom to consider.

59 He also complains that I tore up his sermon, which he preached in Leipzig, in three sermons before all the people; I confess this, because I thought his sermon was false and seductive, therefore I wanted to point the pious people to a right path. But whether D. Luther thinks that I have done too much to him, or that I have done him wrong, I ask to be brought before a noble university in Leipzig, who have heard this, or before my gracious Bishop of Merseburg, Ordinary in Leipzig.

60 Further, he indicates how I have disgraced him by having the notaries put into the pen what he would have written in his book; to this I say, most gracious lord, but Luther pretends to be untruthful.

61'. That I have alleged Cyprianum, or that this has not been serviceable to my undertaking; for this I say, where D. Luther indicates that I have alleged Cyprianum, and is not thus found in the book, I will pay D. Luther the expenses and costs incurred at Leipzig in the disputation. Luther the expenses and costs, suffered at Leipzig in the disputation. And that E. C. F. G. will make a credible note of this, I do this in all obedience to know that I allege Cyprianum at two ends at that time, and think that D. Luther was mistaken about the first; therefore I put a sign for this in his book, because he had truly not read him well.

62 And in the disputation he wanted to have the other place where Cyprianus said that the Christian church was to be built on Petro, I show him from hour in the fourth book of his epistle, where the holy martyr Cyprianus says with expressed words: *Peter, superquem aedificanda fuerat Ecclesia*; where Luther had written: Behold, the holy man has been deceived, has also meant that Christ has built his church on St. Peter. This has ever been entirely subservient to my cause, and let E. C. F. G. Cyprianum besich-

If it is not so, then think no more of me; but if it is as I have indicated in the disputation, and still, then think no more of the monk.

63. from which E. C. F. G. well, what lies behind D. Corners, as D. Luther writes, and whether that is childishly acted, and puts a lot on the Leipzigers. I know nothing of the pious gentlemen, because everything good. I have never known any of the good gentlemen before; so none of them, whom I have seen, has never written me a letter before.

64 Whether D. Luther carried a devil in a box or in a robe, I do not know, nor has anyone in Leipzig ever heard from me that I have accused him of this; but that is true, he carried something on a finger with a little thread and a silver ring, and there was much talk about it. Whether D. Luther meant me as a blasphemer and tattletale to E. C. F. G., he would be doing me an injustice, as in others. For to serve you, as a highly praised and famous prince of the German nation, would be especially desirable to me, and completely desirable, if I could do so.

That the heretics rejoice in his teaching, as it is certain that they have publicly pleaded for him, even some heretics have been secretly in the disputation. Now he rejects my argument, which I will put to the knowledge of E. C. F. G., whether it is not good: the heretics in Bohemia rejoice in Luther's teaching and put it on the Christians; on the other hand, the pious Christians in Bohemia are displeased with his teaching, and they are sorry for it and completely disgusted by it. Who would not notice now that it follows that his teaching is suspicious of heresy?

Of St. Peter, most gracious sir, I say, yes, he is a prince of the whole church and of the apostles; and that D. Luther thinks he can resist me, I do not mean. Luther thinks he resists me, I do not mean that, and the verdict of Paris will decide who resisted the other. But there he saves the truth, that he says: I fear the light, and have had great trouble that the disputation would not come to the people. E. C. F. G. has heard above that I am looking for the light, and wanted the disputation to come before the people, therefore left him a free choice of all universities 2c. He is well aware of the light, but for a long time he did not want to give in that the disputation would be recognized. I have dedicated myself that the disputation should not be printed, unless it is first recognized; otherwise, there will be more fools than jokers, more evil than good; therefore, I wanted to have a verdict on it beforehand.

67 That he distinguishes, as he gives St. Peter a primacy, and he will not allow me to distinguish. And his distinction is false, against St. Cyprian and Jerome. As I indicated to him in the disputation, and yet he thanked me highly, and so soon forgot it. Your doctors would be better off disputing Memori. Well, I am now making a booklet about him, namely about Peter's supremacy, in which I want to suppress this false, seductive, Lutheran doctrine, with the grace of God. He must be inside in this and other that I like to write, although with the vituperative writings, as D. Luther does, I have never been comfortable.

68 That he scolds me as if it had been a scolding, not a disputation, I let myself rely on the knowledge of the princely councils, and on the university, also on the writing of the notaries, who has taken the liberty to scold and disgrace him. I know well that he does not like to dispute, he fears that his vanity will come to light.

Furthermore, D. Luther writes that they have not suggested Leipzig to me, because my highly famous Memoria has forgotten my letter. Do E. C. F. G. know that D. Luther, according to his habit, but[mals] saves the truth. So he is not ashamed that I am surprised. My memory has not forgotten it (God the Lord grant me the long).

70) That D. Luther proposed the two universities of Erfurt and Leipzig to me at Augsburg with the Carmelites, and I ordered him to talk to D. Bodenstein; that he then wrote to me that D. Bodenstein had agreed, and if I had to go further, they wanted to leave me the choice; as I mean, I still have the letter in my hands, and my gracious Lord of Bavaria's councilors, and our university have read the same letter, with whom I discussed which one I wanted to accept; for I was not known in any place. And in the end I chose Leipzig, so that I could follow them far enough away. As the letters sent to my gracious Lord Duke George 2c. and the University of Leipzig also show.

If it does not turn out that way, most gracious lord, I have the honor to pay Luther all the costs he suffered in the disputation at Leipzig; but if it does turn out that I am allowed to punish him for a lie, then I will tell him the truth.

(72) Since he, Luther, shows how the laity are now more learned in the Holy Scriptures than doctors of the same, anyone with an understanding can calculate what blind and unrhymed speech this is.

73] D. Luther also scolds the Leipzigers. Luther scolds those of Leipzig, saying that they have won me over, that they are blinded by envy and hatred, even though D. Bodenstein's *Conclusiones* have come home intact, and I must confess all of D. Carlstadt's positions, and have stood by him, otherwise I would have come home a Pelagian heretic, and have denied Thomistic, Scotistic, Modernist sects, and I now stand with D. Carlstadt on all points. So D. Carlstadt won, but D. Eck got the shouting 2c. Most gracious sir, who can sufficiently consider the malice and his falsehood? I have answered this false point sufficiently in Latin, as I am sending it to E.C.F.G. herewith.

Doctor Luther writes that, or Carlstadt, that they praise themselves, they have won. There is nothing to it; for the verdict has not yet been given, and yet they confess the truth, I have the cry, I have won. The common cry is seldom empty. But that they say that V. Carlstadt's *positiones* have come home unharmed; now they have almost bled in Leipzig; are they now whole? Let them judge beforehand.

He further indicates that I have admitted all of D. Carlstadt's *positions*; he spares the truth, as the notary's writing indicates, and I further indicate in Latin. Thus he also does not tell what we have mainly disputed. For that has been the dispute, E. C. F. G. Doctores have long disputed and written that free will adds nothing to a good work, it is entirely from God, and free will alone receives it, *habeat se pure passive et receptive tantum capax*. So that D. Luther writes in one place that a pious man does more good works when he sleeps than when he wakes; the Manichaeans considered this a heresy. For why do the monks have to get up at matins? And I presented so much that finally D. Carlstadt had to admit to me that free will also worked something in the good work, and would not only give completely from God; I was satisfied. And so, when D. Carlstadt fell from his and D. Luther's opinion (which probably disgraced some Wittenbergers), I let it be, and was satisfied.

76. then E. C. F. G., as they falsely pretend, so D. Carlstadt had to come to my side, after many disputes, so they pretend with untruth, I gave in to them. They also blasphemously write that I would have come home Pelagian if I had not denied them; I say that they have invented such things, and with the truth it will never be found; show me on the writing of the notaries that I have denied nothing. And pierce there with his venomous tongue, as if

if all Thomists, Scotists and Modernists were heretics, now 200 years ago; where were the fathers of his order, Egidius of Rome, Alphonsus, Thomas of Strasbourg, Gerardus of Senis, Jacobus of Appamis, Augustine of Ancon, Simon of Cassia, Hugolinus and others? Have they all been heretics, except for brother Luther? So, all preachers, all barefooted; for in Latin he alone excludes Gregory of Arimino. There E. C.F. G. sees what poisonous sacrilege is in the cowl.

Furthermore, they apologize, they want to write. Most gracious sir, I know well that they flee disputing; as, then, when Augustine speaks, is the heretic's way. By writing they mean to flourish the cause, and to revile the people, which pleases many a fool. Well then, write to me, I will pay you by the board, as I have now answered his poisoned hipsterish writing three times, to the epistle to Spalatinum, to the jad 1) against the pious honest man, Licentiate Hieronymus Emser, and to the articles, which the pious Barefooters have complained against some Lutherans, the Bishop of Brandenburg. I do not want to forget the halter on the barn [bear?]; if they want to make use of such pieces, see who gives the other the carnival larva. But if Doctor Luther does me an injustice, and saves the truth, that he says, because of honor I boast against D. Carlstadt, then I hold it, as he first said about it; it is also in the notary's writing, how much it has beaten.

78 For the sake of the convention that took place in Leipzig, that one should stand still and not leave anything out against each other, D. Luther wants to go to the disputation alone. In my opinion, he will go to the disputation alone, although I have heard otherwise; but writing letters alone has never been reported. And Doctor Luther shows me what he has recently done himself, before my letter, in a letter to Mr. Willibald Pirkheimer at Nuremberg, in which he boasts greatly and gives him credit, and in it reviles me after his damned manner. There he sees to it with his Memoria that mendax is memor.

1) Gejad - Hunt. - Eck's answer to Luther's letter to Spalatin (Document No. 380) is his *sxpui-Autio*; the second writing mentioned by him is his "Antwort für Emser wider Luthers tolle Jagd" (St. Louiser Ausgabe, Bd. XVIII, 910); the third one will be the one he let go out in the matter of the Minorites at Jüterbock against "Luthers Vertheidigung wider das böswillige Urtheil des Johann Eck". Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 4Lb.

Further, Doctor Luther writes that I, along with the Leipzigers, have forced him by force, against my own writing, seals, promises and first pact. Most gracious prince and lord, I say that such things were conceived with falsehood, and no pious person has ever accused me of it. For I have never thought otherwise than that those of Leipzig should judge, as my letters clearly state, so I wrote to my gracious lord, Duke Georgen 2c., the university and the faculty, also through my and from their notes. He will also never see the day that he shows me my letter, in which I have promised him something that is contrary to such a convention. So he does not have my seal on any letter either. It is certainly my opinion that the disputation should be opened to the whole world; but only after the verdict, as D. Carlstadt himself states in his epistle on the verdict well considered by Leipzig, and after that, when we have come there, he does not want to do it. Since E. C. F. G. recognizes who would not comply with his letter, I may well have E. G. as a judge.

80 It is equally false and fictitious that D. Luther writes. Luther writes that such a promise was made solely for the sake of fame, and so that we would raise judges at our own pleasure. I have shown before how they have been given the choice of all famous universities in German, French, France, Spain, England, two alone excluded. How can Luckmann say that we want to have judges of our liking, if I have not chosen any?

Brother Luther complains that I did not want to let the physicians, legists and artists judge at the universities, only the theologians and the canonists. It is a wonder that D. Luther also did not desire shoemakers and tailors, or that he would have brought it to a covenant day. So the matter is created, most gracious Lord, D. Luther would like to break out his insanity with the crowd, who would not understand the matter. But I have put it to the knowledge of the princely councils and the university, where they consider it reasonable that the physicians, legists 2c. should also judge, then I hate it to happen; but where they recognize this to be unreasonable, then they reject Luther from his unreasonable proceeding. But Luther did not want that to come to their judgment.

Caesar Pflug suggested my gracious lord, Duke Georgen, E. C. F. G. Cousin, whom we both accepted, and he also recognized that they should not be present, and that is how it is. Brother Luther speaks,

The angular truth fears the light. Is that feared, if I want to appear in so many universities in all Christendom? And if D. Luther confesses, as he said even more explicitly in Leipzig, that the theologians everywhere are against him, how would it be possible that he would be right, because he wants to be more learned than all the theologians in the world out of stubborn hope, and thus deceive himself and other people.

It lifts and moves on me D. Luther, I want to suffer only the theologians and canonists as judges; why did I want to suffer the sovereign prince Duke Georgen earlier? Most gracious sir, I still insist that the pious Christian prince would have had costs and much trouble with the disputation, together with his judges; I indicated before all, when I was asked, that the choice was with D. Luther. Luther, but if it were up to me, I would want my gracious Lord Duke George to decide on our disputation according to the advice of the scholars, and I would not give him any measure or form as to whom he should advise or send; H. F. G. would certainly know what was needed for the matter, much more than I would indicate. Therefore, there is no help for Luther, as I presumably know that my Lord Duke George 2c. will judge according to the advice of the theologians. That he still wants to have the whole university, by his cause and the high lordly prince's decision, his will can have no progress.

For the sake of two universities, he indicates that he had to let Basel go; this is one that I did not want to have; he also never reported it in the election. He does me an injustice with Freiburg, as is his custom. I have indicated how there are no more than three Doctores Theologiä, one is D. Luther's order, which I could not stand; with the other two I like it well. But I tell him beforehand that I am Doctor Freiburgensis, and that one Doctor, Johann Brisgoicus, was my promoter and preceptor. Luther now wanted to admit that [he] did not want to seek a plea for the sake of the sentence of the things, and that such would now be written out; therefore D. Luther fell on Paris.

Finally, when I excused D. Peter Burkhard against E. C. F. G., D. Luther made a fable out of it, and it had been a dream to me, so that I could clearly show how the people of Wittenberg had let this get to Mr. Caesar Pflug. The pious gentleman told me this himself; I give him more credence than twenty Lutherans. There are letters in the city in which D. Peter complains how he is suspected because of the booklet; thus

I have also read a letter in which someone from Wittenberg complains how he is suspected of having given me the booklet. Now go D. Luther goes there, and out of his presumption he says that I dreamed it.

Lastly, D. Luther does not like that I wrote that it would be quite praiseworthy, E. C. F. G., if they burned D. Luther's little books in a heap. Luther's books in a heap. He thinks it is not a respectable theological piece, not to see a book, and yet to condemn it to the fire. Most gracious prince and lord, I am still of the opinion more than before; for the little book is full of blasphemy, heresy, insanity, and quite seductive. But that he says: it is not honorable, if I have not seen it, I say: although I have not read it at that time, but I have seen the apples from the tree; as he read the argument from the booklet on the chair, I heard well what was in it, was enough for me to judge. As I complained about it on the first day of our disputation, as such is written out by the notaries.

Hereby, most gracious Lord and Elector, E. C. F. G. has true rejection of what D. Luther has invented against E. C. F. G., and I will make all this true and reject it, if E. C. F. G. desires it; and I still ask in all humility that you be at it, and not spare the expense, so that by scholars and by assembly Synodi provincialis D. Luther's teaching may be justified. Luther's doctrine be justified, so that if his doctrine is erroneous and contrary to the Christian faith, as I fully believe it to be, that it then be dismissed, so that the common man in Saxony is not deceived; for that would be a difficult thing for E. C. F. G. to answer for against God, and would obscure E. C. F. G.'s noble and widely renowned honor. Such errors looked licentious, but are evil to be rooted out, if they are a little.

But if it were found that Luther's teaching and doctrine were acceptable and not contrary to the holy faith, it would be strengthened. Luther's teaching and doctrine were acceptable, and not contrary to the holy faith, then the same would be promoted accordingly, and I and others would withdraw the spit. For God be my witness, and my soul's blessedness my pledge, that I am against Luther, for the sake of truth and Christian faith, and it is high time that this be done before the vermin get the upper hand. Please in all obedience, E. C. F. G. will not receive such letters from me in disgrace. For it would be a special pleasure for me to serve her; and E. C. F. G. long life, happy regiment from God, I will not forget. Also, I almost had to hurry, and hardly talked to the messenger,

that he has waited half a day for my sake, therefore E. C. F. G. can well respect the haste 2c. Date Ingolstadt, on the 8th of *November, gratias* 1519.

E. C. F. G.

subservient obedient chaplain

D. Eck.

That E. C. F. G. knowingly understands that D. Luther saves the truth, 1) in that he writes, they have not suggested Leipzig to me, so I send hiemit Copei D. Luther's letter.

According to the following copy of Document No. 359, Eck added:

Go now D. Luther, and concordire his letter to E. C. F. G. with the letter from his new theology or grammar.

F. On the condemnation of Luther's writings by the theologians at Cologne and Louvain.

420. action of the University of Leuven against Luther. 1520.

This writing, a description of the proceedings of the University of Louvain against Luther, appeared in quarto in 1520 under the title: *^cta Lcaclcmia" i-ovanonsis contra l,utūoruw* (compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, inset, p. 30). It is printed in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), tow. II, toi. 34d and in the Jena (1579), tow. I, toi. 464.

Translated into German.

Hail to the gentle reader!

What is happening now, I will gladly report, because it is important for everyone to know. Hieronymus Aleander has arrived these days, a very great man in his thoughts, not only because of the languages he understands excellently, since the Hebrew is his mother tongue and the Greek grew up with him, but he has learned Latin through the many years of 2) professorship, but he also appears wonderful because of the antiquity of his race, for he was born a Jew, and this people boasts of the fact that he is a Jew.

1) Not Luther, but Eck conceals the truth, namely that Luther had suggested Wittenberg as the place of disputation. Cf. appendix, no. 53.

2) Wittenberger: diutiua, Jenaer: divina; we have assumed the former. The latter would mean: through the spiritual state.

intemperately because of the ancient Abraham from whom it originated. But whether he was baptized is not known. This much is certain, that he is not a Pharisee, because he does not believe in the resurrection of the dead; for he does not live differently, as if he would perish completely with his body, and leaves all his evil desires in check. He is angry to the point of insanity, and rages at every opportunity. He is excessive in his presumption, of insatiable avarice, shameful and insatiable pleasure. He is an arch-slave of vain fame, though he is so paltry that he cannot gain fame by any competent writing, and too bad to do anything in a good cause.

But this is to know that his hypocritical apostasy to Christianity succeeded very well. For he has thus had the opportunity to praise his Moses and to belittle Christ's honor, which has begun to arise again in this century, when superstition and harmful human statutes have fallen. That is why he came the other day with papal letters, so that, as much as there is in him, he may spoil all that is good. Fare well.

This is what I wanted to announce to the readers.

Action of the University of Leuven against Luther. 1520.

Now the tyranny of the foolish and foolish people rages to the highest! Aleander publicly burned several books in the marketplace of Louvain by the common executioner and promoter on the very day that the king left Louvain, so that I can well say that it was done in the presence of the king. They wanted to do the same in Antwerp, but in vain. Hoogstraten has been reinstated in the office of inquisitor and threatens all who do not worship that animal. The theologians in Louvain threatened Dorpius publicly that they would expel him from the synagogue of the theologians if he did not recant the speech he had recently published in which he praised the science of languages.

The matter happened as everything tends to happen with theologians. The university has been summoned under oath to the rector's house, in which the university did not even have room. For the Rector Rosemundanus is ill, who now shows who he was before.

When the university was gathered to hear what the apostolic nuncios had to say, only two little bearded and feminine servants appeared to read the terrible bull that had been issued in Louvain.

with a copy, and say: Hold it against each other. 1) So they read the bull; sat there for two hours and the university judged only this much: the bull is now considered to be read.

The next day the theologians proceeded by deputies as if the whole university had done so, since Aleander had neither shown his authority, nor had the bull been examined by those who had to do it, nor had it been approved by all, as it should have been in such an important matter. Several books were burned in the marketplace, but everyone laughed about it.

On the day of Dionisii [Oct. 9], Edmundanus made a speech before the people that was worthy of him, that is, a mad and foolish one. He said more against Erasmus, who was present, than against Luther himself, with impudent lies. He said: Luther would have fallen into the terrible errors, because he would have been a lover of the innovation; while Luther took everything his own from Augustine, from Bernhardus, from Gerson, from the Cardinal of Cusa. He said: Erasmus would have fiercely supported Luther, although he never mixed in his cause, but only disapproved of the way in which they attacked him; by shouting against him among the unlearned, whom they did not want to or could not refute. And the like much, in that he went through the languages and the New Testament in a hidden way 2) at which almost all laughed.

The next Sunday he repeated the same and showed the bull to the people. Behold (he said) the seal! as if with it the bull was approved, if one showed its seal from afar. He also said, among other things, while taunting Erasmus: They will also be put to the stake if they do not stop; as if the bull was not enough. There was also an order from the Rector, which added many things that were not included in the bull: namely, that one should not sell books that were written to the disgrace of the university and honest men. This they opposed to the speech of Dorpius and Mosellanus.

7 The jurists have grumbled against it, who are now completely at odds with the theologians. Very few theologians appeared at a jurist's hearing. At his subsequent promotion to licentiate, no one but Dorpius and Erasmus appeared. For the theologians had

1) In the Wittmberger: contörrs instead of: contsrts.

2) Wittenberg: held:

The government banned the promotion of licentiates that very day, but they immediately appealed against it and showed that they could not defend themselves against it. However, they did not want to revoke their ban. In this, however, they conspired that no theologian should be present, except Dorpius, who had not been told about it. And they decided never to invite Erasmus to the solemn acts (*acta*). O a heavy revenge!

Who can admire the foolishness of the people enough? They have so foolishly and imprudently started such a terrible thing that could disrupt the whole world. It is known that in Rome the matter was handled without order, since the Cardinal of the Holy Cross and many others were very much against it. The bull that was hatched at Cologne and Louvain was printed before it was promulgated, and what was printed does not correspond at all to the bull that Aleander brought with him. The scholars who have read the bull affirm that there are many things in the bull that give rise to the suspicion that it was fabricated. The writing is entirely after the manner of the [monastic] brothers, and not at all after the Roman manner. There are many gross blunders in it; no one believes it to be correct but the theologians; it has never been examined; it also does not distinguish the errors of which it thinks.

9 Now see 1) also the executors of this excellent trade. The first was Cardinal Cajetan, about whom nothing is more proud and godless; and he is a preacher [monk]. He was followed by Carl von Miltitz, and by Marinus; 2) finally, he who is not ashamed of anything, the magniloquent Hieronymus Aleander, whom the common rumor, the face, the language and the faith clearly show to be a Jew, and whom the Jews also recognize for their own. It must always happen that Christians have to suffer from Jews. Thus a Jew incited Pope Julius to the ruin of the world. This is how Pfefferkorn at Cologne set Christendom into turmoil. Aleander, Judas' relative, surpasses his ancestors and should betray the cause of the Gospel by two or three pennies. He has already been found in Padua and Paris so in his life that he himself, who burns other people's books, is worthy of the fire. For he cannot be called a heretic who believes nothing at all. One has through one or the other the order from the ignorant or at least badly reported king.

1) Wittenberger: fide instead of: vide.

2) Marinus and Aleander came to Germany as papal nuncios at the same time as Eck.

3) to execute the bull, which was done, for example, by the arch-shalk Rimaclus.

Now let us also consider the origin of the matter. The thing has arisen first from the hatred against the languages and beautiful sciences against Reuchlin. It was all driven by the mad Hoogstraten and the at the same time mad and foolish Edmundanus. In addition, Latomus, the not unlearned but perverse Frenchman, has come; also the mendicant orders have joined in, all of them worried that they might be called to hunger or manual labor if the kingdom of the pope fell, through whom they now reign in idleness. It is not a theologian who by himself condemns all the articles mentioned in the bull, but, as Octavius, Lepidus, and Antony, when they wished to suppress the common liberty, joined their troops together, and so compared themselves that each of them should allow some to be killed to whom he was otherwise favorable: so also these have caused one another to condemn something, if only the one would also cause to be condemned something which he did not like to see, or found obstructive to his things. For the people of Louvain do not condemn what Luther hates most, namely, that the Pope's supreme authority is not divine right. And Turnhaut, since he set out to refute Luther's conclusions, testified that he wanted to leave this untouched. They thus sufficiently indicate that they hold with Luther in this, and yet have had it condemned in the bull. And there are some in Louvain who have opposed that some things should be condemned. Behold, there are but two universities, which have even conspired together, yet are not one.

(11) Since they also confess that in Thomas, Scotus, Peter Lombard, Augustine, and the rest there are all errors, the very ones they condemn in Luther, and yet are not offended by them, they sufficiently indicate that they do what they do out of hatred for Luther and not out of zeal for the faith, which the arch hypocrites, who love only themselves and want to rule alone, cannot have. No one has fraternally reminded, instructed or refuted Luther, who nevertheless wanted to be consecrated. Finally, they began to argue against Luther in the schools, but in such a way that the baccalaureates were not allowed to talk to a theologian who presented a reason that they could not refute. For they became very angry and held a concilium to expel him.

3) Instead of imxerturn in the editions will probably read inaxetratura.

Turnhaut and Latomus began to refute him in their lectures, but hardly finished two pieces, only that with the fools there would be a pretext, and in the meantime they did what we see now.

If it comes to the point that the theologians are free to say without reason and cause: this is wrong, this is heretical, this is offensive, then one can find something in all books to blaspheme in this way, and everyone who resents Hoogstraten will have to be held up to the fire. And the beautiful sciences and honest people will be handed over and betrayed to the will of an unlearned, foolish and malicious man. In his grandiose prefaces he promises the beautiful conclusions of reason, by which he wants to force us, we want or do not want, to obey. And soon after that he brings forward the executioner with his bundles of rods, he himself the executioner in the robe!

Everything that has been written against Luther so far is obviously mad and foolish. All of them hypocritical to the pope in the most shameful way. Among these, the first was Cardinal Cajetan, then Silvester Priérias, the third Thomas Todiscus, the fourth Augustine, a Minorite. For those of Leo will not (if I am not mistaken) expose their lumpiness to the light. Christ did not refuse to instruct the poorest rabble; but these will not instruct an honest and learned man. If all the bishops keep quiet about it, as some are doing now, it will finally come to the point that the mendicants will get the rule and go over their heads, and also exercise tyranny over them through the pope.

(14) Would anyone say, "But what will become of it? To resist the pope is a difficult thing. First of all, it is best to believe that all this happened without the knowledge, or at least without a sufficient report, of the pope. Question Aleander properly, and he will be found to be a wicked Jew! If one examines the bull rightly, one will find it fraudulent! Even if it came from the pope, one should not have proceeded immediately until the pope had been better informed; otherwise it is to be feared that great noise will arise from it in Christendom.

Luther can soon be removed from the book halls, but not so easily from the hearts of the people, if his indissoluble reasons are not refuted and the pope does not present the opposite with testimonies of the Scriptures. The world has been deceived long enough; it wants to

have now henceforth right knowledge. And there are enough people who can be drawn by truth, but cannot be frightened with dazzle. Truth cannot be suppressed, although Luther is suppressed. 1)

421 The doctrinal condemnation of Luther's books by some magistri nostri at Louvain and Cologne with Luther's response to it.

In October 1518, a collection of Luther's writings had been published by Johann Frobenius in Bafel, which seemed to the theological faculty in Louvain to be "annoying and harmful to the church of Christ" already at first sight. For this reason, the faculty immediately prohibited the sale of this book at the University of Louvain in 1518, but saw itself compelled to take further steps because, despite this prohibition, the book was read all the more eagerly and Luther's followers increased. In February 1519, a second, increased edition of the book was published. They sent it through a baccalaureate to the theological faculty in Cologne for review, and only a few days later, on August 30, 1519, the faculty passed its verdict of condemnation. The Löweners took a little more time. Allegedly "in order not to rely on their own wisdom," they turned to the bishop of Liège, to whose jurisdiction they belonged, but in fact to find out the position of the bishop, who was suspected of leaning toward Luther (compare the 166th document). To the three magistrates who were sent to him, he gave the assurance "on his priestly word" that he had not seen Luther's writings, let alone read them, and advised the faculty to turn to the Bishop of Tortosa, Cardinal Adrian, for an expert opinion before publishing their verdict. The latter had formerly been a member of this faculty, and later became Pope, the successor of Leo X. Now, on November 7, 1519, the Faculty decreed a verdict of condemnation identical to that of Cologne, also to the effect that the books were to be burned, but that the author was to be ordered to recant. This was sent to Cardinal Adrian for review, who gave a favorable reply on December 4. These three documents appeared in quarto under the title: Lpistola Uini. Oni. oarck. OortiEn. ack kacmUateni tkooloZiao Qovanion86ln. Oinsclorn kaoultati8 ckootrinali8 eonckoinnatio, Hna oonckoinnatur cloetrina Martini QutUori, ckootoris tkeoloAiao univ8itati8 Mittende rM. Conckoinnatio kaoultati8 tkooloZio Colonien, ackvor8U8 oinsclorn Martini cloatrinam with the imprint: DX6U8UIN Qovanii apncl DUeockoriouni Martinrn Ho8ten8ern. ^n. Ml)XX. Men8. kedruarii. Luther sent this writing to Spalatin on March 19, 1520, and at the same time told him that he was busy with the answer to it; on March 25, he wrote to Seligmann that the printing would be finished the next day, and on March 27 his writing was sent. Before it, the aforementioned writings of the opponents were printed. The first edition has the title: Conckoninatio 6oatrinaii8 likrorn Martini Imttiori, per ^nosckarn MaZistro8

1) This is followed in the Wittenberg edition by a mocking poem on Aleander.

nostros l'onia, L Colonia, kaota. Responsio l-uttieriuna ad eando oondeinnntione. VnitonbeiM6, apud Nelollioiin l-ottlieruw luniorena, Ximo N.V.XX. 16 leaves in quarto. At the end: Vuitten1*6rZU6, Xnno doinini iVlillosirno (^niiiMntesiino ViMsimo. The Weimar edition also gives the same titles of five reprints. In all the Latin collective editions of Luther's works, the opposing writings precede Luther's reply in the order given above, namely in the Wittenberg (1551), toru. II, toi. 36d; in the Jena one (1579), torn. I, toi. 465 b; in the Erlanger, opp. vur. ur^., t<W9. IV, x". 176; in the Weimar, vol. VI, p. 174 and in Adam Petri's D. Lurrtioi Qutberi iuoubrutionuro purs unu. 1520 M6H86 duio, p. 363 (reprinted: 361). Only the opposing writings, Latin in chronological order, has Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 848. Walch, too, has arranged these same writings chronologically before Luther's reply; we have retained this. Only Luther's answer has been newly translated according to the Weimar edition, the other pieces have been improved according to it.

Translated into German.

a. The condemnation of the teachings of Brother Martin Luther by the theological faculty of Cologne. August 30, 1610.

To all and everyone who will see or hear our present letter, we, the Dean and the Faculty of Sacred Theology of the University of Cologne, send our heartfelt greetings.

(2) Although all believers in all places are bound to help in the common defense of the faith, not only with their goods, but also with the loss of their own lives, those are especially bound to do so before others, who are appointed by the church as public teachers and are considered masters of sacred theology, all of whom (as the Scripture says [Hohel. 3,8.]) should wear their sword on their hip, because of the fear in the night, namely the errors and heresies, which often grow up in the church at times when the people are asleep, in that the devil sows all weeds through evil and false Catholic people. Because a few days ago the venerable and highly learned gentlemen, dean and faculty of the sacred theology at the high lordly university of Louvain, our confreres, out of zeal for the faith, sent us through their own messenger, a baccalaureate of theology, a book printed under the name of a brother, Martin Luther, and demanded that we, out of love, go through and examine the very same book, which they had heard was offensive to the ears of many believers in Christ, and would bring new, unusual, unheard-of, and harmful doctrines and errors of faith to the readers, and, if it deserved such, condemn it by our judgment as teachers: then we have justly, so sacredly

The request and demand of our confreres, to read the aforementioned book, which contains four hundred and eighty-eight pages, 1) according to the number printed on it, has been entrusted to some of our magisters.

(3) And because we have found it clear after its examination that, as far as the matters and things treated by the brother Martin Luther, which he (as they say) published, are concerned, it contains many errors in faith and life, and doctrines that are not at all in agreement with the holy teachers, and in particular

4. disparaging man's works that are holy and worthy of eternal life, and adding guilt to them as if they did not happen without sin,

5. to pervert the holy scriptures and the sayings of the holy fathers and turn them to a harmful mind,

6. destroy the sacrament of penance with harmful teachings and introduce annoying errors of repentance,

7. of the confession against the general church old doctrine wrong council introduce,

8. to abolish all satisfaction that is due for mortal sins that have been remitted, in that God (as he says) also remits the deserved punishment to the one to whom he remits the mortal guilt,

9. to stubbornly reject the treasure of indulgences, which not only the decrees of the Fathers from ancient times, but also the holy Conciliarities, have approved, for impious and unjust reasons, by propositions that are completely ungodly and blasphemous against the saints and their merits,

10. about the punishments of purgatory and the state of the souls after this life. The author of this book has spread abominable errors for vain motives, namely, that in purgatory no soul suffers anything for mortal sins, but only for venial sins; that the souls in purgatory love God in a sinful and unjust way, and sin without ceasing, and seek their own more than the fulfillment of the divine will, which (as he says) is contrary to love; that the dead are almost as well able as the living to deserve eternal life,

(11) Likewise, against the prerogative and sovereignty of the Roman Church over the other churches on earth, erroneous propositions that were condemned as heretical long ago have been reinstated.

1) The Weimar edition notes: Only the collection of Luther's Latin writings published by Johann Frobenius in Basel in February 1519 can be meant, although the faculties were mistaken about the number of pages.

The pope, who is a disgrace to the faithful of Christ, publicly disrespects the Holy Apostolic See and is angry with it in the eyes of the world; disgracefully belittles the authority of the pope, since he can only issue canonical or arbitrary punishments, but none due to sin according to divine justice, by the power given to him by God, because (as he says) to issue such punishments would be as much as to change divine law, to annul God's commandment, and to be a wicked adversary of God,

12. and much more, which is just as annoying, even more harmful and corrupting:

Therefore, last Tuesday, the thirtieth of August, after all and sundry had been duly called together, we unanimously judged and doctrinally discerned in our public assembly, after use, in the monastery of the preaching brethren, after previously held mature counsel and deliberation:

14. that the said book, which is full of such great aversions, errors, and heresies condemned already in ancient times as harmful to the unity of the faithful, is rightfully to be taken away, its use to be forbidden, it to be forbidden and suppressed, yes, to be publicly burned with fire by those who have a right to look at it, and its author is to be reasonably urged to a public recantation. For the authentication and further confirmation of which we have added this judgment by our sworn notary to the said book, and have ordered it to be marked with the seal of our faculty (as well as this letter of ours), and to be attached to it. Given and done Cologne, in the year of Christian salvation 1519, the thirtieth of August 1), by me Henrich von Vorda from Cologne, sworn public notary and above-mentioned University of Cologne sworn Bedell.

b. The doctrinal condemnation of Martin Luther's teachings by the theological faculty of Louvain. November 7, 1519.

To all and everyone who will see and hear our present letter, we, the Dean and the Faculty of Sacred Theology at the University of Louvain, send our heartfelt greetings!

2. although all Christians call themselves by Christ, by whom they have sworn,

1) Walch has here the 29th of August, likewise in his introduction to the 18th volume, p. 69. But it should be the "thirtieth of August". According to this, our information recorded by Walch, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 29 b, is to be corrected.

If they are bound to defend the faith and the holy doctrine, it is certain that those who are even more bound to do so as professors of holy theology are even more obliged to do so. For these are to be mighty in deed and in word, that they may punish the gainsayers by the holy doctrine, and stand as a wall against it for the house of Israel. Therefore, in order to fulfill this duty to the best of our ability, we took care that in the past year 2) a certain book by Brother Martin Luther, a doctor (as they say) of the University of Wittenberg, which at first sight seemed annoying to us and harmful to the church of Christ, as much as it is to us, would not be sold publicly at our university. But since experience has shown that this would not be enough, but that the book and its author have many patrons and defenders, who say that the teaching of this book is quite Christian, by whose advice and reputation many of the simple accept this book all the more eagerly, and are turned away from the integrity that is in Christ, it has seemed necessary to us to use our judgment.

3. We have therefore found, after careful and diligent examination, that the said book, which contains ninety-five theses with their explanations and the answers against Silvester Prierias, Master of the Holy Palace, likewise a sermon on penance, one on excommunication, one on indulgences, one on the preparation for the Lord's Supper, 3) besides a great disparagement of philosophy and of all teachers who have been around for 400 years, also contains many false, annoying, heretical and heresy-smelling sentences, such as the following:

4. that a good work, however well done, is only a venial sin. 4)

(5) Likewise, when he says that in all good works the saints do less than they ought, and that no saint in this life is without sin

2) According to the words "in the previous year", the edition of Luther's writings published by Frobenius in October 1518 is to be understood in any case, although they used the edition of February 1519 when writing the verdict of condemnation, because in that edition the sermo de prusaputione HäeueNaristiani mentioned here is missing.

3) The pratzoeptorium is to be understood as Luther's writing: "Die zehn Gebote, dem Volk zu Wittenberg gepredigt", Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. III, 1132 ff. from which several of the condemned sentences are taken.

4) Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1227. vol. III, 1187. - We have taken these references from the Weimar edition. For the sake of brevity, we have not added "St. Louis edition" each time in the following.

He concludes that the merits of the saints are nothing, nor do they help anything, but they help us who have been idle: so he wants to make it clear that there are no merits of the saints that can be shared with us, indeed, the saints themselves need the pardoning grace.

(6) Not content with simply saying this, he added these words: "And that I may be bold for once, I testify that not only do I not doubt what I have said, but I am also ready to suffer fire and death for it, and to declare all those heretics who teach otherwise. 1)

7 Likewise: The indulgence is nothing else than a remission of the punishment imposed at the discretion of the priest or the penitential canones; of which (canones) he himself also admits that, if they were not used (per non usum), they would thereby be abolished. 2)

8 Likewise, he spreads errors about the sacrament of penance, such as that man cannot even have the desire to seek forgiveness without God's grace, which first remits guilt. 3)

9) Likewise, that it is a heretical opinion, according to which one says that the sacraments of the new law give the justifying grace to those who do not put a bar; 4) he also explains this elsewhere about baptism.

(10) Concerning repentance, he gives this advice: If you want to confess, consider first of all what you would do if there were no commandment of confession, and whether you would then confess, repent, or do penance. If you do not find yourself doing this, know that you are not repenting out of love of righteousness, but only out of habit and fear of the commandment. 5)

(11) Likewise, since Christ's word is held to be true [Matt. 16:19], "All things thou shalt loose," 2c., faith is more required in sacramental absolution than repentance, and [faith] alone is enough, so be it with repentance. So much, he says, have you than you believe, and adds, I put the case, though it is not possible that he who has confessed has no repentance, or that the priest absolves not in earnest, but in jest.

If he believes that he is counted out, he is truly counted out. And further on he says: Therefore the confessor is to be asked more whether he believes that he is absolved, than whether he has true repentance. 6) Likewise, he says the same of the one who wants to go to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the sermon on the preparation for the Lord's Supper.

12) He also rejects the way of inquiring the conscience against C. quem poenit. and the Canon of the General Council in C. omnis utriusque sexus, de poenit. et re. 7)

13. confession: it is not necessary to confess all mortal sins, because it is impossible for you to know all mortal sins; but no one is required to do impossible things. Whereby he adds that they alone confessed the public mortal sins in the first church, according to the words of Paul [Gal. 5:19 ff.], "Revealed are the works of the flesh."

14 And of sloth he says: I do not know whether it is a vice that must be confessed; I do not think so, because it is a spiritual defect that must be revealed to God alone, who alone can help you. Similarly, elsewhere he says: "Although it is not necessary to confess to the priest, if you have not excused your brother, who has been accused, implicated with false testimony, and oppressed by hypocrisy or slander, thinking that it would be enough if you had not done such things yourself. But before God you will certainly be guilty of such ungodly silence that you did not use your tongue, which was given to you for your brother's need. 8)

But of satisfaction he says that God does not require punishment when the guilt is forgiven, that the priest can take it away or reduce it, because such a punishment, which is due according to divine justice, does not exist, or if there is one, man cannot take it away, which (he says) would be as much as changing divine right. 9)

16. speaking of the commandments of god, he says: god binds man to the impossible, and because the divine commandment holds us to have no tinder of sin, we always sin because we have such tinder and cannot get rid of it in this life.

1) Cf. vol. XVIII, 232 ff. Vol. III, 1342, Vol. XVIII, 260.

2) Cf. vol. XVIII, 170 p.

3) Cf. vol. XVIII, 119.

4) Cf. vol. XVIII, 127. vol. X, 1230.

5) Cf. vol. X, 1224.

6) Cf. vol. X, 1229 f. Vol. XII, 1346; Vol. XVIII, 125 f.

7) Cf. vol. XII, 1346 ff.

8) Cf. vol. XII, 1226 f. Vol. III, 1352. 1340.

9) Cf. vol. XVIII, 112 f. and the following letter of Cardinal Adrian, ? 5.

(17) Likewise, that all the children of Adam are idols. And further on: If we kept this commandment, there would be no hope, that is, no root of sin, no beginning of sin, and consequently no sins, but peace, beloved. To which he adds, "Which is not to be hoped for in this life, therefore we must always remain sinners and transgressors of this commandment, and are blessed only through this sacrifice, that we recognize and do not deny such transgression. 1)

18 Likewise, he says that the moral virtues and sciences that are in human knowledge are sins and errors in sinners, because they necessarily come from an evil heart that grace has not yet healed. 2)

(19) And many other things he adds here and there, which are equally or even more inconsistent and erroneous. Likewise, he adds various suspicious and dangerous propositions about purgatory, such as that the souls in purgatory find it without interruption, that they have a shudder before the punishment and seek rest. 3) And in order to confirm his erroneous propositions, he drags the sayings of the Scriptures to his wrong sense; in the same way, he falsifies and twists the sayings of both the old and the new teachers.

(20) Therefore we hold that this book and all its writings, in which these and similar things are written, are to be condemned. Therefore, we also doctrinally condemn such book and writings as harmful to the congregation of believers, contrary to true and wholesome doctrine, and deem them to be put away and burned with fire, and the author to be ordered to recant and abjure them. In witness whereof we have caused the present letter to be executed and sealed by the notary public named below, and with the attached seal of our theological faculty to be preserved. Thus done in Louvain of the Liège district, in the collegiate church of St. Peter in Louvain, in the lower collegiate town there, in the year of Christ 1519, in the seventh indiction, November 7, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning. Of the Pabbacy of our most holy in Christ Father and Lord, Lord Leo, by divine providence the tenth Pabst [of that name], in the seventh year.

By order of the Lords, the Dean and the other Magistri nostri of the said Faculty, Johann von Hove, Notarius.

c. The letter of Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, to the theological faculty of Louvain, in which he approves of their proceedings. The

December 4, 1519.

To the respectable and worthy Magistris nostris, the Dean and the Faculty of Theology in

Lions, as friends and brothers, wishes 4) their friend and confrere Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, Hail!

Worthy and respectable Magistri nostri, beloved friends! I received your letter of November 7 on the 26th of the same month, in which you clearly show what love you bear for Christ and what zeal you have for his most holy faith. I have seen the errors which the masters of sacred theology have noted from various writings and little books of Luther and which you have sent to me, which in truth seem to me to contain such gross and palpable heresies that hardly an apprentice of theology, who has only just begun to study it, could have done so and stumbled; and in this he proves himself especially to be a heretic, that he pretends to be ready for fire and death for it: he is ready to suffer fire and death for it, and that he may declare all who believe the contradiction to be heretics.

I will pass over the causes by which all the articles might be shown to contain heresy, so as not to make many words in such an obvious matter.

I am very surprised that such a man, who so obviously and stubbornly errs in faith and spreads his heresies everywhere, is not only allowed to err with impunity, but also to draw others into the most harmful errors with impunity.

4. You certainly do commendably and well that you counter the poisonous teachings of man (as much as there is in you) by opposing them with the antidote of a doctrinal condemnation, so that his errors do not also ensnare you, or you will not become guilty before God of the souls that are lost through his wrong doctrine, as would happen if you did not expose such doctrine to falsity and ruin through your judgment and through revelation of the truth to the world, according to the word of our Savior [Luc. 11:23], "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth."

1) Cf. vol. XVIII, 348. vol. III, 1341 f.IS58f.ai90.

2) Cf. vol. III, 1186 f.

3) Cf. vol. XVIII, 158.

4) U.?. V. can be resolved either by Lxoptat klurimum Vaternv, or by Lt katribus VouSraucilis.

5) Wittenberger: "16."

(5) But above all you must take care that in your condemnation, when you make it known, you do not let any word be put differently than the author himself has written it; as in the article of satisfaction 1) instead of: *immutare* or *mutare* [change the divine right] has been put: *imitare jus divinum* [imitate divine right], (as I believe) by error of the writer, as if 2) man also could not by divine power annul a liability which has sprung from divine and natural right:: 3) then vows, oaths, and other things could never be dispensed with, for any cause whatsoever that would make the assumed obligation dissolvable. This is obviously wrong and against all church statutes.

I am not writing anything else now, because of very big business. God grant that I may soon be able to talk more extensively orally with your dignity about these and other things! In the meantime, however, I will not fail to assist the faith that is in danger, in the things that can happen and be decreed by me in these evil times. May God make your reverends well at all times, and may they commend me to the Lord in their prayers. From Pavia, December 4, 1519.

d. Martin Luther's answer to the articles which the *Magistri nostri* of Louvain and Cologne have published in the Explanations and Theses on Indulgences. and their assertion stripped and condemned as heretical. The March 26, 1520.

To the respectable Mr. Christoph Blank, 4) of both rights Licentiate, to his in Christ [beloved friend] Hail!

I send you, most respectable friend, the doctrinal destroyers of Luther's teaching, namely the Löwen and Cologne theologians. If I were to say that I am not moved by their unfortunate actions, I would be staining my conscience with a great lie. For that which these same two universities reproach Reuchlin with before others,

I have attributed this to chance or to a certain temporal fate of men, or at most to the human condition, according to which it is necessary, as is said in Proverbs, that all once commit a folly, by which they have brought themselves great disgrace, exposed the whole theological name to the greatest ridicule, and caused all universities irreparable damage to their credibility, reputation and esteem. But since I see that they, not only not amused by this evil, but have even become angrier (be it in order to restore their honor, or to excite a still greater mourning), undertake to condemn even the express sayings of the holy Scriptures, even their own, I can assume nothing else than that the wrath of God has finally come upon them, as the apostle [1 Thess. 2, 16.] says of the Jews. Moved by this fear, I am compelled to lament these people, who are as it were desperate and lost, because of the danger to the entire Christian people, who must have these unfortunate magistrates as leaders of their lives everywhere.

It is said that the gospel of Christ must not be preached among the Turks. But if these doctrinal condemnations should stand their insolence and such presumptuous pomposity, what tyranny of the Turks could be compared with this? For, I pray you, what cause do they bring for this condemnation of mine, since I have fortified mine with so many scriptures? Or what does this condemnation contain but this water bubble of the most hopeful insolence: we are the highly respectable *magistri nostri* and theologians of the high university; all that we say is gospel, all that we condemn is heresy? If this is the way to condemn, to set, to teach, why do we not, after the Gospel and all the Scriptures are destroyed, go to Louvain or Cologne to hear what the *magistri nostri* either race in fever, or let them give us a new Alcoran after the example of the Turk instead of both Testaments? For who can even imagine what use the Holy Scriptures are if it is necessary to believe the *Magistris nostris* without them? Thereby I am moved to the highest

1) In § 15 of the previous writing, Col. 1343.

2) quin 8i for qun8i.

3) About this passage, Luther wrote to Spalatin on March 26, 1520: He writes in an exceedingly ungodly manner that divine and natural law are in the power of a man who uses divine authority. Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 685.

4) In the Jena l'raneo instead of Llaneo.

to believe that the Antichrist either already reigns or will reign soon, since these people begin to exalt themselves above the Word of God, while no heretic has ever presumed such foolishness, 'nor even until this time has the devil dared to do anything in the Church without the Word of God, which nowadays both the popes and the magistri nostri presume to do with such great tyranny (but under the name of the holy church, soon the Roman, soon the Catholic, soon the representative, 1) soon the doctrinal), so that they immediately condemn with a thousand heretic names the one who should deny that they have acted rightly, yes, out of God's power, and condemn him to both fire, the temporal and the eternal. But even so, nowhere can people be seen who stand up and hold the Lord (as Isaiah says [Cap. 64, 7]) and mitigate these terrible abominations of divine wrath with bloody tears.

I, who had directed the impetuosity of my spirit against Eck and Eck's followers, am so broken and changed by this miserable and cursed condemnation that I would rather weep than write anything. Now I no longer boast of the profit of the persecution. I thought it was human iniquity, which is God's wrath, and a wrath so great that not only behest greatness and quantity is not recognized, but also as grace and mercy (alas, the wretched Adam children of this time) is most persistently and forcibly praised and glorified through the death and destruction of many. O, a worthy reward for our ingratitude!

But I want to have said this as if this condemnation was in fact that of the theologians of Louvain and Cologne, then also the letter of the Cardinal of Tortosa, whatever it may be about this man. For my nose senses some deception and, as they speak, a strong suspicion that this Cardinal is a pretended one (*personatum*), not as if I wanted to attribute something to a Cardinal's hat that is far from a human being,

1) The "representative" church is understood to mean the Collegium of Cardinals. Compare Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 361.

that is, the truth of God, but that the manner of speech used suggests something other than a cardinal. I also do not yet know sufficiently whether it is to be believed that there are theologians somewhere who should be so completely nonsensical that they take no account, neither of what is proper, nor of things, nor of words; then condemn with naked words everything that they like, especially since I have been informed by letters that have been addressed to me from there, 2) that this condemnation has not been made with the consent of all of the faculty of Louvain.

However the matter may be, it must be answered, and first of all the magistris nostris, whether real or pretended, must be deprived of the impudence in speaking judgments, and it must be shown how great, strong reasoning is necessary, so that one can believe those who have rarely judged well, but have frequently and almost always made evil pronouncements, so that they may cease to think that their condemnations have been in the essential substance (*in materia naturali*), which have rather been in the accidental (*in contingenti*) and still more frequently in the remote (*in remota*), so that I too may make use of something of them [in the way of speaking]. Yes, since according to the rule of law he who is once evil is presumed to be always evil, any magistris nostris will nowhere, never, and in no matter be to be believed, whose judgment has been known for many years to have been not only inconstant and precipitate, but also erroneous, heretical, sacrilegious, and blind, whom no one should believe but he of whom God in His wrath commands to be heard through powerful errors. To prove this matter, examples must be given.

Was not William Occam, without doubt the most distinguished and astute of the scholastic teachers, rejected, condemned, banished, expelled from all synagogues, especially those in Paris, and declared quite worthless to be read, by the judgment of so-

2) This refers to a letter of Dorpius mentioned in Luther's letters to Spalatin of March 26, 1520. Walch, alte Aus., vol. XXI, 684.

of the popes as well as of very many theologians? But what a fickleness is this, that they let the damned rule in Paris and in the best schools today! Or why do the doctrinal reprobates not condemn him to the fire? Why do they like the falsehood they once disliked? Or do the *magistri nostri* presume that they are not made by the eternal truth, but that they make the truth according to the time, as the Romans once arrogated to themselves the arbitrariness as to which gods should be worshipped?

Then, how many articles has the school of Paris condemned, which it has recanted anew and defended as quite true! Or who does not know how the articles of Paris have become a proverb, since the English say: they do not go over the sea; the Italians: not even over the mountains; the Germans: not even over the Rhine, as it is said of the reputation of St. Thomas that it does not go out of the monastery fence of the preaching monks and is not quite safe even in it? Who should not laugh, therefore, that these articles of condemnation of the Louvain and the Cologne, who have so often erred hitherto, dare to go naked and unarmed even across the Elbe?

With how great a noise have the propositions of John Picus, Count of Mirandola, been condemned, only so that the highly respectable *Magistri nostri* received that their errors were right! But who is there nowadays who does not admire them, except for some old sophists who gnaw away in their corner in raging silence, whom nevertheless, after the truth has been recognized, no matter how obstinate they are, no doctrinal reprobate considers to be heretics, sacrilegious and erroneous people? And yet they do not fear that, after this example, they will again run up against the same truth.

Laurentius Valla, either (in my opinion) a remaining spark or a new tinder of the first church, - which of the theologians and the popes would not have liked that he would be destroyed? This man is also blasphemed as completely unlearned by those who would not have been worthy to give him a night harness in one respect only.

while meanwhile their books like the *Chrysopassus* 1) or the glassy or rather icy nullities, compared to the books of this man, are a complete disgust. But now Laurentius is such a man and becomes more so every day, whose equal neither Italy nor the whole Church has had in many centuries, not only in every kind of doctrinal subject (*disciplinarum*) (which no highly respectable *Magister noster* has yet accomplished), but also in constancy and unfeigned! zeal for the Christian faith. What did the condemnation not only of the doctrinal condemners, but also the proven condemnation of the proven people (*autenticorum autentica*) achieve here, but that it made a mockery of itself and glorified this man more?

After these Johann Reuchlin, on whom (by God's providence) the theologians of five universities have been caught, what they hold, what they have in mind, what the doctrinal bastards seek. And it is not hidden that the people of Louvain and Cologne, moved by the awareness of this disgrace, which they received from Reuchlin, seek the restoration of their honor through this new story (*fabula*) to Luther, since they were proven perpetrators of that, not only doctrinal, by burning his books; Now that the matter is quite badly arranged, they are somewhat broken, since they have remained neither doctrinal nor proven, and pose with fictitious humility as if they were only doctrinal, hoping that they will also come out of it as proven. But by their crude cunning and their unhappily restored honor, they make it so that henceforth I will more easily join a godly and simple-minded layman, who condemns or approves, than all such *magistris nostris* of Louvain and Cologne as a whole, even if they were assembled into a unity by a general sign of war, personally, absolutely and essentially presupposed, expanded, limited, named, interpreted and explained.

Far be it from me to respect their condemnation even in the slightest, since they are

1) The *Chrysopassus* is a book by Eck, which first appeared in 1514. Luther's verdict on it is found in St. Louis, Vol. XVIII, 695.

have not only once been invented as such obstinate and public enemies of the truth and burners of harmless books. Yes, it has come about that, after the light of truth has been absorbed by God's mercy, and the Jews have been cast out and the pagans accepted, the large number of citizens, the craftsmen, and indeed the further they are from the studies of these magisters, judge all the more correctly and more certainly of Christian things than the theologians, the doctrinal reprobates, and the Lord has again separated that what was not a people should be a people, and Israel should not be Israel, the theologians should not be theologians, the popes should not be popes, and he lets those blow themselves out with the quite trivial name, but lets these rejoice in the whole fullness of the thing. And so we see it happening before our eyes, yes, we can grasp it with our hands, and yet the highly respectable Magistri nostri do not yet fear God, the people with iron neck and iron forehead, the wretched and mournful people.

I pass over the one of Wesel, 1) Faber Stapulensis, and that ram hanging with the horns in the thorn bush, the Erasmus, 2) and many others besides these. For what has ever come forth of excellent spiritual gifts and learning that these lazy drones have not immediately attacked? as it is written, "His food is sweet," likewise of the same Behemoth, Job 41:9, 25: "His eyes are like the eyelids of the dawn, he despises all that is high," and that in Proverbs, Envy touches the high.

Now see, whoever will, through the histories and tell, if he can, that ever even one of these magisters was overcome by the weapons of God and the salutary teaching with which Paul commanded to destroy the fortresses and heights that had been

against the knowledge of God. If they, I say. I will allow them to infer the general from a particular piece with reverse dialectics, to make summer out of a warm day, and conclude: We have won once by the Scriptures, therefore we never err, even if they begin with the Concilium at Constance, at whose time the reputation of the heretical judges and the magistrates was most tyrannical. They have never acted on the basis of reason or testimony [from Scripture], but according to the sense of their head and their opinions, or at most with decrees decreed by men, so that it is obvious to all that these unfortunate men are not suddenly carried away by their judgment, but by mere audacity, nor are they angered by falsehood, but are inflamed by novelty, of which they afterwards, when the rage has gradually subsided, also acknowledge that it was true.

The way they overcame John Hus and Jerome of Prague at the Costnitz Concilium is sufficiently known and admitted, not to mention the letter of Florentine Poggius, and also the extremely strong rumor, which neither all popes nor all universities can dampen, since even the Magistri nostri privately talk to each other about it.

I think that these examples show superfluously how great fear is necessary for the condemning magistrates and how anxiously they should strive; that the terrible and wonderful judgments of God are not far from their face, as it is written about the ungodly, especially since they see that they have so often run to the most shameful and have suppressed the truth, so that they are not finally taken for apostles of the Antichrist after their iniquity and their ungodliness. But I am very surprised that the theologians of Louvain and Cologne, who are always the first to enter the battle line of iniquity before the theologians of all universities, are not put to shame by these examples and consider all other people to be such senseless lumps that they do not think of the fact that their ignorance and iniquity are the apostles of the Antichrist.

1) VuesalikM (not Vnssslurn, which the Erlanger offers). "Luther means Johann Ruchrath of Wesel, not Johann Wessel of Groningen" (Weim. Ausg.). - Only the Basel edition has the correct reading apart from the Weimar one.

2) At that time, he had to endure various hostilities and objections from the Löwen theologians. Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 29b.

The people of the city are so disgracefully stinking everywhere that no other university, no matter how small it may be, has less reputation and respect. But (as I have said) this is God's wrath, which has struck them with blindness and nonsense, as it has hardened and made thick the heart of Pharaoh.

But let us assume, my dear Christoph, that all the judgments of the highly respectable magisters have so far been sound, correct and confirmed with God's word, and let us meanwhile put out of sight the great confidence and audacity or impudence with which they have so far acted more like robbers than that they have been proven by scholarship and dignified conduct. But let us come to my cause. If they had found me in error, they could have dealt with me in two ways, either according to love or according to Christian law.

It would have been in accordance with love if they had advised the people in this way when they published their note: "Dear brothers, do not be offended by Luther's writings; many things he said in a disputatious manner, some things he perhaps said too subtly for everyone's understanding to grasp. Even the holy scripture has its dangerous parts, how much more the scripture of a man. This rule of love, I say, even of natural right, they would no doubt have me keep against them in a similar case; this I would also do, if, as is their custom, I took care not to attack both the doctrine and the name of anyone. For I have never called anyone by name as often as I have attacked doctrines. In doing so, they would have done neither harm to me nor to the truth, but would have benefited everyone in the best possible way, and would have brought honor and love to God and man.

But who should not now hate these masters of the nations, who teach others, but do not teach themselves and make the saying in the gospel true [Luc. 4,23.]: "Physician, help thyself!" in that they, more morbid than capable of judgment, suddenly fall into the violation of love and natural right and, as the gospel says [Matth. 7,3.],

take heed to the mote that is in mine eye, and are not aware of the beam thereof; and [Matt. 23:24] they swallow cameos, but they feed gnats? But who has ever written or spoken so purely that it has not given room to the deceitfulness of the envious to twist? If they bring such a raging with them when reading the holy scripture, which syllable in the same will not be heretical? Is this what the magistri nostri learn in so many years, with so many costs, with so many worries in Louvain and Cologne, that they become astute slanderers in the books of others and, if there is no opportunity for slander, violent distortionists? What do you think I would be able to do with their dialectics, philosophy, theology, i.e. the larvae of human conceits, if I wanted to use only the tenth part of the same kind? Or which angry whore would not surpass the highly respectable Magistri nostri also in this art?

See, therefore, how their dialectics, philosophy, and theology are stagnant with errors, nay, are a kind of swamp of errors, how cheap, how amiable interpreters they are against each other, in such a degree that they would rather honor the sayings of the exceedingly godless Aristotle, the renounced public enemy of truth, as much as they are contrary to Christ, are always honored by an interpretation that is willing to serve, would rather expose Christ to shame and all his altars than not cover this pagan, the executioner of souls, and his disgrace entirely in purple and gold. And they treat me, a Christian brother, who was dragged into the public by my imprudence and foreign violence, in such a way that they not only do not clothe me where I am naked, but rather deal with me in such a way that, even where I am very well equipped and fortified, they uncover me and expose my shame by their exceedingly fine doctrines.

So much of love.

Now the way of right would have been that, according to Christ's command [Matth. 18, 15.], they would have reminded the sinning brother beforehand, even if I had let persistence be seen, since there are twelve hours of the day, in private letters-

as they did against Reuchlin, so that I would either explain myself, or improve myself, or give up my stubbornness. This they would undoubtedly have wanted me to do against them; then, in obedience to the commandments of the gospel, if I had not heard them, they could have done what follows.

But now, without sparing God and men, they dare to boast that they are driven by zeal for the faith against me, as if it were possible that one could believe that the Holy Spirit is with his despisers. This they should rather have feared, lest at last he should suffer this zeal of disobedience and sin to be imputed to him by the blasphemers. But we are a strange and new kind of theologians, who do not take care of what is God's until God has been angered in all His commandments, and yet we promise ourselves I do not know how many golden crowns in heaven for these merits, and boast with a full mouth to men about our zeal for the faith. When we say mass or want to read or do something, we confess our sins and reconcile God; when we want to defend the truth of God, where a reconciled and merciful God is most needed, we irritate God, even mock Him.

Therefore, it is not surprising if those exceedingly wretched magisters seem to want to heal me like the one who, when he wanted to pull the brother out of the mud, only sank him deeper and suffocated him. Our time is worthy of this, that, as Micah says [Cap. 7, 2], one brother chases another to death, and he thinks he is doing God a service by doing so [Jn. 16, 2], who, after first despising the commandments of God, sacrifices the poor man to his net [Hab. 1, 16]. Against these so atrocious crimes there is no zeal in the lions and colognes, here is no Cardinal of Tortosa, no Rome, nowhere a doctrinal condemnor, but here the sinner is praised in his lusts and the ungodly is blessed. But let go, the judgment of the wrath of God drives them so.

But we also want to credit the *magistris nostris* with this injustice and inequity.

The most holy Lord, the Pope Leo, what has he sinned against the Löwener and Kölner Verdammer, that these snorting magistrates snatched the book, which is dedicated to his name, 1) laid at his feet, and which awaits his judgment, from his hands and subject it to their foolish zeal? Do they want to accuse his holiness with a secret sting of sloth, ignorance, negligence, yes, of impiety against God and the Church? Or are the Louvain and Cologne the sole and first of the mortals in the whole world? But I am by far the most noble, that I am surprised that this venial sin is free to the highly respectable *Magistris nostris*. How should they hold the pope, a man, in honor, who trample all the commandments of God underfoot and rage against their neighbor? It is enough if they honor God and the pope, a man, according to words and appearances, and desecrate everything divine and human under the pretense of zeal, in praise of God and in honor of the holy apostolic see and in defense of holy theology and philosophy.

But this is enough of the guilt of the impudence. Now let us look at the ignorance (wisdom I wanted to say).

The first main thing is that in my books there is a great disparagement of philosophy. Do you see here the source of the zeal? Namely this, so that the profit of the faculty would not dry up; no doubt either the whole book or much of it would have been spared if I had not touched this ulcer. But I answer the highly respectable *Magistris nostris* that not Luther, but the Louvain and Colognians are the disparagers of philosophy. Do you expect me to prove what I have said? This is not necessary; for as these theologians only say everything and condemn everything and prove nothing, so it is probable that they will not suffer a proof of the adversary, since they will want to measure everything by the same yardstick. For it is enough that one argues here after the manner of women only with words of contradiction: Yes! No!

1) Luther's Explanations of the Disputation on the Power of Indulgences, Vol. XVIII, 100. The dedication letter to Pope Leo in this volume Document No. 127.

It is! It is not! It is so! It is not so! In such a way! Not like this! You are mistaken! I am not mistaken! so that we do not violate the statutes and the custom of the magistrates. But by special favor and permission of the eminent lords decans and magistri nostri, which has been requested and obtained before, I briefly prove what I have said. I consider that they are the degraders of philosophy, harming both the young and the old and the whole church, since they call philosophy what is not philosophy, and under the name of philosophy they capture and corrupt the best minds of young people with their dreams and errors. But since they teach nothing except Aristotle (in whom there is almost nothing of philosophy), and then never understand him, and since they try their conjectures instead of correct interpretations, and yet boast of being philosophers, -what more atrocious thing can they do against philosophy? If they should deny this, I would say to them that they should interpret the preface to physics (which none of them has yet understood) or to what follows it, or to metaphysics, according to the true meaning of Aristotle, as a testimony to their philosophy.

But I fear that they would gather the faculty anew and again condemn Luther with mere doctrinal, reliable (*authenticis*) words and say: Luther has disparaged the Magistri nostri by denying that they are philosophers and understand the prefaces to the books of Aristotle. For after they have learned this art of saying nothing but, "We condemn," and are not bound to give a reason, the more I would prove, the more I would offer them to condemn. But you may firmly believe, esteemed Magistri nostri, that Luther is familiar with your philosophy and theology, with which he, not exactly with the worst head or with the greatest diligence, has occupied himself for more than twelve years and has well acquainted himself with it among your fellow fighters: you will not persuade me that philosophy is that babble of matter, of movement, of the infinite, of space, of the

Emptiness, of the time, which we learn almost alone in Aristotle, such things, which improve neither the mind nor the attitude nor the common life of men, but are only good for sowing and maintaining strife. No matter how much they might be able to do something, they are still confused by so many opinions that the more certain a man thinks to do something, the more uncertain he is made and follows will-o'-the-wisps, and finally regrets too late that he has had to do with a Proteus. These storms you, Magistri nostri, call philosophy. It would have been enough that the Christian youth, who are, as it were, servants in barbarian Egypt, learned this so that they could talk with their tyrants, not approve of it until they were freed: so I care to instruct the young people.

I have known for a long time, my dear Christoph, that you ridicule these excellent doctrinal bunglers, and murmur this joke of yours: With such doctors I would also dare to fight. For this is how you use to salt these titled water bubbles that presume everything. But setting aside this salt, of which they are worthy, rather bear with me sorrow for those who under these tyrants are forced to give away the best spiritual gifts. For there is no one of all who should not condemn and ridicule that they have condemned mine without giving any reason. By this frivolous and sacrilegious condemnation, they have given my little books no little promotion, especially among those who are not entirely stones and blocks.

But I suspect that they, out of very wise counsel, did not want to prove anything or give the reason for anything, because, bearing in mind what the people of Cologne had done against the jurist Reuchlin and how powerfully he had destroyed their completely unrhymed stuff, they feared that they would also run against a bull. They feared that they would also run against a bull with horns and claws that would rage much more terribly, since they knew that I was a theologian and, not inexperienced in their arts, had so fortified mine that they despaired that it could be overturned with luck and yet did not want to suffer that it would remain unharmed.

And it is, of course, since, by working with

1) boast with more than peripatetic hope that they are the sixty men from the strong in Israel, who stand around the bed of Solomon, each of whom has his sword on his hip for fear in the night [Hohel. 3, 7. f.]. It is their primary duty to protect the faith and eradicate error with the holy Scriptures. But afterwards, as they prepare for the work, and the Zuschaners eagerly look around to see where the sword shines or the holy Scriptures flash, they hear nothing but this. Verbum of the first conjugation: Damnamus doctrinaliter [we condemn doctrinally], namely the *crepitem* of a rotten idol; and thus Solomon's proverb is fulfilled: "He who speaks much and does not keep, he is like clouds and wind without rain. Who is such a Thor that he should not laugh at these childish inconsistencies of the magisters? I would like to be instructed by these highly respectable magistris nostris whether the sword at the hip and the holy scripture at Lion and Cologne, in the wrong order of things, are the same as the verb "we condemn" and the adverb "doctrinally".

I therefore confront you, you highly respectable Magistri nostri of Louvain and Cologne: Execute what you promise, protect the faith by the holy scripture, drive out fear in the night with the sword at your hip! Why do you promise what you do not keep? Why do you boast what you do not perform? Do you make this distinction, that promising belongs to the public condemnation note, but keeping to the secret corner of the assembled faculty, and that you triumphantly publicly challenge fear in the night, but after it has been challenged and has set in, you womanishly seek a dark corner? Or do you like it that the word of Horace 2) is held against you:

**Nec sic incipias, ut scriptor cyclicus olim:
„Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum." Quid
feret hic tanto dignum promissor hiatu ?**

[Nor begin as a cyclic poet once did, "I will sing of the fortunes of Priam, and of the famous war." What right will this prompter, who takes his mouth so full, accomplish]. Namely, you thought to bring forth smoke from lightning, not light from smoke, and it is after the example of Moab [Isa. 16, 6/ your presumption is greater than your valor, in that you, as Isaiah fCap. 33, 11. Vnlg/ you conceive with fire and give birth to straw.

Now if you should ask what Solomon's bed was, what the strong in Israel, what the fear in the night, what the hip, what standing about the bed, they will so skillfully expound this, and treat the word of God, that you would rather they were no less dumb to discuss it than they are to prove theirs. For with the same erudition, fidelity, and skill with which they have adapted this passage of Scripture to their presumption, they would undoubtedly have refuted what is mine and proved what is theirs, which they knew very well, and therefore they did not dare to do so, however much impudence they were driven by. This is the meaning of what the wise man says [Wis 17:11]: "A frightened conscience is always afraid of the worst."

These are the Magistri nostri. Eck urged at Leipzig that these people should be chosen as judges in holy matters, otherwise he would not dispute. I knew their ignorance and sacrilege very well and hesitated not without cause. And what should he not overcome, what should he not obtain from such learned, such clever people of this ilk, who have "we condemn" in their mouths and nothing else, instead of "we prove".

But now we will come to the rest in order and only briefly indicate it, so that it will not be necessary to write explanations again until they have refuted mine. In the meantime, we do not want to regard their condemnation any differently than if a drunken woman had reviled us. Even if, while I am alive, they should be subdued by force and crowd, which is the only way they do against me, after the death of both of them, it cannot be prevented that the rumor spreads that it is

1) This goes against the condemnation of the theologians at Cologne.

2) Horatii ars xostiea, v. 136 8y<z.

They have done violence to me, and I have never been convicted. In the meantime, the foundation of my doctrine is quite firm and has this seal [2 Tim. 2:19]: "The Lord knows His own" and what is His. If it is of God, it cannot be dampened; if it is of men, it cannot be preserved [Apost. 5, 38. f.]. Yes, I rejoice in this very special way, that while I live, both my works and my words are condemned by those who are led by force, not by reasons. For as long as they do not win by reasons, and fight by force, they rather increase the confidence of the conscience than frighten it, and prove mine to me more strongly by this force than I have ever proved it by reasons. Therefore, whoever wants to hate me or love me, my Christ lives, and I will also live as long as the unlearned and ignorant violence fights with me. Fine is the word of Chrysostom, that the Pharisees arm themselves with the multitude, confessing that they are destitute of the truth, and again: Wickedness is sometimes put to shame by the reason of truth, but never ameliorated.

To the same piece 1) belongs that the disparagement of all teachers from four hundred years ago is contained in my books. Here the *magistri nostri*, after having been philosophers, have gradually advanced and become jurists, and gain strength for their doctrines by the lapse of time from the length of time, not by testimonies and reasons. Also I say: If to contradict someone's doctrine is as much as to belittle him, then the *Magistri nostri* are lions and Cologne belittlers, not of the teachers who have been for four hundred years, but of Christ and of the Holy Spirit who has been from eternity, whose doctrine they condemn and blaspheme, not unlike the Manichaeon Faustus the God of the Old Testament.

First, they condemn as heresy these four propositions: A good work, though well done, is a venial sin. The saints do less than they should in any good work. No saint has lived without sin in this life. The saints need the

pardonning mercy of God in good works. 2) And so Isaiah is condemned as a heretic, who says [Isa. 64, 5. f. Vulg.], "Behold, thou art angry, and we have sinned; therein have we ever abode, and we shall be saved. And we are all become unclean, and all our righteousness is as the garment of an unclean woman." But the opinion of the *magistri nostri* is thus proved: We are *magistri nostri*; so we will, so we command, instead of a reason shall be our will. But here the Cologners, as more astute people, indulge their lions, and come ahead by refuting all my reasons, past, present and future, at once and briefly in such a way, 3) that I pervert the holy scriptures and the sayings of the holy fathers and twist them to a harmful sense. So the *magistri nostri* must refute heresies magisterially, and to the Scripture and the attracted fathers throw up the trunk and say with a curbed nose in reliable manner (*authentice*) and doctrinally: You pervert the Scripture; we alone understand it rightly. And if you should ask how they prove it, with a wave of the hand they imperiously impose silence upon you and say: It is enough; we have spoken our mind!

Therefore, may they now burn or drown my books, I repeat what I have said, and say again: in this opinion I am so bold that I will suffer fire, death and everything, even the raging of these wild beasts, under God's assistance, and will consider anyone who stubbornly teaches the opposite to be a heretic, even if the *Magistri nostri* of the synagogues at Louvain and Cologne should all hold otherwise down to the last man, of whom I also confess by this writing that I consider them heretics and enemies of God's mercy.

However, I have never denied that we are helped by the merits and prayers of the saints, however imperfect they may be, which wretched people deceitfully try to pin on me as a brand. But that they can help us through

1) Col. 1341, § 3.

2) Col. 1341 f., §§4.5.

3) Col. 1339, § 5.

The Magistri nostri will only prove to those who will say that the power of faith, hope and love, which is the communion of saints, which can be given by any priest and brother through the ministry of the word, can be given and communicated by human will: The Magistri nostri have said so, and have brought it to pass in a time of four hundred years.

In the second piece, since they want to rejuvenate the wretched and already corpse-like indulgence and bring it back to the strength of the former fraud, they declare me a heretic, because I said that by the indulgence only those punishments are remitted which are imposed by the will of a man and the canons.

Here, with the permission of the venerable gentlemen Magistri nostri, the warning of the Cardinal of Tortosa has not been heeded, who has precautionarily reminded that they should conscientiously indicate mine from word to word, fearing perhaps what would happen that they would make a mockery of themselves if they were convicted that they had condemned other things than I had written. The book 1) exists; they also cannot deny that I have disputed and investigated this matter; that I have not dared to establish and assert anything even in the German sermon, as I also do not assert today, although not any magistri nostri together, may they be taken individually or collectively, on both sides, will be able to neither prove nor disprove, unless from the statute of limitations and the use, rather the abuse of the indulgence merchants or those who send them out. Therefore it is necessary that "heresy" in this place means the same to the Magistris nostris as disputing, first, about a completely uncertain matter, second, about a useless and unnecessary matter, whereas "catholic," if you should also doubt whether faith is necessary in the matter of the sacrament, and repentance begins from the love of God. And it is not to be wondered at, because if they are

had disparaged philosophy, as I have done, and not rather made it equal to Christ and preferred it, as much as is in use, how could they have invented such an astute and new meaning of heresy? Who should not justly suspect this philosophy, for which, if you have learned to speak according to grammar, and wish to speak grammatically, you must invent a grammar unknown to you and to all?

But the excellent gentlemen of Cologne say, 2) that the indulgence is confirmed by the Conciliar, therefore it is heretical that I have spoken against the Conciliar, namely, so they speak from the erstell of unessential things, 3) since they, as they learn their dialectics for rhetoric, so they consider the question "whether something is" and the question "what it is" to be one and the same. For how could I doubt or deny whether the indulgence is, that I should hold it in this piece against the Conciliar, since I have written so much about the indulgence? Or what corner is there in the whole world that does not complain that it is deceived by the indulgence? So much is lacking that any man should not know or deny that indulgences exist, much less that a man could thereby become a heretic! But this has been asked, but not yet found, what indulgences are or are worth. Here the highly respectable magistri nostri should have opened their eyes to philosophy and not done such ridiculous and childishly inconsistent things with the question "whether it is" instead of the question "what it is. Nowhere does one find anything about what indulgences are, neither in the concilia, nor in the synagogues, nor in the *conciliabulis*, except that in the last hundred years it has been begun to extend them to purgatory and to heaven and hell, by impudent knaves and seducers of souls, among whom nevertheless the zeal of the magistri nostri has not found a heretic, an irreligious man, if he has not found one. Among them, the zeal of the Magistri nostri has not found a heretic, a fool, even if he deceived and debauched the whole world with the most harmful error. But I must be a heretic, although an error in the indulgence is harmless.

2) Col. 1339,? 9.

3) ex i. posteriorum, that is, on the basis of a council. The Basel edition has the marginal gloss: Hueretius ex xrimo xokteriuui.

1) The Explanations of the Disputation on the Power of Indulgences, St. Louis ed. vol. XVIII, 100; the "German Sermon" on Indulgences and Grace idib. Col. 270.

There would be no danger to salvation if there were no indulgences anywhere: so prudent and righteous is the zeal of the Magistri nostri that they have eaten cumin and anise, but have left judgment, faith and mercy behind. But I think it should be credited to the Cologne people because they lacked a Cardinal of Tortosa who would have warned them not to condemn what no one had said, otherwise they would become a laughingstock to me and to everyone.

And what shall I poor man do? Christ, the meekness and kindness himself, saw Marc. 3, 5. looked at the Pharisees around with anger and was grieved over their hardened hearts, and Paul Apost. 16, 18. suffered after the same example because of the soothsaying spirit of the maiden, and Cap. 17, 16. when he was in Athens, his spirit was enraged in him because he saw the city so idolatrous. What shall I, the most wretched sinner, do, since I see in the masters of the nations of Christ such gross blindness that they understand neither Christ nor Aristotle nor their own opinions, and cannot treat them otherwise than to suck, entangle and disgrace themselves?

I beg you, you rough ...1) (it almost escaped me), refrain from judging or treating Luther's things; you are not up to this matter, neither in Aristotle nor in the holy scriptures. Take up your [with you] related things, and a matter that is appropriate to your powers. You have shown enough in Neuchlin and Peter of Ravenna and others how you know nothing at all and sacrilegiously presume everything. He who is weak, let him eat herbs [Rom. 14, 2]. Do not deceive yourselves: your judgment and condemnation has long since ceased to be respected and believed.

Testimonies of the same blindness and nonsense are those which follow: 2) Likewise, he spreads errors about the Sacrament of Penance, as that man is without God's grace,

1) Luther suppresses an expression here. The gap is only indicated in the Weimar edition. According to Luther's words in his letter to Spalatin of March 19, 1520: "I send you the donkeys of Louvain and Cologne", "donkey" will have to be added here.

2) Col. 1342, 8. 9.

who first remits the guilt, cannot even have the desire to seek forgiveness. Likewise, it is a heretical opinion to say that the sacraments of the new law give the justifying grace to those who do not put a bar.

Of these two errors Luther still claims that they are not errors, and does not care about the Louvain Scotists and the Cologne Thomists, that is, Pelagians, who dream from their own heads by raging against the grace of Christ, and confidently expects both the refutation and the proof of both [faculties]. But he also sets them at war with themselves. For even they themselves are not united in this matter, except so far as Pilate and Herod and the Pharisees were united against the Lord and his anointed.

It follows: 3) Regarding repentance, he gives this advice: If you want to confess, consider before all things what you would do if there were no commandment of confession, and whether you would want to confess even then; and what follows.

Here Luther confesses that he has spoken the truth, even according to the testimony of the highly respectable magistri nostri, who constantly claim that everything is sin that is not done out of love. Unless the Magistris nostris are free to condemn and approve the same thing at a different time and place just because they are Magistri nostri, which I, a heretic, have not yet been free to do. For I hold that the magisterial distinction of moving grace and love, which they have invented out of their brains, is like a play, since it is certain that justice (that is, the law of God) will not be loved nor desired unless love precedes it.

It follows: 4) He also rejects the way to inquire the conscience, against C. Quem poenitet, and the Canon of the General Council, Omnis utriusque sexus, de poe. et re.

Here the Magistri nostri do their promise well enough. The sword on the hip and the holy scripture, with which these sixty strong men in Israel are girded, will be used after

3) Col. 1342, A 10.

4) Col. 1343, A 12.

understood these words to be c. Quem poenitet and c. Omnis utriusque eexus, namely again according to a new grammar, to speak doctrinally. Does not this mole hear then the pattering of a brazen little stone?

The Canon Omnis utriusque sexu contains that each one should make confession of all his sins. Here the highly respectable Magistri nostri understand by "all sins" the examination of the conscience, that is, the torture of consciences, by which they have hitherto burdened many souls with sins, as the apostle foretold 2 Tim. 4, 3 [1 Tim. 4, 1. ff]. This view is similar to the one according to which some scoff at this very chapter: All of both sexes, that is, only those of both sexes, namely the hermaphrodites, must confess all their sins. This is a quite deserved mockery of this canon, if they had wanted it to be understood as the Louvians understand it. For who can know all his sins, let alone confess them, since it is written [Ps. 19:13], "Who can know how often he sinneth?" And Jer. 17:9: "The heart is a stouthearted and desponding thing; who can search it?" and again the same says [Cap. 10:23], "It is in no man's power how he shall direct his course." I can hardly restrain myself here, lest I bring out against the quite unlearned insolent foreheads of the sophists; but I will spare them for the fear of God, and freely confess this: if this Canon required confession of all sins par excellence, it would be to be condemned as ungodly and exceedingly harmful. For these books have come from the way of confession, where sins are divided into mothers, daughters, sisters, granddaughters and grandchildren, and innumerable other kinds, out of no other concern than that no sin should be omitted in confession, which is quite impossible. For if the strictness of the Canon is to hold, even a forgotten and unrecognized sin is excluded, because it says: He shall make confession of all his sins. But of this more extensively in the "manner of confession". 1)

But I have not rejected (in order to convict the respectable Magistri nostri of lying) the examination of conscience, nor will they be able to prove that this has ever been done by me, but the fearful torture, by which, whether by the death-bringing decree of this canon, or by its interpretation, the wretched Christians are urged to the impossible, in that they are to ascribe nothing to the promising mercy of God, unless they have made the confession of all sins, that is, that they are never to have peace and trust more in their unhappy confession than in God's mercy. And here I would have wished my lions that they had had another Cardinal of Toptosa as a warner. For they passed by this one with their usual insolence, reminding in vain that they should denounce all that is mine from word to word.

Now, if I wanted to pursue the other things that these quite unfortunate people have put forward, both the dreams that have been put upon me and the things of mine that they have misunderstood, I would become more expansive than they deserve and than a godly reader could bear.

I say only one thing, that I could not be persuaded even by many very wise people (*Nestoribus*) that those at Louvain and Cologne are such coarse theologians that, although they have raced quite extraordinarily in Neuchlin's cause, they have nevertheless made it less so than with their nonsense in this cause of mine.

Therefore I despise the other and estimate it according to the pattern of these things, so that it does not seem as if I am moved by the air to pursue them when I go through everything in detail. I want to sound the retreat and praise you, dearest Christoph, both the Löwen and the Cologne theologians in no other respect than in this, that they presume and say many things which they will never be able to prove or disprove. You can easily recognize what kind of people these are, since there is no common cave or tavern, no matter how drunk people may be in it, in which you could not find such judges and assessors.

that God makes His wrath known to us through this work, in which He has made these children and women princes over us, as Isaiah Cap. 3, 4, in that our sins and our ingratitude, which is finally also intolerable to God, deserve this.

It would not have been necessary for them to say in bare words that mine displeased them and seemed to them to be erroneous; I knew that this would happen and for this very reason suffered that it would be printed. I also did not seek that they refer me to their experts, as if they were unknown to me, but that they might show by testimony of the Scriptures or by acceptable reasons that theirs is true and mine is false. For what is this *petitio principii* 1) (which is also forbidden by their Aristotle), that I am answered precisely with what I dispute. It is not the question what they have learned, heard, read, ever held, but with what supports they can fasten it. Otherwise, why should I also resist my Secte, namely that of Occam or the Moderns, which I have taken up and held entirely, if I had wanted to be dampened by words or force? But this is enough. Meanwhile, be well, my dear friend in Christ.

The Hussites in Bohemia and other lovers of the truth corresponded with Luther around this time. The prizes of the former are congratulatory letters because of his disputation.

422: Johann Poduschka, pastor of the main church of B. Virginis ante latam curiam in Prague, wrote a letter of congratulation, consolation and encouragement to Luther, assuring him of his and the Hussites' prayers. July 16, 1519.

The names of the two Hussite letter writers are variously given: Poduska, Paduscka, Paduschka; Rozd'alowskh, Rosäiatovinus, Rosdalowsky; we have followed Köstlin in his spelling. This and the following letter are found in the Jena edition (1579),

tona. I, toi. 366 scp; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 649 ff; in the Erlanger, opp. var. tom. IV, 78 8<itz. and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 75 ff. What else might serve as an introduction here is found in the introduction to the 18th volume of the St. Louis edition, p. 386 f.

Translated from Latin.

(1) Although I, dear Martin, most precious brother in the Lord, am unknown to you until now and absent in body, you are known to me, although I have never seen you. For since many and various of your writings come into our hands, from which we can fully recognize you, who and what you are: it happens that we have to admire in you almost only this, that you, among so many enemies of the evangelical truth, nevertheless do not shy away from preaching the doctrine of Christ and the apostles freely and publicly, and do not pay attention to all shame, blasphemy and evil talk of many people, to whom everything that does not look like them must be called heresy, people who have broken senses and are incapable of all good work, who do not understand (as the apostle says [1 Tim. 6,5. Tit. 1, 16. 1 Tim. 1, 7.]), neither what they say, nor what they put. I therefore wish you, dear brother Martin, and your Christian godliness happiness from the bottom of my heart, that you alone in Germany have not been both found and invented, who finally teaches purely what is to be taught, that is, the law of Christ and the pure theology of the ancient fathers in its purity, which is absolutely without all taint of man's statutes, which unfortunately has been very much despised today, and that you also admonish from what Christ's spirit does not approve of, nor perhaps recognize. This is no wonder, since Christ cannot be divided in Himself, nor can He want what He wanted and advised at the time of His preaching.

(2) Therefore I exhort, urge and encourage you, who are already running, by the mercy of Christ, not to neglect the grace of the Lord that is in you for your salvation [1 Tim. 4:14]. God has made you the guardians of His people [Ezek. 3, 17]; what is necessary for this salvation, do not hide, but bring it more and more to light, as you are doing. You know Christ's voice [Matth. 5, 15.]: No one lights a light and hides it under a vessel, or puts it under a bed, but on the lampstand, so that those who come in may see the light. Pursue the enemies of God and the adversaries of the freedom of Christ, as you began, and seize them, of whom it is full everywhere, so much,

1) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. VIII, 1130, § 85.

that already now perhaps Christ's words will be fulfilled, and that very much [Matth. 24, 24.]: "False Christs and false prophets will arise, and do signs and wonders to deceive, where it would be possible, even the elect," and the word of Peter [2. Ep. 2,1. ff.]: "There will be false teachers among you, who will introduce pernicious sects, and many will follow their destruction, and will handle you by avarice with fabricated words." And I do not know whether in Bohemia they are as mean as among you, whose curses and blasphemies you have long since lain upon your heads. O! how truth is now hated, how Christ is so hated everywhere! You, my brother, because you preach Christ and not men, are called heretics not only by your own, but also by some of ours. 1) But, beloved, bear this reproach gladly with Christ, and in the meantime remember what he says in Matthew [Cap. 10:25], "Did they call the father of the house Beelzebub, as rather his household?" Likewise what Lucas Cap. 23, 31. tells us that he said near his end, "If this be done in the green wood, what shall become of the dry?" [Matth. 10, 24. "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord." What greater praise can the servant have than to suffer shame and strokes for the Lord's sake? Therefore, my dear brother Martin, be strong in the Lord, and be a mighty hunter of false apostles. Christ, the prince and master of truth, chases the buyers and sellers out of the temple as an example, so that we follow his footsteps. You will not lack help from above. There are many faithful and God-loving people in Bohemia who will help you day and night with their prayers. Only do not let yourselves be lacking. I only ask you to be careful that when you save Christ from the Antichrist, you do not get caught by him. He has a thousand ways to harm, and lies in wait to shoot the upright in secret [Ps. 64:5]. Christ keep you unharmed, my Martin, for whose law you do not shun men and assume great danger. But be of good cheer, the truth will set you free. Farewell and accept these knives graciously as a small gift, as a pledge of sincere love and goodwill among us. Farewell again, and the grace of Christ be with you always. Prague, Saturday after the Apostles' Meeting [July 16], 1519.

1) Soon after, the Utraquist Consistory in Prague complained to King Louis about the Lutheran preachers that the nobility had (Eri. Briefw.).

423: Wenceslaus Rosdalousky, 2) the head of the Emperor Charles College at Prague, writes to Luther, in which he also congratulates him on the disputation held with Eck, and at the same time sends along a book by Johann Hus.

July 17, 1519.

For the location of this letter 2c. see the previous number.
Translated from Latin.

(1) Since I, my dear Martin Luther, have been thoroughly occupied with your writings 3) and have considered with good friends who you are, what you do and what you start, yes, what the Spirit of God is working through you in the church, behold, a certain organ maker (or organ player, *organarius*) Jacob, 4) who is very well disposed toward you, has come and told everything that has happened publicly between you and Eck and some other of your enemies at this time. I cannot say, my dear father, how pleasant, how sweet the narration was, and how it pleased me when I heard that you had obtained a glorious victory over the war trumpets of your adversaries, and especially over Eck's more scholastic and Aristotelian than Christ's theology. You and the most illustrious Prince Frederick have been highly praised in this narrative. You, because you prove yourself worthy of admiration, but he, because he honors the virtues of which the greatest proofs are seen in you every day, so that it annoys the enemies, but quite heartily delights your friends and patrons. Is this not more precious than gold? I therefore wish you, venerable father, happiness, and thank God in Heaven that He not only keeps you safe under so much danger and among so many wicked enemies, but also makes you gloriously victorious over the enemies in such a righteous struggle.

By the way, Jacob just said that you would very much like to have the books of John Hus, the apostle of Bohemia, so that you may recognize and judge what kind of man he was and how great, not according to the rumor of the common rabble, nor from the ill-consulted Costnitz Concilium, but from the true image of the mind, namely his writings. I therefore gladly send you, venerable father, from the bottom of my heart a booklet which he wrote about the church.

2) In the Erlanger, correspondence the name is written: "Rozd'alousky".

3) *lucudraioni6u8*. This will probably be the *lucubrationes* published by Frobenius in Basel in February 1519.

4) Nothing else is known about this Jacob.

I am all the more confident about this now, because I have read several sentences that you have published and recently defended in Leipzig against old and new errors, which are also approved in this booklet: a small and bad gift at first sight (as they say), but perhaps not entirely unpleasant, especially if it can meet your wishes and desires, and then because this booklet was probably the only one for whose sake he, while still alive, had to suffer all the shame, hatred, cursing and blasphemy of all prelates, in short, as a heretic at last, oh, how unjust! was burned at the Costnitz Concilium, the otherwise innocent man and excellent preacher of the divine word. But enough of that. For I will gladly send you the entire course of his case one day, if it is necessary and you request it, along with many other things. Only this I add with good deliberation: What Joh. Hus was in Bohemia, you, Martin, are now in Saxony. What is therefore necessary for you? Watch and be strong in the Lord, then beware of men; do not despair even if they call you a heretic, if they call you an exile. Then remember what Christ suffered, what the apostles suffered, what all who want to live godly in Christ suffer today. Now be well, my dear Martin, and love me, though I am unknown to you; for, be assured, we love you. Prague, in the great college of Emperor Carl, July 17, 1519.

424 Luther's report to Staupitz of the above two letters, as well as of some other letters received by the court from France, in which Erasmus' thoughts about Luther and Eck are communicated.

See Appendix, No. 36, §§ 4. 6.

425 Letter from Joh. Frobenius, printer in Basel, to Luther, in which he informs him of the strong outflow of his writings to France, Spain, Italy, Brabant and England, and at the same time encloses the favorable verdict of the Cardinal of Sion in the Walliser Land about him and the then still future Leipzig disputation with Eck. February 14, 1519.

This letter is found in the Jena edition (1579), tom. I, fol. 367 k; in the Miscelianoa GroniQAonsia, tom. III, p. 60; in the Erlanger, opp. var. arZ., tona IV, p. 82 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 420.

Translated into German.

Johann Frobenius wishes Martin Luther Heil!

Blasius Salmonius, a bookseller in Leipzig, presented me at the last fair in Frankfurt 1) with some of your books, which I immediately reprinted because they were approved by all scholars. We have sent six hundred copies to France and Spain. And now they are sold in Paris, also read and approved by the theologians of the Sorbonne, as our friends have assured us. Some scholars there have also said that they have long wished that those who treat the Holy Scriptures would make use of such freedom.

2 The bookseller in Pavia, Calvus, a very learned and scientific man, has had a good number of such books brought to Italy and wants to distribute them in all cities. For he does not seek profit from them, but rather to help the resurgence of godliness and to promote it as much as possible. He has promised to send out from all learned men in Italy short praises which they have made in your honor; so much is he favorable to you and to the cause of Christ, which you take up with such great steadfastness, so manly and honestly.

You may wonder about our edition of your (Augsburg) actions, because it partly coincides with the Wittenberg one, but partly deviates from it. But hear what the cause of this is. One of my good friends sent me your answer from Augsburg given to the Cardinal (Cajetan). This had to be printed, because Calvus, when he returned from Nuremberg, had brought only a single sheet of the Wittenberg edition, namely the first one, which I printed immediately as it was, and appended the rest, which had been sent to me from Augsburg. Now that I have received a copy of the Wittenberg edition through Blasius, I will, as soon as possible, add what is missing in mine. For, as I understand, it has pleased the scholars what you have appended at the end of the compulsion of the decrees. 2)

I have also sent your books to Brabant and England. From the replica of the Silvester I have only three hundred copies

1) In September 1518. Already in October, Frobenius' collection of Lutheran writings was published in Basel.

2) This is Document No. 226 in this volume.

printed. The scholars think that it would do you no harm. Here, everyone, depending on how good he is, also thinks highly of you. In particular, our bishop 1) is very fond of you, as is his auxiliary bishop, the bishop of Tripoli. 2) When I offered your work to the Cardinal of Sion, he immediately said: Luther, you are indeed Luther. The other day, someone sent him Eck's sentences and added that he would soon bring news of the victory that Eck would win over the new teachings at Leipzig. To this the Cardinal replied: Eck may argue as much as he wants, Luther writes the truth.

All but ten of my copies have been sold, and I have never experienced a happier sale for any book. The New Testament, which Erasmus has very carefully overlooked and increased with strong additions, I intend to complete with the help of God within ten days. Farewell, venerable father. Basel, 14 February 1519.

426: Letter from Joh. Botzheim (Abstemius), Doctor and Canonicus at Costnitz, March 3, 1520, to D. Matt. Luther, in which he testifies how he is so pleased with his writings that he is quite happy to live at such a time when the thick darkness has been dispelled and the light of pure divine truth has risen brightly again.

From Kcrpp's small Nachlese nützlicher Reformationurkunden, vol. II, p. 420, in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 348.

Translated into German.

To the excellent man, Mr. Martin Luther, the Holy Scripture Doctor and exceedingly vigilant Reformer, his warmly beloved master and patron.

Hail! With short words, the friendship is satisfied, if you can not write more expansive, as it is everything, even what is not even beautiful,

1) Christoph von Uttenheim, resigned 1526, died 1527 (Erl. Briefw.).

2) Telamonius Limpurger, bishop in partibus of Tripoli, who assisted the bishop as auxiliary bishop since 1502 and later formally converted to the Reformation (Erl. Briefw.). - The Cardinal of Sion is Matthaeus Schinner, Bishop of Sion, Cardinal priest, later a staunch opponent of the Reformation.

laid out for the best. Accordingly, I will write briefly what I have in mind. For after you have made friends of the whole world, or at least of the greater part of it, I mean true and righteous Christians, you will also be my friend, whether you want to or not. Your writings please me in such a way that I rejoice over nothing so much as over my kind fate, to which I have to thank that I live at such a time, in which not only the human, but also the theological sciences regain their former splendor. There is no science in the world that has not begun to cast off the defect of gross ignorance in these years. But divine learning, which was supposed to be completely pure before others, was in the thickest darkness. But now you lay your hands on the holy theology, your remedies are the most powerful of all, they heal not only the sciences, but also the souls, which until now have been all too depressed by scholastic opinions. I pray to God that He may make your endeavors happy, and that Christ, who (I have no doubt) inspired them, may promote them. Farewell, from Constance, March 3, in the year 2c. 1520.

Your most devoted

Johann Botzheim Abstemius, 3)

Doctor and canon of Constance.

Urban Regius sends you his greetings, highly learned Martin, whom you should consider all the more faithful a friend, because he was moved to love you not out of rashness, but with good deliberation.

I wish the very learned Philipp Melanchthon well.

427 Caspar Hedio's letter to D. Luther, June 23, 1520, in which he commemorates Luther's teachings and writings with special praise.

From Kapp's Nachlese, vol. II, p. 4x3, in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 422.

Translated into German.

3) The name Abstemius was given to him by his friends because he did not drink wine, did not hunt, did not gamble 2c. In 1524 he was summoned to Rome because of his reformatory attitudes, but he did not appear. In 1525, as it seems, as a result of the Peasants' War, he changed his mind and became a strict papist again (Erl. Briefw.).

To Martin Luther, the true Christian and righteous theologian, his highly honored teacher, Caspar Hedio wishes Heil!

I see that your teaching is from God, beloved man! It cannot be dampened, it becomes stronger day by day; it wins many souls for Christ every day; it leads away from vices and towards true godliness. But what do I call your teaching, which is not Luther's, but Christ's! For I see nothing that you do not treat thoroughly and concisely from Scripture, nothing that does not have its strong and insurmountable foundation in the Word of God. If antiquity was right in saying that a God is he who is useful to men, you may rightly be called a God for us, because you have rendered such an immense service to the whole of Christendom. All honest people who read your writings diligently and grasp them faithfully wish you all the best. Your German books are of great use, because through them the common people, who are very obedient and observant, come to the right judgment, they learn to see the deceit, they wish to be admonished, they recognize the good deed, which is the duty of gratitude. So you must not let up, O helpers, but strive with all your strength to restore to us the easy and gentle yoke of Christ. You should be our leader, we want to be constant warriors, if otherwise we can do something with our services.

I have been able to benefit from this, either in public sermons, which I now preside over, 1) and explain the Gospel of Matthew, or in private conversations with the citizens of Basel, or finally through letters to good friends. The arrival of the excellent Mr. Egranu 2) has been very dear and pleasant to us all. He has told us much about you, dear God, to what great comfort and delight of mind! that I feel as if I see Luther present before me with great desire, and that he is speaking to me in a friendly manner. And, oh, that I would one day have the happiness that I wish to have! At present I do not want to be too burdensome, because you will hear about the studies, about the academy and about the Magistris nostris (M. N.), the theologians, through your Theseus 3).

I want to assure you of one thing, that Hedio will always remain yours. Beloved brother, I wish that it may always be well with you in Jesus Christ, and that you may remember us from time to time. Your letter, however short it may be, will be a treasure. Basel, 1520, June 23.

1) Hedio preached at St. Theodor, where he was vicar, and at St. Martin in Basel on St. Matthew (Erl. Briefw.).

2) Johann Sylvius Egranus, actually Johann Wildenauer from Ezer.

3) Probably Melanchthon, to whom Hedio also seems to have written (Erl. Briefw.).

The sixth chapter.

The first part of the book is a description of the papal ban and its consequences under the newly elected Emperor Carl, despite all of Luther's humble ideas, which were carried out by D. Eck, who had matured in Rome.

First Section.

Luther's very humble request to Emperor Carl not to let him be condemned unheard, and other complaints about the accusations of his enemies.

A. From Luther's petition to the Emperor Carl.

428. D. Martin Luther's letter to Emperor Carl the Fifth, in which he writes nothing against the Pope, but only asks that he not be condemned unheard. August 30, 1520.

This letter first appeared (together with Document No. 433) under the title: Xä Lsrsnissinnuna

Drinciprn et Dorninnrn Do. 6arolunn V. Dño. 6ae". Imx>6. hispaviarmn etc. Dc^cm: ^rcliiducern ^nstris etc. Doctori" Martini Dntüsri Dpistola. Dt Dinsdsrn Doctori" Martini Oblatio "ivs nrotk "tatio ^Vitt6nd6rK6. D. M. XX. 4 leaves in quarto. No date. So printed in "Luthers Briefwechsel" by Burkhardt, p. 25. With the wrong date: the 15. Januarii in the Latin Wittenberger (1551), torn. II, col. 431>; in Aurifaber, torn. I, col. 229; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 392 and in the Erlanger, oxx>. vararg., torn. V, x. 2. with the correct date, den,

August 30, 1520, first at bride, euturu 6px. elar. viror. Xinsterü. 1702; then in Badrieius esutilol. Butisrau., x. 68; in Strobel-Ranner, 6M. Butü, u. '58; and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 468. In all German editions with the wrong time designation "January 15, 1520," namely in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 88 d; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 212 d; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 342; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 291. The main support for our time determination, also adopted by the Weimar edition, vol. VI, p. 47, is Luther's letter to Spalatin of Aug. 31, 1520.

Translated from Latin.

Grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ! It may well surprise everyone that I, most gracious Lord Emperor Carl, may presume to write to your imperial majesty. For who has ever seen or heard of a more unusual, clumsy thing than that the King of kings and Lord of lords on earth should be addressed by the least, most despised of men?

(2) But anyone who diligently considers the greatness of this highly important matter, and understands that it concerns divine truth, will not be surprised at such greatness. For if it is worthy to come before the throne of heavenly, divine majesty, it is much more worthy to address an earthly and mortal prince; Let it be said that, just as earthly princes are a model of the heavenly, so it behooves them to follow the same model, namely, that they too, seated on high, yet look upon the lowly things of the earth, and raise up the lowly from the dust, and lift up the poor from the mire [Ps. 113, 5-7.].

Therefore, I, poor and miserable human being, fall at the feet of your most noble imperial majesty, as the most unworthy one, who brings up the most important and worthy cause.

I have let several little books go out in print, so that I have incurred the envy, wrath and disfavor of many, even great people, since I would have well deserved thanks and twofold protection. First of all, that I was forced to come out against my will; I would also not have intended to write something where my adversaries, both by force and cunning, would not have urged me to do so. Therefore, what I have written, I have done through

caused them to do so. For for my person nothing better could have happened to me, as I also desired with all my heart, than that I might have been and remain hidden in my corner or cell.

On the other hand, I have been diligent to bring to light nothing other than the evangelical truth, against the superstitious opinions or delusions of human tradition, to which only my conscience and the judgment of many pious people bear witness. I now suffer almost three whole years of 1) anger, blasphemy, driving and all kinds of evil, without stopping, which my adversaries can only think of.

(6) It helps me nothing, however, that I ask for mercy and forgiveness; it is in vain that I offer to be silent; it has no standing that I propose means of peace; it helps nothing that I desire to be told better. This alone is done, that I, together with the gospel and divine truth, which remains forever, may be destroyed and eradicated.

Since everything I have tried so far is in vain and in vain, I have ultimately considered it good to appeal to the Imperial Majesty, according to the example of St. Athanasius, to see if perhaps the dear God would help his cause through her, not mine. Therefore, O Lord Carol, Prince of Kings on Earth, fall at the feet of your most noble Imperial Majesty, and ask in all humility and submission that they do not want me, but the cause of divine truth (for the sake of which alone E. K. M. of GOD has given me the right to be a part of). K. M. is given by God the power to bear the sword, to avenge the evildoers and to praise the pious [Rom. 13, 4. 1 Petr. 2, 14.]) under the shadow of their wings, and not to protect me in this matter any further, except until I, according to the indicated cause and responsibility of my doctrine, am either recognized that I have won or lost the cause.

If I am then found to be an ungodly man and a heretic, I do not ask for protection. One thing I ask, that neither truth nor falsehood be condemned unheard nor unconquered.

1) Luther could not have written this in January 1520; it confirms the timing we have assumed.

(9) For this is fitting for your royal and imperial throne, adorning their majesty's empire, and giving cause to all descendants to praise and extol the present time of their reign: namely, if your holy majesty does not permit the wicked to devour him who is more pious than he, nor let men (as the prophet says [Habak. 1, 14.]) go like fish in the sea, and worms that have no master, when judgment and contradiction abound.

10 Thus I behold, thus I hope, thus I pledge myself to your holy majesty, which the Lord Jesus upholds and exalts us to the eternal glory of his gospel, amen. Given at Wittenberg, in the year of the Lord 1520. 1)

B. Luther's letter to the bishops of Mainz and Merseburg, and their reply.

429. D. Martin Luther's letter to the Elector of Mainz, Margrave Albrecht, that he should not believe his detractors. Wittenberg, February 4, 1520.

This letter, which Luther wrote at the request of the Elector, is found in Latin in Aurifaber, vol. I, p.233; in the Wittenberger (1551), tom.II, fol. 45; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 398 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 308. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol.IX, p.896; in the Jenaer (1564), vol.I, p.2146; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 345 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 292.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the most reverend in God Father, your most noble Lord, Lord Albrecht, Archbishop of the Churches of Magdeburg and Mainz, Primate of Germany, Margrave of Brandenburg 2c., his most gracious and reverently to be feared Lord and Shepherd in Christ, 2) commends himself in the Lord in all submission and reverence [Martin Luther].

Jesus.

I lowly man, in exceedingly lowly position, would never have dared to high-light.

1) This is followed by the "Erbieten," No. 433.

2) Already here the heading stops in the editions, then "Jhesus" is written in the middle, and the following forms the beginning of the letter.

Most worthy Father in Christ and most noble Prince, to speak out to E. C. F. G., even not by letters (to which much is conceded that one does not take the liberty of doing face to face out of shyness), if I were not compelled by the consideration of a greater cause, namely the confession of the Christian faith and truth and the care for the salvation in Christ common to all: if these are threatened by my cause, then I would be an exceedingly godless man if I remained silent. I have been informed by credible men that disfavor and hatred are also being aroused against me by E. C. F. G., most reverend Father in Christ, perhaps also by those who praise and protect me in others.

Now to speak here with my most gracious Lord according to the confidence of my conscience: Is it not so, that if what I am accused of is false, 3) both I, who am nothing, and you, most reverend father and most noble lord, are in the greatest danger? Once upon a time (as we are human beings) some flatterer Ziba would also turn away the completely innocent David, the chosen man according to the heart of God, from the poor and lame Mephibosheth, as we read in the second book of Samuel, Cap. 16, 3. Which prince can be sufficiently safe from false and treacherous ear-blowers, since David, such a great and holy man, was so deceived by the One Ziba?

Of course, this was not the least cause that I dared to write this letter, because I was aware that I owed you, most reverend father, this diligent and faithful service, that I would not suffer my lord to be exposed to so great a danger, yes, that I would not allow the evangelical truth to be reviled under the name of ungodliness by such a great prince to the great harm of so many people. For it is not the same thing if the truth is spoken evil of by any common man, and by a bishop over so many souls, which-

3) That is, if the accusation is false. We were prompted to make this trivial remark by the fact that the old translator gave the contrast Hiezu thus: "But if my doctrine, about which I am accused, is right and true" 2c.

The truth is that, whether he is rightly reported or deceived, many will necessarily follow him; but to follow against the evangelical truth is the source of all evil.

But if the accusations they bring against me are right and true, the grace of my Lord allows me to complain about my misery. Why do they not teach me better? Why do they not denounce the error? Why do they condemn me before the great ones rather than convict me? Especially since I so often promise that I will give ear to a better one, since I am so ready to renounce my sense, yes, so urgently ask that they remove me from the teaching office and that I be hidden in a corner.

I am forced to teach what I have learned and what I read in the Holy Scriptures, and I am accused because I teach what those either will not or cannot punish. And would to God that my most gracious Lord had so much leisure that he could read or hear my writings; I have no doubt that you, most reverend father, would recognize by God's grace how even their accusations which they have brought against me are groundless. For I have not yet heard that mine has been condemned by anyone, except by those who have neither read it nor heard it, except for a few who not only let their spitefulness remain that they do not read it, but even, when they read some things, immediately falsify them and invent such things against me that I have never even thought of. Such is the case of both forms and of the power of the Roman pope, in which, if they want to confess the truth, they themselves in fact hold it with me, as much as they may pretend to be of a different opinion. He who has read mine will easily recognize this.

Therefore, most reverend Father, I implore you, for the sake of your praised kindness, appreciated by all, towards all good sciences and learned men, you, most reverend and most illustrious Lord, may also consider me worthy of a kinder opinion and a better name than those pretenders seek, not only with regard to me but also to your own salvation and that of many.

of others, indeed, for the sake of Christian truth, which must necessarily be offended if I am unjustly either cast out after having been heard or despised as one who should be instructed and heard.

I call upon Jesus Christ, the Judge of all, as a witness over my soul, that I am not aware that I have taught anything other than what is according to Christ and God's commandments; again, that I am not so stiff-necked that I do not want to be taught and, having recognized my error, change my mind. And yet God wanted me to learn this service from you, most reverend Father. For since I have so far been sought with many lies in various ways, and yet later, after the light of truth has been revealed, I am found innocent, I am compelled to suspect that even those who still and in other ways attack me do not act sincerely, especially since they do not want to instruct the one who is willing to be instructed, but only accuse him.

This, most reverend father and most noble prince, seemed necessary to me to present against either evil or deceived pious people, so that I also aligned my office, who recognize myself as a piece of your army, born and raised in your area, so that through the guilt of my silence a more serious voice is not heard against the soul of my most gracious Lord. May you graciously and patiently recognize this according to your great gentleness, and let my humble self be commended to E. C. F. G., in Christ our Lord, who, most reverend Father and most noble Lord, reigns over you and sustains you forever, amen.

Wittenberg, February 4, 1520.

Your most reverend father, most devoted son
Martin Luther.

430 Answer to Luther's letter from the Elector of Mainz. Dated Calbe, the Feb. 26, 1520.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 235; in the Wittenberg edition (1551), toni. II, fol. 46 (wrong 56) and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 337.

German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 90 k; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 220; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 294 and in Walch.

Translated from Latin.

To the highly honored and to us in Christ beloved clergyman (*religioso*), Martin Luther, Professor of Theology 2c., wishes Albrecht, by the Grace of God, of the title St. Chrysogoni of the Holy Roman Church PriestCardinal, of the Holy Churches of Magdeburg and Mainz Archbishop, Primate of Germany, Elector, Administrator of Halberstadt, and Margrave of Brandenburg 2c.,

1. salvation in the Lord! We have received. Worthy and spiritual, beloved in Christ, we have received your writing, in which you take pains to warn us that we should not give credence to false flatterers, and you complain most highly that out of envy you are described to us as stiff-necked 2c. But we are particularly pleased that you let us hear you say that you want to be instructed where you would be taught better, and that you are willing to desist from your presumption.

2 Although we confess that out of the duty of our office, the matter concerning our holy Christian faith and godliness is very close to our hearts, we have not yet had so much leisure to read your writings and books (with which now and then many are carried), and even to look at them badly. For this reason, we neither approve nor reject them this time, but entrust such knowledge to those of higher standing and dignity. To whom we then give the honor, and yield to their judgment, who have also recently taken this matter to themselves, to move and discuss it.

(3) But we would heartily desire that some articles of thine, and of others who take up the cause, be dealt with honestly and modestly, as befits God, without any disorder or indignation, without envy and dishonor or blasphemy.

(4) For we experience daily, not without great sorrow in our hearts, with great displeasure that some who publicly claim to be teachers of the Christian religion, who also have a great reputation, argue most vehemently about their petty opinions and questions, namely about the authority of the pope, whether he is the head of the Christian churches from the Word of God or from the order of men? about free will and other such things (so that a true Christian does not worry much), as about a matter in which the pope is the head of the Christian churches.

The result is that each one fiercely defends his delusion with great pride and presumption, not without his opponent's great iniquities and disgrace. It follows from this mischief that many useless and overly presumptuous opinions are spread among the common fickle and unintelligent rabble, by which they are not without great danger aroused to disobedience, so that they finally persist in it.

(5) Moreover, other things are imagined by the common people, not without great annoyance, contrary to the custom long ago adopted by the church of Christ by public authority, such as the use of the reverend sacrament, since it was better to administer it under both forms, without distinction, to both laymen and priests. About this, we hear from some that they also hold the authority of the common conciliation in low esteem and despise it, so that they may preserve and defend their delusion and opinion all the more strongly.

(6) Whether such things and the like, which are done either by you or by others, are useful, beneficial to the Christian faith and conducive to the church, so that it remains pure and unoffending in its former dignity, peace and tranquility, as before, we cannot at all see.

(7) This disorderly nature could perhaps be recognized and put down in a more convenient place and at the best time by scholars, especially by those who are commanded to discuss this matter, with ease, without burden and danger, indeed with great benefit, without arousing disobedience and envy, moreover also without annoyance of the common rabble, also without some people's injuries and disgrace, because it is acted so carelessly among unlearned people and the wild, insolent rabble.

8. but that you continue to pretend that you teach the truth as you have read and learned it in the holy Scriptures, we cannot punish, but provided you do so with godliness and meekness, not with reproach and blasphemy, not arousing nor giving cause for disobedience to the common power and authority of the church.

9. if you comply with this, your counsel or work is from God and will undoubtedly be praiseworthy and beneficial, and that I speak to you as Gamaliel spoke to the Jews in Acts 5:38 will remain firm. 5, 38. with the Jews, will remain firm, so that no one will be able to dampen it. But if your work is out of envy, presumption and pride, to revile and blaspheme others, it is certainly out of men, and will easily perish by itself. For we know that

that no one has ever gone without certain blessings, if he has abused God's graces and benefits, and has set himself against the truth and God Himself. May the same God grant to us, to you and to all Christians, that we may act justly and sincerely. Fare well in Christ. Given at Calbe, February 26, Anno 1520.

431 D. Mart. Luther's letter to the Bishop of Merseburg, Adolph, with the same content, dated Feb. 4, 1520.

This letter is found in Latin in Aurifaber, vol. I > p. 237; in dex Wittenberg edition (1551), vol. II? p. 466; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 401 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 311. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 91 d; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I > p. 216; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 350 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 295.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the venerable in Christ Father and Lord, Lord Adolph, Bishop of the Church at Merseburg, his exceedingly kind and especially gracious Lord,
1) Martin Luther commends himself in all submission and reverence.

JEsus.

I have been informed, most reverend Father in Christ, most noble Prince, 2) how badly I am talked about in front of others among you, most reverend Father, because of some who, whether out of zeal for God or driven by another attitude, carry out everything that is mine in a different way than they wanted yours to be carried out by someone: therefore I have not been able to take into consideration, neither your highness nor my lowliness, that I should not have dared to come before the throne of E. F. G. with this letter. F. G. with this letter. And this for no other reason, lest my conscience should one day torment me, if, on account of my silence, either the truth were in danger there or the salvation of men, where it should be most certain and certain.

For if what they charge me with is false, it is not believed without danger, because all those who believe such pretenders are turned away by this faith in an ungodly way from the faith of Christ, whose falsely charged truth they consider to be a lie.

And it is not difficult that 'even princely men are deceived by the exceedingly apparent flattering compunction, since David, the exceedingly righteous king, seduced by the One Flatterer Ziba, raged against Mephibosheth [2 Sam. 16, 3. f.], and Jehoshaphat, a pious king, could not be dissuaded even by the right prophet Micah, that he, carried away by the multitude and reputation of the false prophets, went with the godless king Ahab to the precipice of danger [1 Kings 22:11 ff].

But if what they tell me is true, it is astonishing, even lamentable, that no one can be found who would deign to teach me, since I have so often promised that I would be taught better and change my mind. Yes, to this day I wish to be able to step out of the public and leave the teaching office, which is extremely dangerous both with God and with people. I know that I do not live what I teach, and therefore I am weary of this office: so much is lacking in it that I should seek honor, as many impose upon me. Therefore I dare to call the Lord Jesus Christ, the future Judge, as a witness over my soul, that I neither know nor can teach other than what I have taught. I am also not aware that I have ever taught anything that is not according to Christ and God's commandments, and no one has ever convicted me of anything else.

What therefore shall I do? Profit is not sought, and if I sought it, I could not find it in the face of so much hatred of many, much less honor in the face of such evil rumors about me. I would truly be the most senseless of all men who have ever been, if I pursued these things, for whose sake I continue to suffer harm instead of gain, dishonor for honor, censure, violence and death instead of enjoying protection and life. If I were mistaken, after these evils, I would also have to go through

1) Here, as in the letter to the archbishop of Mainz, the word "Jhesus" is inserted in the middle and the following is drawn to the beginning of the letter.

2) Bishop Adolph was Prince of Anhalt, of the older Zerbst line, which died out with him in 1526.

the eternal fire. Although such a stubborn person might be found, I hope to be of a different mind, at least in that I am a teacher against my will and serve the ministry of the word. For those who seek honor as stubborn people do not teach unwillingly.

This, venerable Father in Christ, I write to your Reverence with confidence, first, because I take many things for granted because of your innate goodness, which I know well and in which I have absolute confidence that it will receive this writing of mine graciously; Secondly, because I believe that I would be guilty if I left your reverence alone among these false tongues that do evil against me, indeed, if I did not stand by the evangelical truth, which may be evil spoken of for my sake. I have not yet heard of those who have read and condemned what is mine, except for a few who can be assumed to be moved by envy, namely from the fact that they have so often been found to have invented their lies against me, even under the holy name of the Roman Pontiff. For what should they not be subject to, who, under the name of the pope, cite me with false breviaries, admonish me, accuse me, condemn me, declare me a heretic?

This, however, awakens in me the belief that what is mine is wholesome and right, that those who are with foreign nations and do not adhere to either party, the most astute and learned people, wish me very much happiness; I firmly believe that this would also happen to your reverence if she had leisure before business to either read or hear my writings.

Therefore, since I cannot be injured, unless the truth is injured at the same time, if I am rejected when I am heard, or despised when I want to hear (for what more can I do than to promise to give ear to a better, if that is not good in which I am heard): therefore, Reverend Father, I have wished to render you my due service by this letter, lest my Lord by a Ziba or a false prophet Zedekiah [1 Kings 22,

11. ff.] and after such a great bishop's example very many would have the same opinion, and so I would allow by my silence that, admittedly not my good name, but Christ's honor would be profaned. Then I humbly and with all my strength wanted to ask you, reverend father, to let my fewness be commanded by your grace, and, if you know or believe that I have erred somewhere, to fatherly rebuke me and denounce the error.

For the fact that they make such a great point about the authority of the pope and about both forms of the sacrament against me, I am certain that their own conscience bears witness to me, and that in this matter there is no discord among us, except in the name alone. But God will also put an end to these things; He will preserve and govern you, Reverend Father, for eternity, Amen. Given at Wittenberg, February 4, in the year 1520.

Your Reverend Poor Intercessor Brother Martin
Luther.

432 Answer from the Bishop of Merseburg. Dated Merseburg, Feb. 25, 1520.

This letter is found in Latin in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 239; in the Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, col. 47 d and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 335. German (everywhere with the wrong date "den 27. Februar") in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 92d; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 221; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 351 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 296.

Translated from Latin.

JEsum Christum, who is a lover of love and peace, in greeting!

Worthy father and respectable doctor, I received and read your writing last night, and I do not deny that I have often been sad for you and for your sake, since I have heard through many, even great people's letters and announcements, how the simple people, even some of those who are entrusted to my care (as the least of all), have in part fallen into remorse from the writings that have recently come to light about the use of the reverend sacrament.

2, Nor do I see at all what use is made of the spiteful jabs of violent attacks that are interspersed everywhere.

3 Whether your writings and books please some in foreign lands, and whether they are according to the teaching of Christ, I will let others judge.

I wish with all my heart that you and all others who are teachers of the Christian religion would not stab each other so much with poisonous thorns, but rather lead them neatly out of a zeal of divine love.

(5) I also cannot grasp the cause of such great hatred against the pope; indeed, I have a great displeasure with it. Also, you know very well the audacity with which you are making such a statement, and with what kind of an ear one may pass over it.

In my opinion, according to your great skill, you could have written something more conducive to love and salvation instead of these things.

(7) I exhort you, therefore, to do this now and at all times, and to cease from reproach and abuse, and even to speak it.

(8) But what further you desire to be told in your writing, and request that you hear and be instructed, I will, because this cannot well be done in writing, deal with you more extensively in both our presences, since perhaps one day an opportunity will present itself for us to speak to one another, by the grace of Christ.

Fare well and be blessed in Jesus Christ, who is the lover of peace, for whose sake you should temper your pen. Given at Merseburg, February 25, 1520.

To the venerable Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian, professor of sacred theology at Wittenberg, for his own hands.

6 Luther's printed protestation and public offer of inheritance.

433. Luther's Protestation and Erbieten, in which he testifies that he has knowingly written and taught nothing but divine truth, is an obedient son of the Christian church, and will willingly remain silent if he can before his adversaries. Printed at the end of August 1520.

This "Erbieten" was written at the same time as Luther's letter to Emperor Carl (Document No. 428). Luther wrote both documents at the behest of the princely court, so that the newly elected emperor, who was now

The Reformation was to be crowned. Although there is no explicit testimony to this, it can be concluded that Luther sent both documents to Spalatin, through whom the Elector mostly communicated with Luther, for correction and a more refined, i.e. diplomatic, formulation. On August 23, 1520, Luther wrote to Spalatin (annex in this volume, no. 57): "Behold, I send you the 'Erbieten' (eloKion) and the letter to the emperor for correction," the next day: "I believe that my letter with the Erbieten and the other things has reached you. You, I beg you, take care that you smooth everything with a careful file," and on the last of the month: "I send you the printed hereditary offer and the letter to Franz Sickingen and to Emperor Carl." The letter to Sickingen had been sent by Luther to Spalatin for his disposal. In Sickingen's answer to it, dated November 3, 1520 (No. 492), it says: "I have received your last letter here in Cologne, have read it together with your posted apology and offer of inheritance, and have also heard Magister Georgen Spalatin's offer." Spalatin's "request" must have been that Sickingen hand over Luther's letter (No. 428) to the Emperor, with whom he was in special favor. From what has been said, it follows that the date added to the letter in all Latin editions (except Weimar's), "January 17, 1520," is wrong, and that it was written and published towards the end of August.

There are two significantly different redactions of the "Erbieten". One will be Luther's handwritten draft (No. 434), the other the form produced by Spalatin's assistance and approved by the court, which was then printed in the last days of August, our writing. The first printing has the title: "Doctor Martinus Luther Augustiners Erbieten." 2 leaves in quarto. The Weimar edition then describes three reprints. After that, the "Erbieten" is included in "Martini Luthers mancherley büchlin vnnd tractetlin" from October 1520, namely (because the printer had received it too late) before the preface. On it in Cyprians deorZii Spalatin! 'nnal68 kekorinutionis, 1718, p. 7. Further, in the Wittenberger (1554), vol. VII, p. 97; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 339b; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 343 (a translation of the Latin text); in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 290 (the same); in the Erlanger, 1. Äusl., Vol. 24, p. 9, second ed., Vol. 24, p. 12, and in the Weimar, Vol. VI, p. 480. The Erbieten is also printed in Latin, together with Luther's letter to Emperor Carl. We have already given the title at No. 428. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1551), torn. II, lob 44; in the Jena one (1566), torn. II, col. 255 (wrong 257), in the Erlanger, opp. var. ar^h, tönn V, p. 4 and in the Weimarsche, vol. VI, p. 482. According to Walch, we have retained Spalatin's text, here and there improved according to the Weimarsche AusgaM

Before the Imperial Diet at Worms, on January 25, 1521, Luther again sent the Elector a printed copy of the "Erbieten" with the promise to do and leave everything he could with God and Christian honor. Whether this is the document that Emperor Carl, according to Aleander's report, tore up and threw to the ground is still in question (Weim. Ausg.). Compare Brieger, Quellen und Forschungen, 1st volume, 1st section, p. 55.

JEsus.

I, Martin Luther, Augustinian, deprive all those who will read or hear my writing of the grace of the Almighty God and my poor prayer, and I have no reason to know that, after what has come to light through my books, I have incurred the displeasure, disfavor, wrath, and displeasure of many people. Thus, for almost three years, I have endlessly and ceaselessly suffered persecution, abuse, driving, and all the evil that my opponents might think and imagine, seeing that I have gladly, and against my will, given myself up to them, And not otherwise, than by the other's consent, painted, and urged by the other's urging, have I written, all that I have written, 1) and nye nothing more serious and lesser desired, than that I, as a man who has passed, may remain in a Winckel secretly and unknown.

Also, that I with God the Almighty, and my conscience, may testify truthfully, and with much righteous, Christian, High Gelarians, and understanding people, that I may never otherwise resolve, and be vindicated, as I would not like to do otherwise, than to give the evangelical, divine truth against the doubtful, unbelievable opinion, 2) error and misconception of human law and order, yes, of the constitutional, ferocious order. Then God knows that I should be heartily sorry if I should act unchristianly with my will and my deeds, or if I should teach, preach, scream, speak at all in the church or in school, which would be contrary to God and the soul. In addition to this, I have offered myself at times as a faithful, obedient son of the Holy Christian Church, which I, by the grace of God, want to "die", if I want to, for the sake of my own repugnant knowledge and desire.

and to stand in judgment, to "learn" and be taught better and more Christian mayuug from the holy scriptures, to allow myself to be heard in public disputation, to be recognized by all unrighteous university judges, by the same spiritual and secular judges, on a free, safe and sufficient basis, to come forward willingly and humbly, and to accept their interrogation and judgement, and if, after a reasonable referral, I am able to do so, with the best foundation of the Holy Scriptures, I have been found guilty and convicted, I will only allow myself, and my offer, to speak truthfully, to praise God all the time, and for the good, comfort and salvation of common Christianity, according to my oath and duty, as a poor doctor of the Holy Scriptures, to obediently refrain from any search for God's praise, benefit and advantage. But all this is considered so futile and unfruitful by my opponents, that they have accused me of being a heretic, a detractor of Christianity, an angry, discreditable, erroneous, cursing, and of many other ways, secretly and publicly, that I have forgiven them all from the bottom of my heart. Therefore, for God's sake, I ask you to consider that I am once again of my former will and desire, and that I am aware of the offence of hatred and evil, and whether I have hitherto written too earnestly or scoldingly for the sake of your concern, or whether I would also write to you to kindly forgive me for it; Considering that all this has happened, and is still happening, all for the sake of Christianity, and not for the sake of my praise or enjoyment, and that I have been so highly and noticeably wronged by manifold, shameful, and unfortunate things, vnfounded, vnskillful, vnchristian, God's lesterly screaming of my counterpart, and to have excused myself, where I am carried into it in other ways, for God's sake. This I am, above divine emphasis, willing to do for the sake of them all, and one in particular, with my poor commandment toward God. May God's will be done on earth as it is in heaven. AMEN.

1) The words: "all that I have written" are missing in Spalatin's annals.

2) "Wenung" - delusion. In Spalatin's annals: Trenung.

434 Handwritten draft of the foregoing inheritance. August 1520.

From Luther's own manuscript in Cyprian's Useful Documents, vol. I, p. 493; in the Supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 115; in the Erlanger, 1st ed. vol. 24, p. 12; 2nd ed. vol. 24, p. 14; and in the Weimar, vol. VI, p. 476. The latter says: "This text bears a sharper stamp of Luther's own character" than the print.

Jhesus.

To anyone who reads or listens to this book, I declare Martin Luther Augustine, called Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, as I have now three years ago offered myself for trial and interrogation, that my matter had been put before the disputation and several universities, and that as far as I was able, I was glad to have found out about the past, that I had the trust and the love to reprove and to keep quiet. All this has been done by common man's cunning and wickedness, and it is not yet open to eyes to tear me more and more into deceit. Then I may say on my conscience that I have never yet conceived anything of the papacy or of all its powers: it would all have remained the same, had not the nepotism and honor pretended to obtain a prize from me. I am by all means, and as many adversaries as I am so greatly offended. Now that they no longer know me, they "drop the matter" and begin to revile my life, saying that I am peyssig, vengeful, and many other names. Now it is not my intention to measure or protect my life and my family (of which I myself am too unaware). Yes, I had provided that I should be placed among the learned men of understanding, and that I should assume such a name as that of which a man would know himself better, for I had wanted, with divine help, to have acted more preciouslly in my life. Now I see that my own great contempt, which I have all judged to dismiss me quickly from my fiefdoms, is not measured at all correctly, and the great fiefdoms, which I do not dispute, have by such nerrish humiliation and my contempt been used to the detriment of my good lere (which I have not provided myself with). For this reason, I ask all my friends and friends, who still want to rebuke me, and

where I have been too busy, I have to put on the best. Considering that I have had to fight all those who have jumped out of no fox, rams, as many as large, learned, ruthless people, at my will. It should not be surprising that so many reyssewolves bark at a dog, and also bark at it. I have also barked at one with the same measure that I measured with. I also offered to listen to and accept the best of all: then I, that God knows, would not like you to act unchristian, or to learn, speak and scream, that God, and he, would be blessed. But if I do not want to be left in peace and reprimanded, I ask that no one may cause me to be tired or weary: Then God will give me my heart, so that I may be weary before the whole world. My foundation, on which I build, will stand firm, and my heart will not waver nor sink, even though all the infernal gates there are rams, that I know for certain.

It doesn't matter to me that some of them give my school, I want to presume greater art than all the world has, and all of them are lux mundi. If I had been left in my own home, they would have been good for my remaining master of Israel, and I would have been what I was. The Christian warheytt stood one time on St. Panel: But one time on St. Athanasii, item on St. Augustini: Yes it has one time eyne Eselynnne Widder the Propheten geredt. Who knows what God wants to do through us. He is the same God who, though we may be sinners, must remain his creature, and is terrible in his judgments of men.

I have laid it down for the good opinion of the man, that he should guard himself against evil, and against hatred and envy. I am very humble and honest, and I do not want anyone to be afraid of my hatred or disfavor, because my courage is too good and too great for me to be kind to anyone. Nor have I anything for eyes, for the matter of the marriage to yourself, which I hold in my heart: and if for your sake I am too willing or would be too free and fresh, I will freely give it to you. I know him no more to do. May God's will be done on earth as it is for you. Amen.

The second section of the sixth chapter.

Like D. Eck, after taking bad honor from the Leipzig disputation, set out and traveled to Rome.

**A. From the previously, though in vain, made effort D. Eck
D. to burn Luther's books.**

Luther's report of this to Spalatin.

See Appendix, No. 55, B 1.

**B. Von v, Eck's journey to Vom and trial there against
Luther.**

**436: D. Joh. Eck's letter about his legation and action against
Luther in Rome. Dated May 3, 1520.**

This letter, which was published in Latin in Wittenberg in a single print, has the heading: "Letter of Johann Eck, the Papal See's nuncio, as he writes, Against his will. Copied from his handwriting, which will show how true the letter is that he wrote from Leipzig to Wittenberg, in which he says that he took upon himself the office of the legation against Luther against his will. It is found in Latin in the Wittenberg (1551), torn. II, col. 48; in the Jena (1579), toiri. I, toi. 473 k and in the Erlanger, opp. vur^A. arK., torn. I V, p. 256. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 94; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 223k; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 357 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 303. Johann Fabri is named as the recipient of the letter by the Weimar edition. In the old German editions, the marginal glosses are missing, which probably proves that they do not come from Luther.

Hail and all welfare! When I traveled to Rome, venerable Lord Vicari,^a) John Ulrich, your relative, came to me on the way, so both came to Rome fresh and healthy at the same time. There I presented my booklet, which I wrote about the Primacy and Superiority of Peter,^b) to our most holy Father Pabst; but how graciously and kindly his Holiness has let himself be heard towards me,^c) likewise also the most reverend Cardinals, I would rather indicate to you now than write about it in silent letters.

a) Vicari. Note, here he used the old vocative violari in Latin and made it himself, since it is not common.

- b) Petri written. However, this will probably never see the light of day.
- d) have them interrogated. This is how one murderer talks to another.

2 This papal bull^d) against Luther has now been briefly drafted and conceived, and will be executed in the next council of the Cardinals. And if papal holiness will follow my, the Eck's, advice,^e) by sending the bull in Germany, all cardinals and bishops^f) will undoubtedly agree to it and sign themselves. Truly, it has been good and highly necessary,^g) that I have just now come to Rome; otherwise you would have known little about Luther's erroneous and seductive teaching^h). You shall hear from me in due time at our meeting all that I have done in this matter. ⁱ)

- d) The papal bull. The papal bull is called minutu by him in Latin. And so he rightly calls it something contemptible. For what is more contemptible than a papal bull?
- e) my, the corner's, council. Certainly, such a gentleman had to have such a counselor.
- f) all cardinals and bishops. Namely, so that Luther would be overcome by the number of votes.
- g) would have been necessary. Otherwise, it would have been over for the papists.
- h) erroneous and seductive doctrine. Namely, that the corner should or can be judge.
- i) had acted. And nevertheless he writes to the University of Wittenberg that the order had been imposed on him against his will.

Pontifical Holiness, two Cardinals, a Doctor from Hispania and I, have been together for almost five hours, and there have not had the same concerns and advice; it was also requested that each one in particular indicate his opinion and discretion. ^j)

- j) and discretion. It has been only a dazzle, and the others have been abused, that it has been desired of them to indicate their opinion and discretion.

4. the form of the bulla^k) will please pious people,^l) as I see myself, because it gives much and manifold information about custom and habit, both of the old and new conciliarities,^m) also of popes; besides that, also about the

The forty-one errors of Luther are explicitly condemned inside. ⁿ⁾)

- k) The form of the bulla. The bulla is also nothing more than a mere form, that is, a dazzle and sham.
- l) pious people. Namely, that one has already tuned according to the bull.
- m) new concilia. He even rightly invokes the new concilia.
- n) be condemned. But who are those who condemn them?

5 As far as my parish^o) at Ingolstadt is concerned, I could justifiably receive nothing, as I am reported by my good friends, if I were not to receive it by papal authority.

- o) my parish. See the Christian intention from which Eck came to Rome.

Now, however, Papal Holiness both for their person willingly 1) and with great earnestness,^p) also through the intercession of many most reverend Cardinals, graciously and fatherly offered,^q) not to let me go from then on, unless I was completely assured and satisfied for the sake of the parish. Yes, he also let himself be heard not only to leave it at that, but also to graciously give me more and greater gifts. ^{r)})

- p) with great seriousness. Here it is written in Latin: per suuur peetus, for the pope sets before himself nothing but holy things in his heart.
- q) offered. As the high priest Caiphas offered Judah thirty pieces of silver to betray Jesus. Matth. 26,15.
- r) to graciously bestow. How much more generous Leo is than Caiphas!

Yesterday I talked and acted in all sorts of ways with our most holy Father Pope about Luther's matter, reported to His Holiness and indicated what the Cardinals, who were drawn to this matter to discuss it, had done; I will also ask His Holiness tomorrow,^s) and actually inquire on the day when a consistory is to be set up again.

- s) Request holiness. Here Eck praises himself.

8. from Rome^t) I have heard evil things, as I now see and experience. But if something evil happens here, it has therefore a greater reputation, that from all places, as far as Christianity reaches, the basic soup^u) of all vice and stank of the worst boys is found here.

- t) From Rome. Note here Eck's gratitude for such a fat parish.

- u) the basic soup. Note here his own words: Rome is the basic soup of all vices and stank of the worst boys, who are found there from all countries, as far as Christianity reaches.

(9) Things are much more gruesome and terrible at the Roman court, as can now be seen at the bishops' courts in Germany, as well as at the courts of many princes^v) However, so that I do not praise Rome too much, I will leave it at that until I come to you again from Rome. For it would be a great disgrace if you were to promise and destroy that which you have previously praised.

- v) Courts are used to happen. Note its proof that it happens elsewhere as well.

I would like you to give Urban my letter to read. ^{w)}) If I could be helpful to your cause, I would gladly do so. So much I hear, if I desired a reservation, even if it concerned a good summa, I would not be denied it. But I do not want to get involved in such an evil matter^x). Farewell, and be greeted very diligently. Given from Rome, May 3, 1520.

- w) to read. That is not Eck's habit, that he lets others read his letters, except when it pleases him.
- x) into such evil thing. How pious must not Rome be, which promises evil things? And how true does not Eck speak herewith when he praises this city?

I cannot write enough how graciously and favorably some Cardinals^y) show themselves against me, especially Cardinal St. Crucis, Anconitanus, Aginensis, St. Quatuor, Jacobitanus, St. Sixti, de Salviatis, Campegius 2c.

- y) Some cardinals. Does any ruler or Pharisee believe in him? But the people who know nothing of the law are accursed. Joh. 7,48.

Luther's thoughts on this in a letter to Johann Lang.

See Appendix, No. 56.

C. About the correspondence of Valentin Teutleben with Chursachsen, which was conducted during the stay of D. Eck in Rome and was quite dangerous for Luther, and what the Pope himself, as well as the Cardinal St. Georgii wrote to Chursachsen.

438: Elector Frederick of Saxony's reply to Valentin Teutleben dispatched to Rome, as

he had so far given Luther no encouragement at all, and had also let him answer for his teachings himself; just as he would have liked to see Luther leave his lands long ago, Luther had also wanted to do this, if Miltitz had not been against it. Sept. 1, 1520.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1551), torah. II, tot. 49; in the Jena (1566), torn. II, iol. 2551) and in the Erlangen, opp. var. ur[^], tora.v, x>. 7. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 93; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 222; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 352 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 297. In all with the incorrect date "den 1. April." Because the letter mentions the "printed hereditary offer" (No. 433), it must be placed either in the last days of August or later. We assume that 8spt. was read in Xpr.; according to this, our time determination. See Weimar edition, vol. VI, 475 f.

Dear faithful! That you write, since it might be the case that these and other our matters and affairs would be troublesome to the most holy father, the pope, and would remain stagnant and unpromoted, that in your opinion all this is to be attributed to the immodesty and presumption of Doctor Martin Luther, because he, as you say, I do not know what new doctrine he has spread against Papal Holiness and the Holy See and Church at Rome, and has not shown and humbled himself against the most venerable lords, the Cardinals, with due modesty and reverence, and is especially protected, promoted and graciously held by us, as the common rumor should testify 2c.

2 Recently, in your gracious opinion, we do not want to reassure you that we have never undertaken or undertaken to promote or defend Doctor Martin Luther's teachings and writings for us with our authority and reputation, as we still do not do today. For we do not presume to judge what he has done rightly or wrongly, taught Christianly or otherwise, and still teaches.

3 Although we cannot and will not deny that we nevertheless hear how this man's teaching is considered and approved by many scholars and persons of understanding to be godly and Christian, we nevertheless leave this in its value. And just as we do not prejudge anyone, nor pass judgment on his teaching, so we leave him, as the master, free to defend his teaching himself on his own merits, especially because this whole matter is now placed on a right and proper footing.

In accordance with the recognition to which he has subjected himself, so that he has offered to appear obediently before Papal Holiness Commissars, who has been chosen for this purpose, on a reasonable condition, namely on sufficient assurance and escort, to show cause for everything that he has taught and written; also with attached, superfluous, submissive and obedient protestation, since he has reported and taught other and better things from God's words about the smallest part of his doctrine, and has been convicted and overcome of some error with true testimonies of the holy Scriptures, then he will gladly let go of his opinion, change it and revoke it; as can be seen from the note! of his Protestation or Erbietend, 1) which he has publicly printed.

(4) Although there are not sufficient reasons, after he has thus offered himself, to lay out something further and difficult about it, we have, before and before the matter comes to this condition and means, also had this done with him, D. Martin Luther, and have brought it about that he has offered and promised to leave our lands and university voluntarily. And he would have been ready to do so, if the papal legate, Carol von Miltitz, had not interfered, and had sought us with many requests, and had urged us not to let him come from us. For he feared that if such a thing happened, Doctor Luther would go to the Oerter, where he would be much freer and safer to write and act as he wished, than he had been until now, when he would still have had to shy away from us and our university. In order to prevent this, it is considered more advisable to keep him with us. And for these and other many reasons we should, in our opinion, be so well excused by everyone that no one should have reason to have any bad suspicions against us, much less to complain about us with secret slander and false blasphemy.

Therefore, we are confident that our affairs will not be hated or hindered by papal sanctity. For we may well say with truth and certainty, and we highly trust, that nothing more distressing, painful and painful 2) can happen to us, than that during our life and government, and under our protection, some damaging or harmful events can happen to us.

1) Document No. 433.

2) In the Wittenberg: "Werfers"; in the Jena: "weersers". In Latin only: triktius st aosrdius.

The first thing we have done is to confirm and root the errors that have been spread. As we have written such our mind in writings to the most reverend Cardinal St. Georgii, our dear Lord and friend, after the length, and have given him to recognize.

(6) However, for the sake of the common kinship of the fatherland, with which we may act more freely, we do not want to keep this from you, as our countrymen, which we note and hear from the common speeches of the people; namely, that many good people say for certain that Doctor Martin Luther, as it is said that he publicly confesses both in writing and orally, did not come to these controversial matters and disputations from the papacy intentionally or willfully, but against his will, and was even dragged to them by D. Eck with his hair and often provoked and provoked by some writings that publicly went out against him in Rome and elsewhere. Eck by the hair, and often provoked and irritated by several writings that have gone out publicly against him in Rome and elsewhere, and forced him to answer. Since they would have been satisfied, these things, which are now being discussed, would never have been brought up, but would have remained completely silent and buried.

(7) And because Germany now has many fine, skillful, learned and understanding people, experienced in all kinds of languages and arts, and now also the laity are beginning to become wise, to have a desire and love for the holy Scriptures, to recognize them rightly, many people think that it is very much to be worried and feared, if such a cheap condition and means, to which D. Luther offered himself, were to be avoided, and if he were to be beaten only with censures and banishment without rightful recognition. Luther has offered, would be neglected, and he, without rightful recognition, would be beaten with censures of the church and banishment alone, this quarrel and dispute would become much more violent and greater, so that the matter could not well be settled and brought to peace afterwards.

8. For Luther's doctrine is already so deeply rooted in many hearts in Germany that if it were not refuted with righteous and consistent arguments, reasons, and public, bright testimonies of Scripture, but were to be proceeded with and continued solely with the terror of church power to suppress it, it would not proceed in this way (as it is thought to do), but would arouse great, violent anger in Germany, and arouse terrible, cruel, harmful, and pernicious uproar; which would not benefit the most holy father, the pope, or others in any way.

(9) This we have, as both the church and the kingdom of common lands and people's welfare.

and would like to receive it with all my heart, for the answer, you 1) gracious opinion do not want to leave unindicated, and are inclined to you with grace. Date at Torgau, the first of September 2) Anno 1520.

439 Pope Leo X's letter to Elector Frederick of Saxony, in which he flatters him and requests that he either bring Luther to recant or imprison him for singing; he also reports that he had a congregation of cardinals examine Luther's abominable teachings and condemn them in a bull, a copy of which he sends along. Rome, July 8, 1520.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1551), bom. II, col. 495; in the Jena (1566), tom. II, tot. 2565; and in the Erlanger, opp. var. urZ., tom. V, p. 10. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 945; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 279; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 471 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 313.

Translated from Latin.

Beloved Son, salvation and apostolic blessing!

1. Since it has come to us, through the testimony of honorable, honest people, that you, noble Lord, out of great special wisdom and godliness to the highest God, and right faith in him, and out of innate noble nature, from your forefathers (who always bore a special inclination towards the Roman Church and this Holy See), you have always been displeased and displeased with the (unjust) evil behavior of Martin Luther, the child of wickedness, and have never been helpful or favorable to him: We were very pleased to hear this from you, so that this message almost increased the rumor of your praiseworthy virtue, which was known to us before, and made our fatherly love for you greater.

But we cannot conclude for ourselves whether we should attribute this praiseworthy deed to your wisdom or godliness. For it is a sure indication of an excellent, special wisdom in you, that you know and recognize that this raging man, out of pure ambition, which does not rhyme at all with his profession, so obeys and

1) In the German editions: "auch"; Latin: vo5i8.

2) This is our Conjecture. In our template:Kalend. April.

He calls for humility, he agitates anew the old heresies of the Vilefites, Hussites, Bohemians, long ago condemned by the general church, he attaches the common rabble to himself, he gives the simple hearts cause to sin by wrong understanding of the Scriptures as he interprets them, he perverts and rejects the bond of chastity and innocence, but especially confession and repentance of the heart by unspiritual loose talk. Moreover, he who also holds with the Turk and complains that the heretics who received their punishment were wronged; in sum, he who presumes to mix the highest with the lowest.

(3) Yes, we say, that you certainly know that this man is not sent by Christ, but by the wretched Satan, who has got into such great pride and nonsense and is so exalted that he is allowed to say and write publicly: he does not want to believe the holy doctors' writings, nor the general conciliar commandments, nor the Roman bishops' statutes, but only him and his discretion or delusion; which presumption no heretic has ever submitted to.

4 Therefore, noble lord, you do very wisely that you have despised the fellowship of this harmful and poisonous man, who truly, as you can well judge, is a great stain on the noble house of Saxony, but especially on the German nation.

5. but to your godliness is to be ascribed this, that you never did not approve of some of his so great errors, but rather resisted them; that therefore no one is given cause by you to depart from the old and long-continued custom and order of the Christian faith, so much preserved a hundred years ago by the Holy Spirit.

Since we have heard this from you, and, as we have reported, it has come to us through much testimony, we have not only praised you for ourselves, but have also made known these praiseworthy deeds of yours to many brave, excellent men, and have unanimously exalted and praised your noble way with due praise in the Lord Christ, and have thanked the same Lord that through you and others he has put such obstacles in the way of and in opposition to the ungodly ways of the shameful, blasphemous man.

7 We have also been patient with him for a long time, because we wanted and hoped that he would improve. But since neither our gentleness nor fatherly exhortation will do anything for him, nor will it help, there is a great danger that a mangy dog will not get into trouble.

If the sheep poisoned a large part of the Lord's flock and also made them mangy, we have a sharp remedy at hand.

(8) As we have called together the holy assembly of our reverend brethren, the Cardinals and other men in spiritual rights, as well as all those who are very well practiced and experienced in divine Scripture, we have well considered and investigated the matter, and finally, by the help of the Holy Spirit, who in such matters is for and for advisable and helpful to this Holy See, we have made this decree, written it in a document according to the apostolic manner, and provided it with a leaden 1) bull.

9. In which Scripture, according to our command, out of many, indeed almost innumerable errors of this erring man, these are neatly listed, which in part of all things are heretical, and pervert the right faith; But in part, where the bonds of obedience, chastity and humility are torn in the simple hearts, they provoke and entice to all kinds of trouble and evil; but which this perverse man, out of gall and bitterness of shameful hatred, has poured out against this holy See, God, not we, shall be the judge.

10. We are sending you, noble Lord, a copy of this scripture printed in our holy city, so that, when you have diligently investigated the errors of this servant of the devil, you may first remind and admonish him, as written in the scripture out of apostolic meekness, that he should drop his disobedient and proud courage and return, so that he may be helped when he has recanted his blasphemous errors; for he shall experience God's grace and our goodness.

If, however, he persists in his raging nonsense, and the deadline is over, as expressed in the above-mentioned print, you would provide, as much as is in your power and authority, that he be imprisoned as a declared heretic and kept there until our further request.

12. in which you, noble Lord, do us the highest favor, namely, if you carry out the good name of your excellent virtue to the same end, and do not a little tarnish your, your praiseworthy family's, and the whole German nation's praise and good reputation, and obtain this great, glorious thanks both before God and man, that through your diligence and godliness the started fire of the harmful

1) In Latin: xluinbea duHa jum'snituiQ; in the German editions: "mit einer blewen Bullen gezieret".

The Holy See has turned away and extinguished the beautiful splendor of the true, pure faith and of the people who believe in Christ. Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, on the 8th of July, in the 1520th year of our Papacy, in the eighth year.

440 Luther's answer to Spalatin after the communication of Teutleben's and Cardinal St. Georgii's letters. July 9, 1520.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltische Gesamtarchiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 270k; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 461 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 428. German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 95d; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 280k; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 478; and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 315. We have retranslated from the Erlangen correspondence, which printed the original. - From this letter Kolde, Martin Luther, Vol. I, p. 387 aa p. 266 wanted to conclude that the "Erbieten" (No. 433) was already written immediately after July 9, but wrongly. Compare Weimar edition, vol. VI, p. 475.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To his best and dearest Georg Spalatin, ducal court preacher, servant of Christ, his faithful friend.

JESus.

Hail! I have, my dear Spalatin, secretly read the Roman letters 1) with great pain, because I see such a great lack of understanding and godlessness in such great heads of the church. I fear that they are so disgraced by the light of their conscience and of truth that they can no longer have judgment and sound senses. They condemn what is mine, and yet at the same time confess that it is astute and learned; then without having read it, or desired that it should be read for them. The Lord have mercy on us all.

1) Namely, the one that the Elector received on July 6 or 7 *) from the Cardinal St. Georgii (Raphael Petrucci) and Doctor Valentin Teutleben, the Elector's attorney in Rome. The letter of the Cardinal, the original of which is in Weimar, is dated Homas 3. Xpr. 1520; the answer of the Elector to it, from Lochau, July 10, 1520 (not ex XuZn8ta 5. XuAustl 1518), we have already reported No. 155 in this volume. The answer to Teutleben's letter may be No. 438; but it would be striking that the Elector hesitated so long with his answer.

*Spalatin gives (in Mencken II, 601) July s., the Elector in his reply July 7.

What can I then advise the good Elector what should be written? and therefore I rather write to you. First of all, you know how much more just cause I have to complain than they do; my published books are witnesses to this, in which I so often confess and complain that I did not get into this matter by having had the air to do so, but that I got into it by force. Furthermore, I have so often offered peace and silence. But where do I not ask to be taught better and try to dissuade them? I am still of such a mind that I want to remain silent if I am allowed to remain silent, that is, if they are also made to remain silent.

It is known to all that Eck did not drag me into the matter of the Pope for any other reason than so that he would make a mockery of me, of my name, of all that is mine, and even of our university, and trample it underfoot. Now that they see that God resists this man, they accuse me of a nonsensical addiction to peace. How should I, a wretched man, seek honor, who desires nothing else than to be allowed to live my life in seclusion (*privatus*) and completely hidden, away from the public?

Let him have my offices who will; let him burn my writings (mea) who will: I pray thee, what shall I do further? But at the same time I say this: If I am not allowed to be free from the teaching ministry and the service of the word, I want at least to be free in the administration of my office. I am burdened enough with many sins, I do not want to add to them this one, which cannot be forgiven, that where I am put into office, I do not carry out my office and am found guilty of an ungodly silence, that I have missed the truth and so many thousands of souls. Let that Cardinal [St. George] boast that his Church does not need defending: why does he defend it?

I like it in every way, 2) that the

2) In this paragraph, Luther gives advice, even though he had rejected this before, how the Elector should behave towards the Romans and what he should answer them. It seems to us not thunlich, the sentence: 86 vsro, ut suäitorsm aMrs of P088it, ita

that the most noble prince is a complete stranger to my cause, as he has done so far, and is pushing me out into the public, so that I am either instructed or convicted; but that he also, as he cannot give the instruction, does not want to be judge or *executor*, unless the verdict is passed and clearly stated. That he also does not see how he can punish someone, Turk or Jew, without knowing it, which they do not even touch with a word, unless the Romans want him to obey them, the people, more than God, and he should rage against him of whom he does not know whether he is guilty or innocent, which cannot happen with an inviolate conscience, and he cannot be urged to such a conscience by any commandments, not even by divine ones.

They may punish Silvester, Eck, Cajetan and others, who for the sake of their honor have caused this tragedy in the Roman Church without any cause; I am not guilty of it. All that I have done and do, I do compulsorily, I am always ready to stand still, only they shall not call the evangelical truth to stand still. And they will get everything from me, yes, everything that I have offered, they shall have of their own free will,

nee juäitwm velle nee executorem as a request of Luther (so Walch, De Wette und der Erlanger Briefwechsel); they are rather words (suggested by Luther) of the Elector. If one does not understand it in this way, one gets into trouble with the translation, as it happened to the old translator, who gave the words: Nee viäero 86 like this: "I [Luther] do not see either" 2c.

if they want to let the way to bliss be free for the Christians. This is the only thing I desire from them, and nothing else. What can be desired more honorably? I do not desire a cardinal's hat, not gold, not anything that Rome holds in high value today.

Or if I do not obtain this, they may deprive me of the office, and let me live and die in the corner of the wasteland [of the monastery]. I, a wretched man, do not like to teach, yet I have to suffer evil for it, while others both like to teach and are honored for it. My mind, which is so minded, cannot by any means fear threats nor look for promises. Are they looking for me to imprint fear or hope on my mind, or to make me outwardly so?

Here you have my opinion. By the way, I hope that the most noble prince will write in such a way that these Roman heads may understand that Germany has been oppressed so far not by its lack of scientific education (*ruditate*), but that of the Italians, by God's secret counsel. Farewell, and receive everything locked up again, as you sent it. On the day after Kilian [July 9] 1520.

Martin Luther.

441 Luther's report to Spalatin on the content of the reply to Cardinal St. Crucis, which was to be written from the court in response to his expert opinion.

See Appendix, No. 57, § 2.

Section Three of Chapter Six.

He tells of Eck's return from Rome, of the papal bull of excommunication against Luther that he had brought with him, and of the difficulties that occurred during its publication, as well as of Luther's appeal to a concilium.

What Luthers did after he learned of Eck's arrival.

442 Luther's report to Spalatin of Eck's arrival and the bull he brought with him, in which he steadfastly despises it and indicates that he wants to examine this lying Eckian bull. See

Appendix, No. 41, § 1-3.

443: Luther's paper "Von den neuen Eckischen Bullen und Lügen. Mid-October 1520.

Mainly on Eck's initiative (cf. No. 436 in this volume), Luther was banned in Rome on June 15, 1520. Eck had been entrusted with the task of publishing the bull of excommunication in Germany. Returning to Germany, he had it posted in Meissen on September 21, in Merseburg on the 25th, and in Brandenburg on the 29th. On the latter day he completed

also a book, which was directed against one point of Luther's writing "to the Christian nobility", but also emphasized several sentences, which were rejected in the papal bull. The title of this book is: "Des heiligen Concilij tzu Costentz, der heyiligen Christenheit, vnd hochlöblichen keiſers Sigmunds, vn auch des Teutzschen Adels entschuldigung, das in bruder Martin Luder, mit vnwarheit auff gelegt, Sie haben Joannem Huß, vnd Hieronymü von Prag wider Babstlich Christlich, Keyserlich geleidt vnd eydt vorbrandt, Johan von Eck Doctor." 8 leaves in quarto. Printed by Martin Landsberg in Leipzig. On October 3, this publication left the press. Carl von Miltitz immediately sent it to the Elector. In contrast, there appeared, probably under a pseudonym: "Dialogus aber ein gespreche. wieder Doctor Ecken Buchlein, das er zu entschuldigung des Concilij zu Costnitz 2c. außgehen hat, gemacht durch Chuntzen von Oberndorff." 8 leaves in quarto. Printed by Matthes Maler in Erfurt. In the meantime, the bull had arrived in Wittenberg on October 3, and with it probably Eck's book, to which Luther himself now replied with our writing: "Von den neuen Eckischenn Bullen vnd lügen D. Martini Luther. Vuittemberg." 8 leaves in quarto. Printed by Melchior Lotther in Wittenberg. Three reprints appeared in Augsburg and one in Basel. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (t 554), vol. VII, p. 133 d; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 341; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 526; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 318; in the Erlangen, first ed, Vol. 24, p. 14; second edition, Vol. 24, p. 17; and in the Weimarschen, Vol. VI, p. 576. We give the text according to the latter.

1. That Doctor Eck has come from Rome is confirmed to me by many brave reports, among which the strongest is that, although he was previously recognized and appointed as such a false man in Bavaria, Swabia, Austria, the Rhine, Rome, Bononia, and also now in Meissen and Saxony, who lies and is true to everything he speaks, writes and does, as his *Canonici indocti*, 1) and *Eccius dedolatus*, as well as many brave people, have proven to him, he has now wanted to prove his honest journey to Rome, and has undertaken to overcome himself with lies. For such people now exist in Rome, and no other.

2 First, he writes: I adulterate the sacrament of baptism, saying that it does not take away all sins, and that I do not want to water the children with it. There Doctor Eck says his own. It is found differently in my book 2); there I refer to. I must let lie, who does not want to let it.

3 Doctor Eck also writes that I destroy repentance and consider it unnecessary, curtail confession, and reject satisfaction. This he inflicts on me, for my books say otherwise.

Thirdly, Doctor Eck writes that I reject preparation for the Sacrament with prayer and fasting. This is not so, but I teach that they are not enough. But that to give both forms to the laity, and to believe Christ's flesh and blood under the natural bread and wine, is heretical, he says his own, for he knows otherwise.

(5) It is also of this kind that I should teach that it is enough for a sinner to refrain from sinning, if he has not already repented. Notice, dear man, what good would such a liar intend, who so brazenly against public books may freely lie to me so venomously?

After that he blames me for causing a riot and for arousing the nobility against the pope, and he cites my writing as if I had said: The nobility should not receive anything in the endowments and ecclesiastical goods. Behold, thou pious man D. Eck, I complain of the same thing in my little book, that the goods of the church, which the nobility has endowed for the benefit of their own, are being devoured by the Roman boys, and thus the German nobility is being deprived of its bread. 3) Thus says my corner, I do not want [it] to become the nobility. Thanks be to you, you pious Romanist.

7 He also reproves my hopefulness, that I exalt myself above the holy teachers and concilia. That I am hopeful and burdened with more vices, I do not know how to defend; I have never made my holiness famous in any way. If Doctor Eck is as humble and holy as he pretends to be, to reproach everyone for living, I let it happen. We are not dealing with life, but with teachings. Doctrine remains right in one, even if his life is evil. So evil teaching is a thousand times more harmful than evil living. For the sake of this doctrine, I do what I do and say that D. Eck spares the truth once again. I do not exalt myself above the doctors and concilia; I exalt Christ above all teachers and concilia. And where I

1) In this volume No. 408, *Decius dedolatus* (the planed corner) is a sharp mockery by Willibald Pirckheymer in Nuremberg. A piece of it can be found in No. 410 of this volume.

2) Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 2112 ff.

3) In the original: "ertzogen".

If I have a clear saying about it, I will also lift it above all angels, as Paul does Gal. 1:8. Therefore, it does not hurt me and Saint Paul that the lying mouth, an enemy of the truth, punishes both of us heretics in this.

He claims that I lied when I wrote that we did not offer him the disputation. That is not so either, and all that he writes in the same erroneous booklet; although that does not serve the purpose here, and his courage only seeks cause to lie everywhere. You will also find him with little searching.

(9) That I have attacked papal splendor is painful to my Lord Doctor, and he writes a lot about how the pope behaves so badly in the chamber and at home; just as if I had said that he wears his splendor every moment. Why does he not also say that he is naked in bed and bath? O cold apology, and foolish hypocrisy! I spoke of four thousand mules; how would it have been if I had said that some think that for Pabst's sake there are more than twenty thousand mules in Rome every day? Dear Eck, it does not matter to me how much or little the pope ranges. If he lusted, he would keep a hundred thousand muzzled horses. Here you should punish me that I complain [that] such splendor goes over our monasteries, nobility and poor people. Here you should excuse the pope, stay on the road, do not pull my words where your iniquity teaches you to pull. You are wrong in heart.

(10) That I do not hold the sacrament of consecration as they hold it, I have enough proven cause for; and Eck together with all Romanists shall not deny me that all baptized people are priests. You know that the Scripture teaches so 1 Petr. 2, 9, nor can you refrain from your lies and divine truth.

I do not like to see heretics burned, he says, I fear the skin. Why does the free hero now come to the monastery in Leipzig, who does not fear anyone, not even devils, with his writings and cries? I think that burning heretics comes from the fact that they fear they cannot overcome them with writings, just like the papists in Rome, when they are afraid of the devil.

they do not like to resist the truth, they strangle the people, and with death they solvitate all argument. My Doctor Eck would also like to be such a champion of truth.

(12) Further, you write, godly man, that I want to make room for the peacemakers and murderers, since I have taught that a Christian man should not defend himself nor take back what he has taken. Why do you not punish Christ who taught the same? [Why then do you complain that I stir up the nobility and the sword against the pope and the clergy? Why do you not write your books soberly? If a sovereign had thrown you into the water or into prison with your bull, I would say that he had done you justice. What do you think now? Have I not said publicly enough in my booklet that [the] secular sword is guilty. to punish the wicked and to protect the pious? But the whole booklet 1) goes out in such a way that it also distorts you at once; you are still so blind and do not see it. Nevertheless, every man shall suffer violence and injustice. But the authorities shall watch that no one is wronged; and though no one complains, yet they shall defend where they can, see, and know. Although St. Paul allows the imperfect to complain in 1 Corinthians 6:1 ff, he does not praise it, and almost punishes it.

You know, my dear Romanist, that you can do as much in the holy scriptures as the donkey on the lyre. You are not able to interpret three lines in a Christian way, and you pretend to judge, teach and reprove everyone, boasting and writing to the whole world that you know everything by heart and do not use books. You should not be so proud, it is more obvious, because you think that you write and teach everything without books. If thou wouldst turn thine eyes so diligently to the books, as thou didst keep them on the venereas *Veneres* at Leipzig, of which thou didst write to Ingolstadt, 2) and wouldst restrain thyself from drinking, then thou mightest at last recognize thy false, unlearned heart, mouth and pen. I hope it would also be better for you if you had a wife, because such a famously chaste wife would be better for you.

1) To the Christian Abel." Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 266 ff.

2) In Document No. 396 in this volume.

Life; although you promise me that I have advised such wretched, fallen priests to marry, which you Roman tyrants and murderers of souls have taken from them, against God and right, and still keep, to great ruin of souls.

14 And if you had not recently come from Rome, how could you write so impudently that you believe I preached: pious married couples may not be saved, because they fell into hope through their piety? If you hear it, dear Eck, if you ever want to hear enough lies from my sermons, ask the raven 1) at Leipzig, and barefoot observants 2) next to him, and all who speak and write through him, the pots will be like the soups.

You also knew that indulgences are of no use, and that excommunication, as a punishment, is to be received with love; nor must your mouth speak otherwise than you think. So you also did in Leipzig with Doctor Carlstadt, when I first learned to recognize you.

16 You also write that I reject being obedient to the pope, as I have taught so many times to be obedient also to evil prelates, even to the Turk. Thus I have never thought of this pope's person with honor; but have generally spoken of evil popes and harmful pontificalism. But your manner shall thus pervert my words.

I am surprised that you are not ashamed in your heart, that you impose on me, as I would like, not to be a beggar. Your false hatred makes you so blind and mad that you write this out to the whole world as heresy, when you know very well that it is otherwise, and that everyone does not consider begging good, even the mendicant monks themselves. You wretched man wanted to load the mendicant orders on me.

(18) That I reject war against the Turks until we become pious beforehand, and then go against them with the fear of God, let no one reproach me except D. Eck, who has no love nor desire for truth in his heart. I also say: the nobility should strike with the sword at Rome in all those who do it with silk.

You should not think of the Christian who says that the Scriptures are under the pope, and the pope should go unpunished, even though he has led the world to the devil. Such teachings and sayings you honorable Christian man like to hear, they are not heretical to you, you do not write anything against them. But I must be one with you, that I contradict you and your like in such devilish teachings.

(19) I have also made fasting free. That was done by Saint Paul [1 Tim. 4:3], and not by me. But what wonder is it that you deny and revile me when you blaspheme St. Paul and Christ; and yet you are an honorable, pious Christian man?

20 O, how wistful you are, poor man, how you seek back and forth to help your Enidhart! Say: I do not want to suffer the scholasticos, but the ecclesiasticos; again, I do not want to suffer the ecclesiasticos either, now the pope, now not the pope, now Concilia, now not Concilia, but only want to have dealt with the Scriptures. I ask you for God's sake, my dear Eck, what have you done with such public lies, since you knew that [it] was otherwise? Do you think that I will be afraid of your lies? Or do you think that it can last, if you touch a part of the simple people with your lies, cause you a cry, me a disgrace?

Twenty-one years ago in Leipzig, in the disputation, you also did everything with lies and deceptions, as you well knew, and sought your fame and also obtained it; where has it remained? You see that God, who is truth, strives against your lies; yet you do not cease to storm against him with lies. I have mercy on you, and please, let there be enough lies, my corner, so that God will not let you see anything else in the end. You cannot harm me; do what you will while you deal in lies.

(22) Besides thee, all Leipzig must bear me witness that I have always referred to the Scriptures; not denying the doctors in all things, but because they have sometimes erred, I would not and will not hold them in all things, and where I had a clear saying of the Scriptures, there alone would I stand against them all, if they wrote otherwise. These have been my words, as you cannot deny; still you write and cry out

1) Hermann Rabe, Dominican Order.
2) Augustin Alveld.

I will reject all doctors, and stand on my own mind alone, without all scripture and sayings, and make a universal out of the particular. Ask your conscience how honorable and honest you are in this. Are you not the least afraid of some Leipzig ears?

(23) Nor are you ashamed to blame me for holding only to the Scriptures. How can you reproach yourself more highly than that you, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, are not only ashamed or afraid of your craft, office and title, but that you blame me for wanting to go into the Holy Scriptures! Yes, I know where the shoe pinches you. I know that you know nothing about the Holy Scriptures, and yet you are called a Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, and you fear your honor. That is why you play with many of the teachers' names, so that your ignorance of the Scriptures will not be noticed; nevertheless, it will not help you. You, pope, doctors, conciliators, men, angels and devils, should and must go to the Scriptures and receive the same judgment. This and no other. Do you want to throw the holy scriptures to the wind and not let the doctors judge by them? Not yet, dear Eck. See, from this you can notice my inconsistency, how I now want to hear doctors, now not doctors, now Pabst, now not Pabst. I want to have the Scriptures most steadfastly and first, then take and leave everything else that the Scriptures teach me, let it be written whoever will. I will have no master, but only one, who is called Christ in heaven, as he has commanded us all; I will consider all others as fellow disciples [Matth. 23, 10].

24 After that, what you slander about the souls in purgatory and anniversaries, I let go; one knows well in all the world what I think of it, it may not be anything of your lies and malice. But whether I was more impatient than you, Emser, Prierias and your companions, I let the readers of our books judge. You can almost boast, I begrudge you that. *Ecciana modestia*, what that means, you know well. I boast of no virtue; I boast of the holy scripture truth, since you flee from it, like the devil from the cross, and fall away to dispute on my evil life, in which I soon

I am concluded; although before men, which I do not respect, no one, praise God, may reprove me. I hope you also should not be long *inclusibilis* in it, if you would not lie otherwise, as you are wont to do.

25 Finally, he comes to the Costnitz Concilium, and blasphemes it, as a true Romanist, recently come; says: it is the Johanni Hus and Hieronymo the escort and oath not broken 2c. Because my dear lord is so angry, I want to open my mouth about the Costnitz Concilium, and say:

First, that I, unfortunately, had not read Johann Hus at the disputation in Leipzig, otherwise I would not have held some, but all articles condemned at Costnitz; as I still hold them now, after I have read Johann Hus', highly intelligent, noble, Christian booklet, the like of which has not been written in four hundred years, which has now also gone out to print by divine counsel, 1) to testify to the truth, and to put all those to public shame who have condemned it.

(27) It is not Johannis Hus' articles, but Christ's, Paul's, Augustine's that are most strongly founded and irrefutably proven, as all who read them must confess. Oh, would God that I were worthy to be burned, torn apart, driven to pieces, even for the sake of such articles, in the most terrible way, as Doctor Lügner himself could conceive, and that it would cost me a thousand necks, they would all have to come. Not that I want to raise Johannem Hus and cry out for martyrdom. For I am not as sacrilegious in raising up saints as the pope with his blind papists. I know that God is strange and frightening in his judgments, may well let someone have right doctrine and be strangled because of it, and yet no one knows what he wants to do with him.

28 Therefore, for the salvation of my conscience from the innocent blood, I say against all who hold such articles condemned, that they should know how they deny and condemn Christ Himself.

1) Luther means the writing, which appeared at the beginning of 1820 under the title: vs eau8U Losmiea.?nu1u8 OoQ8tuntiu8, in August following as unfortunately 6Ar6MU8 de unitats soels8iÄ6 (Weim. Aug.).

and Doctor Eck, who knows well that they are unjustly condemned, but who, coming into the fray, is ashamed to sing the contradiction, wanted to blind all the world with his lies, so that only his fame and honor would exist, before he would let the truth be right. It is true that John Hus was burned before, because the pope is confirmed. The same is the complaint that the boys have ruled with their opinions before a right order of the papacy has happened.

He also excuses the nobility, which, and not the Concilium, should have burned the same Hus and Hieronymum. Dear Eck, this is one of the highest complaints in my booklet, that in the new Concilium the pope and his followers do not leave anyone free, but first bind them with oaths that they may only set and do what they want, and to carry out their evil deeds through the imprisoned, afflicted nobility. If the Emperor had allowed Sigmund and the princes to act freely, as he had in mind, Costnitz and Basel would probably have had many other concilia, and the lying Romanists would probably have been denied their wanton malice.

Therefore, Doctor Eck denies again that there was a free concilium [at] Costnitz; and I do not unreasonably strive for a free concilium, in which not only the most unlearned bishops and the coarsest, most foolish sophists, as at Costnitz, but also reasonable, experienced princes, nobility and laymen would sit in the council, since it has now come to this that married women are more capable of biblia and understand Christian things better than Doctor Eck and his fellow sophists.

As I also said that Johanni Hus did not keep the Christian escort, it is true, and Doctor Eck himself does not understand what he indicates in the Latin escort letter. 1) They are promised a Christian escort, as the words clearly express, which Doctor Eck wanted to cover up: *Quantum in nobis est, et fides orthodoxa exigit*. That is why I called it a Christian escort, which is how it is found in Scripture. Now one knows well what Christian action means. Christianity has never known of such right conduct, as I have

in my little book. Thus, Christianity has overcome many heretics [in] fourteen hundred years, and has never burned any of them, without the papists at Costnitz, who give Christian guidance, and then make a human, legal guidance out of it, which is called more a sham than a right guidance, and is unchristian. The justice, since D. Eck bases his legal escort on, would nevertheless have been destroyed, so that one would not have been allowed to break the escort.

Why did St. Augustine not burn the heretics in Africa? Why not Hilarius and the holy teachers much more? but were against that they were also not punished by money? These were Christian ways of dealing with heretics, and fruit came from them; but what came from them is well known. And what was the need of the bloodthirsty, insatiable tyrants at Costnitz, that they dealt with the dead, burned Johann Hus in such an atrociously inhuman way, and had the earth with the ashes dug up so deeply and thrown into the Rhine? Do you want to know? Their conscience was afraid of his unjust cause, therefore they invented such a furious image to frighten the poor laity that the truth would be suppressed with violence and fear. It has not helped yet, the truth is still coming out, and the bladders of all papists should burst; the stones will still cry over the Hussian murderers. One has now resisted for a hundred years, and the more one resists, the more it emerges that it wants to be revealed that the Hussian cause was divine, the Costnitzer was diabolical; the truth will not and may not remain hidden.

33) I have heard that Andreas Proles, our vicar, 3) who was a man of great name and faith in German lands, also considered holy by many, said that at the time in our monastery he looked at the wall of St. John Zachariah. Johann Zachariä, with a rose painted on his beret, and said: Alas, I would not like to

2) This is to be understood in this way: The conscience of every one of them feared his unjust cause. The Jenaer offers: "his [Hus'] right cause".

3) The same narrative is found Walch, old edition, vol. XVI, 2562 and in the Tischreden, cap. 58, § 5, St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 1404. Cf. De Wette, vol. II, p. 493.

1) Eck bases his justification of the Concil on the phrase: *sustitia, sswxor salva*, (Weim. Ausg.).

Wear the rose with honors. Was he then asked by a brave man of his fathers: what does this mean? He said, "When John Hus was publicly disputing at Costnitz, John Zachariah gave him the saying Ezek. 34, 10. ff: Visitabo ego ipse pastores, et non populus meus; Johann Hus denied that it did not say: et non populus meus. Johann Zachariä referred to Hus's own Bible, which he had secretly seen before in Hus's hostel, and yet did not warn him; since it came, it was found inside. And although Johann Hus shouted that it was false, that other bibles were not like it, because he had taken one with him, it did not help, and so he was condemned by a false bible. Then the rose was given to Zacharias in honor, as a conqueror of the heretic Johannes Hus. Now it is true that all the bibles in the world have said on this day what John Hus said, and not what John Zacharias said. From this it appears how the sophists despaired of their cause, used all cunning and deceit, and did nothing in the light.

34. This is so obvious to everyone that no one can contradict it any more, as Johann Hus has never been overcome with writings; when some acta themselves write, he has been condemned secretly, that the nobles have discussed it among themselves, *placet, placet, placet*, and thus he has been executed by the *placet* of the unlearned tyrants, without instruction, without proof, without overcoming; as I have heard from my tutor, Johann Greffenstein, learned and pious man, whom I may well call now that he is dead, and I heard it from him at the time when I still thought very little of becoming a priest, let alone a doctor.

Thus, in many places of the German land, the murmuring of John Hus has always remained, and has always increased, until I, too, fell in, found out that he had truly been a noble, highly enlightened man, whom even twenty thousand corners have not yet been able to overcome. And if they are learned, they still let themselves be seen, and give cause why Johann Hus should be condemned. It is not enough to say that the Concilium did it; one must show cause,

to silence the adversaries and to satisfy ourselves, because it is known that a concilium may err. In spite of all the nooks, crannies and corners here, and all the papists and Romanists, that you knock over a sheet of Johann Hus' writings!

(36) Therefore, great enemy of the truth, if you had let your pen rest and let me also wait for mine; or if, meanwhile, you had let your book 1) edendum vel bibendum, aut etiam egerendum de primatu Petri, come to day, how long did you eat at it? Have you repented of the disgrace? you are of an insolent forehead, and see that God himself resists you, leads you into all disgrace, nor will you receive wit.

37 I also hear that D. Eck has brought a bull with him from Rome against me, which is so similar to him that it might well be called Doctor Eck, as full of lies and error as it is supposed to be; and he pretends to smear the people's mouths, so that they should believe that it is Pabst's work, if it is his game of lies. I let it all happen, must wait for the game in God's name; who knows what divine council has decided. Nothing is built on me yet, therefore nothing may fall with me.

The reason is that I firmly believe that there is nothing wrong with any bull: Firstly, because my appeal to the common council still stands unchanged, about which I have confessed nothing to the pope with all his people, but only amicable dealings. If, however, he goes over it by force, let him go, but he is not yet out of the woods; and he wants to have this appeal publicly conditioned before everyone, and to have it denied as best he can.

39. secondly, my cause, from my willing omission, of my gracious Lord Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony 2c., is arrested by suggestion of Lord Carol von Miltitz, papal embassy, on interrogation of the most reverend in God father and Lord Archbishop of Trier, which, still un-

1) This is the book which Eck laid at the feet of the Pope in Rome: vs krivaatu ketri aäversns l'nääruva lidri tres. Even Wiedemann, a Catholic theologian, admits in his "Dr. Johann Eck", p. 518, "that Eck based himself on arguments that are devoid of truth".

makes me believe that the Roman See will not regard such two powerful Electors as idols, or let them try in vain, because we Germans would always have to remain fools. So I think I am only one man who cannot wait for interrogation or judgment in two or more places at the same time.

40 Thirdly, who can understand that the pope should give orders over me D. Ecken, who does not know the measure of his hostile, public attitude towards me, when in all matters not the parties themselves but unsuspicious people should act, as nature and all rights dictate? Therefore, to assume that he lies, deceives, lies, and falsifies everything that his wicked hatred may indicate to him.

41) Fourthly, I want to be unconnected with all the bulls, where and when they come, I see the right main bull, I do not let myself dispute the copies and copies, and this for the reasons: I have seen the bulls of indulgences, against which I initially acted in this matter, and found noticeable defects and errors in them, and some, more understanding than I, have seen eighteen defects in the same bull. If the Roman boys were not afraid to deceive such a great bishop of Mainz and Magdeburg with the same bull, what should they not do against me, a poor beggar?

42) About that, the Cardinal St. Sixti at Augsburg deceived my most gracious Lord Duke Friedrich, Elector of Saxony, with a public, lying, false breve, as I have stated in *Actis Augustensibus*. 1) If then such great lords in German lands must be fools and monkeys to the Roman boys, by their false letters, why should I believe that they are honestly dealing with me 2) through Doctor Ecken, who has opened himself in his words and letters a land-fraudulent arch liar? Yes, it has become so mean to deal with false letters from Rome that very rarely one is found righteous.

43 Therefore, I will give the bull lead, wax, string, signature, clausel, and everything with eyes.

1) See in this volume the documents No. 226, 176 and 177.

2) In the original: "with me Handelle".

or do not give a hair's breadth to all the other complaints. Nor may anyone complain that he may not come or walk safely to Wittenberg; we have such a pious, honest sovereign and officials that the excuse may have no help where one wants to act with justice.

44 Hereby I will have warned everyone, that he does not, by Roman trade and doctor corners, approach me, and before that the Executores, so that, if they obtained a defeat. Know bear: I have admonished them before. Everything must still gain a much different nose, if it is to go out right. But if there is violence, if there is much more to be done, God will do it; I will cheerfully dare to do it in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, amen.

1520.

B. Of the Papal Bull of Condemnation itself, and how D. Luther and his friends examined and thoroughly answered it.

444: Pope Leo X's Bull against Luther of June 15, 1520. Bull against Luther of June 15, 1520, with Ulrich von Hutten's preface, glosses and postscript. Beginning of 1521.

This bull first appeared in Rome on June 15, 1520, printed by order of the pope by Jacobus Mazochius, in quarto. It has been reprinted many times. In German translation it is found in the Wittenberg edition (1554), vol. VII, p. 97b; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 256; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 445 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 305. Hütten provided it with a note to the Germans, with glosses and a postscript addressed to Pope Leo. The title is: *Bulla Domini Dsouis contra srrorss Martini Dutbsri st ssHuasiuru*. Without indication of time and place, in quarto. This edition is then included in the Latin Wittenberg (1551), toru. II, col. 51b; in the Jena (1579), toru. I, tol. 474; and in the Erlangen, opp. var. arg., toiu. IV, x. 261. German in Walch.

Translated from Latin.

[Title page:]

Bull of Leo X against the errors of Martin Luther and those who follow him.

3) On January 14, 1521, Luther reports to Staupitz the appearance of this writing. See Appendix, No. 20.

[Below it the Pabst's coat of arms with this inscription.]

*Astitit Bulla a dextris ejus, in vestitu
deaurato, circumamicta varietatibus.*

[Among them:]

See, reader, it is worth the effort, you will feel and recognize what a shepherd Leo is.

[On the back of the title page, this inscription:]

Ulrich von Hutten, Knight, All Germans Heil!

Behold here, German men, Leo's X. Bull, by which he endeavors to hinder the rising truth, and opposes it to our so long oppressed freedom, so that it may never again gain strength nor grow. Should we not oppose this, and by general consultation prevent it from going further, and put a stop to the presumption of a restless man? I ask you for the sake of Christ: when has there been a more convenient time for this, and where has there been a better opportunity to do something worthy of the German name? You see that everything is leaning towards this, that there is such great hope as never before that this tyranny will be eradicated, that there will be a remedy for this disease. Dare at last; and carry it out.

Here is not Luther's matter, but it concerns all of you in general. The sword is not pointed at one in particular, but we are all publicly attacked. They do not want their tyranny to be contradicted, their deceit to be exposed, their false pretenses to be made known, their raging to be resisted, and an obstacle to its continuation to be placed. This is what they are indignant about, and that they clench their teeth in rage and show themselves so insolently.

Since you see this, what will you finally do? What advice will you take? If you want to hear me, just remember that you are Germans. This few remembrance shall be enough for you to avenge this. I am now willingly putting myself in danger for your sake and that of the common good. For first of all I am aware of a glorious deed, then I not only hope but am certain that you will all undertake the same with me. I have intended to make this bull known now, so that when you read it, you will also get to know the others. Farewell!

Now before we hear you, holy father, remember the apostolic words, since Paul wrote 2 Thess. Cap. 2, 3. f. says: "Let no one deceive you in any way, for the Lord will not come unless the apostasy comes first, and the man of sin is revealed, and the child of perdition. He who is an abomination, and exalts himself above all that is called God or worship, so that he sits down in the temple of God as a god, and pretends to be God." There you have it! Start the bull like this.

1. Leo Bishop, a servant^a) of all servants of God. In perpetual memory of the cause. O HErr, arise^b) [Ps. 7, 7.], arise, and judge^c) thy cause, be mindful of thy reproaches [Ps. 74, 22.], which go forth from the unwise^d) all the day long [Ps. 89, 51. 52.], incline thine ears^e) to our petition [Ps. 88, 3.]. For there are foxes^f) [Hohel. 2, 15.] risen up, that refrain from laying waste thy vineyard,^g) whose winepress thou alone hast trodden [Ezek. 63, 3.]. And when you wanted to go to the Father in heaven, you ordered the care, government and administration of the vineyard to Petro, as a head,^h) and your governor, and his descendants,ⁱ) like the triumphant church^k): the same vineyard a wild^l) cutting pig from the forest subdues to destroy, and a special wild animal to consume it [Ps. 80, 14.].

a) Why do you rule with such great power and splendor?

b) He will rise, but see that it does not happen to your destruction.

c) He will judge to our greatest desire.

d) Ah! not the foolish. He turns to blasphemy right at the beginning, and this is the roaring of the lion, of which the prophet Zephaniah clearly speaks [Cap. 3, 3.]: "Their princes are among them roaring lions, and their judges wolves in the evening, who leave nothing until the morning." St. Jerome there deals with it quite freely and clearly.

e) He would certainly do it if you would ask what is fair.

f) Brave men.

g) Cleanse from filth. But you, since you deprive the Germans of money, show yourself to be more deceitful than a fox. You move away from the lion's magnanimity and turn to a low and quite indecent craftiness. If you force us to do the same to you, we will have to say that you are not a fox, but rather an Arabian night wolf, because you take gifts, sell justice, and in you the Prophet's saying is fulfilled: "Woe to the shepherds who scatter and tear. h) Behold, on what he bases his tyranny!

- i) Here would be much to remember if it wanted to suffer the time. Christ hears you immediately not. Because you lie what he hates.
- k) The triumphant church, o, a beautiful little bundle! l) This you did, tenth, and you would be the fierce lion (Leo), because of which we decided to fight against you with united forces.

2. stand up, Peter,^a) and according to your guard and care, as reported, commanded to you by God, diligently consider this matter of the holy Roman church, the mother of all churches,^b) and the mistress of the faith, which^c) you have sanctified by God's command with your blood [Apost. 20, 28. Eph. 5, 26. 27.], against whom, as you said before, lying doctrines^d) will arise, who raise up pernicious sects,^e) who bring upon themselves swift condemnation;^f) whose tongue is a fire^g), a restless evil^h) full of deadly poisonⁱ) [2 Petr. 2, 1. Jac. 3, 5. 6.] who have a bitter, angry will and strife in their hearts, boasting and lying against the truth.^k)

- a) He calls Simon Petrum. But listen to what he says to you: "Feed Christ's flock to the best of your ability. Take heed to them, not forced, but willingly; do not look to shameful usury, but guide them with love. Do not exercise lordship over the clergy, but lead the flock by good examples" [1 Pet. 5:2].
- b) You say it; we do not recognize it.
- e) State: Do you understand the Roman, or the general Christian church?
- d) The defenders of truth against your lies.
- e) For they will destroy you because of your shameful merits.
- f) Christ let the fulfillment come on your head. g) It will burn you.
- h) A stimulation to future safety, as a general and very beneficial good.
- i) Filled with healing medicine.
- k) Do not revile; rather, we defend the truth against your oppressions.

3. *) Arise also, we beseech thee, Paul, who hast enlightened this church with thy doctrine and the same torture^a). For now stands up a new Porphyrius,^b) who just as the same in times past has unreasonably challenged the holy apostles: so also he the holy popes,^c) our ancestors, against your teaching, not with pleading, but with scolding, biting,^d) tearing; and because he despairs of his cause,^e) is not ashamed to resort to abusive words^f) according to the custom of the heretics,^g) whose (as St. Jerome^h) says) their last tax and help is that when they see that their things will be condemned and overturned in the future, they begin to pour out the serpent's poison with their tongues, and when they see themselves overcomeⁱ) they go over to words of reproach. For whether you

even though you say that heresy must be for the edification of the believers in Christ, nevertheless they must be eradicated^k) by your intercession and help, so that they do not increase^l) and so that the foxes do not grow up, right at the beginning by your assistance^m).

- *If you want to be a bishop, may he also favor you against your enemies, that you also be such a one as he wants you to be: namely, one who has clean hands and is without fault, as a steward of God, not disruptive, not angry, not given to shameful usury and avarice, a lover of good sciences; that you seek not what is yours, but what is another's, who is strong in exhortation, according to the true and pure doctrine, and is able to convince the opponent.
- a) But the descendants have sullied and corrupted this teaching through infidelity and shameful deeds.
- b) Nothing less than Porphyrius. For the latter preaches Christ's gospel, but the latter resisted him ungodly.
- c) Say rather: Deceivers, ravaging wolves, and unworthy hirelings of Christ's flock.
- d) Yes, they should have been exterminated and killed. e) How can he become fainthearted who has a' ge has a right, good cause, and has already put you in fear? And he who defends the truth, how can he despair?
- f) More than cheap invective.
- g) Yes, rather Christ, who thus says: "Woe to you, blind leaders; woe to you, hypocrites, breeders of serpents and vipers" 2c. Should you not also be so reproached, who stumble so often and so shamefully?
- h) He is completely filled by Jerome. O great erudition!
- i) Gelt, they are overcome!
- k) He wants to teach Paulum.
- l) That is, so that they may not harm your usury and drudgery.
- m) Do not kill the innocent and simple-minded doves, you vulture of Pabst. 1)

4. finally, let^a) the whole assembly of all the saints, and the whole Christian church,^b) whose truthful interpretation of the holy Scripture is put in the background,^c) rise up, and let some, whose minds have been blinded by the father of lies,^d) according to the old habit of the heretics, wisely interpret the same Scripture differently,^e) than the Holy Spirit requires, only according to their own sense, out of ambition and for the sake of popular favor^f) (as the apostle testifies) interpret, yes rather twist and falsify;^g) so that now, according to St. Hieronymi's opinion, it is not the gospel of Christ, but of a man;^h) or what is still more evil, of the devil. Stand up! I say, you aforementioned holy church of God,ⁱ) and intercede together with the aforementioned most blessed Twelve Messengers to the

1) The old translator has given the words accipitr IVnitiksx so: "but the pope be seized".

Almighty God, that He may rest, after the rejection and purification of the errors of His sheep,^k) and after the expulsion of all heresies from the territories of the believers in Christ, to preserve the peace and unity^l) of His holy Church.

a) That you may kill, with the counsel of wicked men, b) Which you and your supposed holy ancestors have almost entirely destroyed and corrupted.
 c) Say: resumed.
 d) More correctly you would say, Leo: The Holy Spirit has enlightened him. For the father of avarice and lies has so blinded you that you are not afraid to do all evil.
 e) Rudder than it looks to papal ambition and self-interest. But stop accusing others of the vices of which you yourself are aware.
 f) Yes, rather for the benefit of common necessity, I say with your permission.
 g) On the other hand, all those with understanding see that this is done by you.
 h) How anxious he is to inflict his vices on others! For we have not yet heard of him dealing with anything else.
 i) It would certainly stand out if you did not suppress it. This some hinders it.
 k) Rather, that the shepherd's drudgery may be stopped, and the flock be snatched from their predatory teeth, that he may faithfully feed his sheep and bring them into the fold, seeking again that which is lost, healing that which is wounded and sick, but preserving that which is fat and strong, so that at last the pleasure-seekers may be destroyed, and not be shepherds feeding themselves, but scattering and tearing up the Lord's flock. For you, Leo, you (O misery!) have turned judgment into bitterness, and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood. Will you obtain what you ask for?
 l) He has not yet asked anything that he wanted to obtain, I appeal to the conscience of man. "Woe to those who desire the Lord's day," Amos 5:18. For you, Leo, where will you reign when the church of the saints, which has been completely sunk by you, shall rise again?
 5) For what we can hardly say because of fear of mind^a) and pain") has long since come to us through credible reports and common rumor;^c) yes truly, we have unfortunately seen with our eyes^d) and read 1) many and manifold errors; some already condemned by concilia^e) and ordinances^f) of our ancestors, also of the Greeks and Bohemians^g) heresy expressly (expresse) in itself; but others some according to that^h) (respective) either heretical, or false, or annoying, or hurting the Christian ears, or seducing the simple mindedⁱ) by the false^k) keepers of the faith,

1) "seen and read with our eyes", namely the 41 sentences which Eck probably collected for him from Luther's writings. So Leo can say: he has seen and read it with his eyes.

who, through the hopeful^l) diligence,^m) coveting the world'sⁿ) "honor"), contrary to the teaching of the apostle St. Paul [1 Thess. 2, 6.], want to be wiser than is proper;^p) whose loquacity (as St. Hieronymus^q)) would not have taken place and faith^r) without the respect of the Scriptures, if they did not seem to confirm the wrong^s) doctrine also with divine testimonies, however badly^t) interpreted, from whose eyes the fear of God^u) has departed, by inspiration of the enemy^v) of the human race, which 2) are recently awakened, and recently taught and spread among some reckless ones") in the highly glorious^x) German nation.

a) Listen to the Roman oratory.
 b) From pain, because of the lost usury.
 c) You have seen it clearly if you ever see anything.
 d) We know that you had to see it to your greatest chagrin; only because of that we cannot renounce the truth.
 e) Angular concilia (conciliabula).
 f) Which are very beautiful, and worthy of their creators.
 g) What, dear God, are these heresies?
 h) "expressionmh", "thatdepends"; beautiful! roman!
 i) In sum, the pure and unadulterated truth, which, however, is to be condemned for the reason that after this teaching we will no longer be free to rob the Germans in many ways. For those are taught, whose minds were easily accessible to us at the time of our robbery. From this it follows that we will lose a mighty profit, and it is to be feared that many in Rome, even of our creatures, will die of hunger. We will at least have to rule in great poverty.
 k) Who are removed from your falseness, and therefore united and devoted to Christ and the faith founded by Him.
 l) A brave one.
 m) For the love of truth and the fatherland.
 n) I say: Christ's, while you, on the other hand, belong entirely to the world.
 o) He confesses that if we overcome, glory awaits us, but it moves us little.
 p) How this is so beneficial to you and your Roman court!
 q) Does this Jerome speak? But why do you put on Jerome so often? Isn't it so that by this patched purple you may give a prestige to your badly patched rags? But it does not depend on each other. Therefore, refrain from protecting the reputation of this holy man with your sacrilegious lies.
 r) He shall not have it either, which we hereby testify.
 s) The evangelical doctrine that we confess has always been wrong to you, because it does not teach you to do what you do shamefully often.

2) This refers to errores (errors) at the beginning of this paragraph.

- t) Not according to your benefit, but according to Christ's and the saints' opinion.
- u) The fear of papal tyranny, and the superstitious worship of Roman tyranny.
- v) You are wrong, because the devil, as a father of lies, cannot enter truth.
- w) Why then so easily, since they soon began to fall so heavily to you, such a powerful tyrant?
- x) That is who sent us plenty of money, though otherwise she is stupid and barbaric.

Which pains us all the more, since we and our ancestors have always carried this nation^a) in the bosom^b) of love^c). For after the transfer^d) of the emperorship from the Greeks through the Roman church^e) to the Germans^f), our ancestors and we have always taken the reeves and protectors^g) of the Roman church from them. From these Germans, who are in fact right followers^h) (Germanos) of the Christian truth, it is known that they have always been the most fierce fighters against heresies. Witnesses of this are the laudableⁱ) laws of the German emperors^k) for the freedom of the church, and to hunt down and expel the heretics^l) from all German lands, at the most severe penalties,^m) also at loss of lands and dominions, against their harborers, keepers, or those who do not expel them, given in times past, and confirmed by our ancestors. ⁿ) Which, if they were held today, we and they would undoubtedly be relieved of this burden. ^o)

- a) He praises Germany, which is the some retribution of the many impairments. Accordingly, he still has hope to bring it back to his side, otherwise he would not stroke so gently.
- b) You have eaten it [Germany], but now you must spit it out again, and God will tear it out of your bowels by force.
- c) What love can there be for such a tyrant, who so deceitfully and treacherously, so violently and unreasonably extorts, steals, milks out, robs and appropriates the money of his friends!
- d) He reminds the Germans of the good deed they had done before and thinks that he has obliged them. O what a deception!
- e) Because this transfers secular rulers. Dear, say, by what right?
- f) For these [Germans] seemed comfortable to be made fools of.
- g) Meanwhile, what are you doing, lazy shepherd, when you put others in your place to protect the flock? Is the church protected by weapons, not by examples of blameless life and sound doctrine?
- h) If God had wanted it to be them, they would certainly have shown you the teeth long ago. But the sorcery of your forefathers, when they covered the minds of men with vain and loose talk and fables, was to blame for their not knowing the truth.

could not recognize. Christ seems to point to this when he says, "According to your ways he will deal with you, and according to your judgment he will judge you."

- i) There is much to be said here, but one wants to spare those who have not spared even their descendants. But tell me, what do you call freedom of the church? And what is it good for? Perhaps to steal unashamedly, to cheat, to deceive all men unlawfully, and to do good to no one?
- k) Germany will never deviate from the path of virtue of her forefathers, do not fear; she will also change some of the things that they introduced badly.
- l) But I believe that there are no heretics in Germany now than you yourself raise, to the general ruin.
- m) They have willed you enough.
- n) Must it be confirmed by you what our emperors set? Those are not worthy of this dignity who rule according to foreign regulations.
- o) We, of course, have decided to leave (the burden) alone and to assert our freedom, be it so, with great courage. And now we do not resist your violence as well as your malice. If you are too confident, think that there are also lions here, if there should be a lack of eagles.

7. The witness is the infidelity of the Hussites, Wiclefs and Jerome of Prague, condemned and punished in the Council of Constans; the witness is the so often shed blood of the Germans against the Bohemians; ^b) witness is the touched errors, or many from them, by the universities of Cologne and Leuven^c) as the divine field^d) most holy and God-fearing caretakers, not less learned and truthful^e) and holy^f) transfer, condemnation and damnation. We could also indicate many other things^g) which we, so that we would not be considered as if we were telling a story, have decided to pass over.

- a) O incomparable Concilium! which was not (as it should be) guided by public freedom, but (of which one must be ashamed) by your tyranny. And now you have to Rome, I know not what Concilium, in which your writers have recently established that the soul is immortal.
- b) Its instigators were the bloodthirsty bishops of the Roman church, not worthy that the Nordic peoples should remember them kindly, let alone that they should die for it of their own free will. You praise the deed, Leo, and yet you want to be considered Christian? Are you Christ's governor? For this is certainly an extraordinary cruelty, to approve that Christian blood has been shed, when, as Cyprian reminds us, it is the conscience of a bishop to take care that no one is lost through his fault.
- c) He praises the flattering little hairs.
- d) The Roman robbery, I say, and the papal rage.

- e) Where has scholarship, Leo, where has truth shone forth in them? Shame on you, to make such a serious judgment in such fool's land.
- f) How nice it is to caress the Roman pope! We are not concerned with the judgment made so lightly without all common sense. And the gossip schools of the bad teachers shall not take away our Germany after we have once undertaken to liberate it.
- g) The writer wants to let his erudition be seen here, and is full of old stories.

8.^a] Accordingly, out of concern^b) of the pastoral office, which is commanded to us by divine grace, which we carry, we can no longer tolerate the deadly poison^c) of the aforementioned errors^d) or overlook them, without stain^e) for the Christian religion and damage to the right faith. Some of these errors^f) but we have wanted to incorporate this bull, whose wording follows, and this is:

- a) Finally he carries out his office. But see that you do not abuse your power, not to build, but to destroy. According to Ambrosii, it is the duty of a clergyman not to harm anyone and to help everyone.
- b) Pay attention to the care of the sheep given to Leo.
- c) Rather, wholesome admonitions, which is also your opinion, and you would pronounce it, if you were not possessed by greed and completely taken in by arrogance. Therefore [Isa. 5:20.], "Woe to you who call evil good, and good evil; darkness light, and bitter sweet."
- d) For soon after you will starve, if you will endure.
- e) Say, I pray thee, what blemish is this, that the truth is restored to it [the Christian religion], and shameful laws are resisted?
- f) This is certainly violence, Leo, to condemn without prior knowledge what this [Lutheri] has undertaken to dispute, because it is not done with the advice and consent of the whole church, to which he nevertheless submits. But you can do nothing against the truth. You can do something for the truth if someone challenges it and you are ready to protect it, namely, if you, like the apostles, have undertaken to preach Christ, not yourself. If you care for the flock entrusted to you, do not follow your inclinations and desires, so that you walk deceitfully, look for gifts, and follow after the carcass, and by avarice handle us with fictitious words. Dearly beloved, if thou wilt hear me, be not a lion in thy house, driving out the members of thy house, and oppressing them that are subject unto him. Surely the Lord guards the truth forever, and avenges those who suffer injustice. You should have considered this before you condemned your brother. But as far as Luther's writings are concerned, everyone can read them, and at the same time your judgment about them; then they themselves may also judge freely,

1) This is a heretical opinion, but a common one: to give the sacraments of the new law

the right-certifying grace to those who do not put a stop to it.

2) To deny that sin remains in a child after baptism is to trample Paul and Christ underfoot at the same time.

3) The tinder of sin, even though there is no real sin, prevents the soul that departs from the body from entering heaven.

4) The imperfect love of man who wants to die brings with it, by necessity, a great fear, which in itself is sufficient to cause the chastisement of purgatory, and prevents entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven.

5) That there are three parts of repentance, repentance, confession and atonement, is not founded in the Holy Scriptures, nor in the ancient, holy Christian teachers.

6) The repentance that is brought about by the reconsideration, collection, and detestation of sins, so that one reconsiders his years in the bitterness of his soul, considering the gravity of the sins, the multiplicity, the shamefulness, the loss of eternal bliss, and attainment of eternal damnation; this repentance makes a glorifier, rather a sinner.

7) This is a very true saying, and more excellent than all the teachers' teachings on repentance that have been given so far: Never doing is the highest repentance, the best repentance is a new life.

8) ^a) In no way shall you refrain from confessing venial sins, nor even all mortal sins. For it is impossible for you to know all mortal sins, therefore, in the beginning of the Christian Church, they confessed only the manifest mortal sins.

a) This, like much else, is cunningly picked out.

9) If we want to confess all sin purely, we do nothing else but leave nothing to the mercy of God to forgive.

10) No one's sins are forgiven unless he believes, when the priest releases him, that they are forgiven; indeed, sin would remain if he did not believe it to be forgiven. For the forgiveness of sin and the gift of grace is not enough, but one must also believe that sin is forgiven.

11) Thou shalt in no wise think thyself absolved because of thy repentance; but because of the word of Christ, "All things thou shalt redeem" 2c. Here, I say, you must believe that when you receive the priest's absolution, and firmly believe that you are absolved and absolved, then you are

you truly absolve, be it about repentance, as it may.

12) If, which is impossible, a confessing person does not repent, and a priest absolves one not in earnest but in jest, if he alone believes that he is absolved, then he is truly absolved.

13) ^{b)} In the sacrament of penance and forgiveness of sins, the pope and a bishop do nothing more than the least priest; indeed, where there is not a priest, so does any Christian man, even if it were a woman or child.

b) Here he has finally fallen irretrievably. What profit will the Roman bishop lose if this is true? Further, who can presume to set right the chief priest, who is also the ruler of the temporal realm? Crucify him!

14) No one shall answer the priest that he has repented enough; neither shall the priest require it.

15) It is a great error of those who go to the sacrament of the reverend true body in such a way that they rely on the fact that they have confessed, that they know they are not guilty of any mortal sin, that they have prayed their prayer beforehand and prepared themselves beforehand; all of them eat and drink it for judgment; but if they believe and are confident that they want to obtain the grace of God through it, the same faith alone makes them pure and worthy.

16) I would be very sorry if the Christian Church, in a common council, decided and suspended the giving of the reverend Sacrament to the laity under both forms; even the Bohemians who take the Sacrament under both forms are not heretics, but schismatics.

17) The treasures of the Church, from which the pope gives indulgences, are not the merits of Christ and the saints.

18) Indulgence is a godly deception of believers,^c and remission of good works, and belongs to the number of things that may be used but are not useful.

c) Woe unto the servant of all servants, who spoils his stuff and deprives him of the hope of the most profitable gain. Hurry up with the fire!

19) Indulgences do not serve those who truly obtain them for the remission of the chastisement due for real sin before God's justice.

20) Those are deceived who believe that indulgences are beneficial and useful for the fruit of the Spirit.

21) Indulgences are necessary only for manifest great offenses, and are actually granted only to the hard and impatient.

22) Indulgences are neither necessary nor useful to six kinds of people, namely: the dead, or those who are about to die; the sick; those who are prevented by bona fide causes; those who have not committed offenses; those who have committed offenses but not publicly, and those who do better works.

23) The ban is only an external punishment and does not deprive man of the common spiritual prayers of the church.

24) Christians should be taught to love the ban more than to fear it. ^{d)}

d) You are completely in error and heresy, Luther. For, if in the future people should not desire indulgences and no longer fear excommunication, how will the Pope of Rome be able to maintain so many horsemen and footmen, a constantly armed army, so many musicians, so many halberdiers, and the two hundred Swiss specially appointed to his bodyguard? Will not the splendor and prestige of the church fall into the greatest contempt? Be wise for once!

25) The Roman Pontiff is a successor of St. Peter,^e) is not a governor over all churches of the whole world appointed by the Lord Christ in St. Peter's name.

e) You are not to be forgiven, Luther, for depriving the Roman pope of his rule. Where will you obtain forgiveness? I do not absolve you.

26) The word of Christ to Peter^f) [Matth. 16, 19.]: "All that you will loose on earth" 2c., extends only to that which was bound by Peter himself.

f) Jerome himself did not understand the words that deal with the given solution key, which the governor of Christ so often refers to in this bull. For thus he speaks in explanation of the Gospel of Matthew: "Neither the bishops nor the priests understand this saying. According to the arrogance of the Pharisees, they condemn the innocent and absolve the guilty, while God does not look at the pronouncement of the priests, but at the life of the guilty. Thus, Augustine was probably not of the same opinion when he wrote that the Church was not built on Peter, but on Christ Himself. How did Origen, Bede and many others not stumble here? Therefore, it is up to the pope (on whom the church is founded) to explain the holy scripture according to his liking and pleasing moods. Whoever contradicts is a heretic and devil's child, and must be burned. For this Leo of ours has become a lion who has learned to catch the prey and to devour men.

27) It is certain that it is not in the power of the Church or the Pope to make articles of faith, nor laws of morals or good works.

28) If the pope means one thing or another to a large part of the church, and should not err, it is not sin or heresy to disagree, especially in a matter that is not necessary to salvation until a common concilium has rejected one and confirmed the other.

29)^g) We are free to interpret the decisions of the conciliar authorities, to speak freely against their actions and to judge their decisions, and to confess only what seems true to us, whether it is rejected or confirmed by the conciliar authorities.

g) The reader should listen to Luther himself, who discusses this matter, and not worry about those who take it out of context.

30)^h) Some articles of John Hus, which are condemned in the Concilio of Constance, are completely Christian, true and evangelical, which even the whole of common Christianity could not condemn.

h) This is neither untrue, nor is Luther alone of the opinion, but here every pious person agrees. You, too, as I know, would approve of much about this man, and detest the badly put together articles, if the illness that now makes you insane would only leave you for a while.

31) The righteous sins in any good works.

32) A good work done at its best is a venial sin.

33) Burning the heretics 1) is against the will of the Holy Spirit.

i) "To burn the heretics." So we hold that it is not lawful for you to kill anyone, not even a heretic, as you were commanded first by Christ and then by Paul, who said, "If he does not hear the church, consider him a pagan and a tax collector, and avoid him." So we also think that it is of little use to you that you take such cruel counsel against them, lest, when your whole court, which is teeming with even more vile heretics, goes up in fire, you also be seized by the neighboring flame and perish.

34) To war with the Turks^k) and to quarrel is to fight against God, who visits our sin through them.

k) The Turkish wars have brought you popes unspeakable profit, since you have drawn as much money from Germany as you liked, so that the military campaign could be directed into action, which you were never really serious about. For

If the Turks were once to be completely subdued, what enemy would you invent to fight in the future? Therefore, dear Leo, you should not be so displeased with the Germans that they have not listened to your irritations against the infidels for two years. For it seemed to everyone a deception, and opportunity to satiate your avarice by this invention.

35) No one knows for sure that he does not always sin mortally because of the exceedingly secret vice of courting.

36) Free will after sin is a thing in name only, and if it does what is in it, it sins mortally.

37) Purgatory cannot be proven from the Scriptures, which are in the Canon.

38) The souls in purgatory are not certain of their bliss, at least not all of them; nor is it proven by reasonable causes or scriptures that they are outside the state of merit or increase of love.

39) The souls in purgatory sin without ceasing as long as they seek rest and are terrified of the punishments.

40) The souls who are freed from purgatory by the help of the living are less blessed than if they had done enough by themselves.

41) The ecclesiastical prelates and secular princes would not do badly if they got rid of all begging bags.
l)

1) You certainly have concern for yours, otherwise you would be of the same opinion as Luther and us, if you were to be asked about your conscience. For "those who walk according to the flesh are carnally minded, but those who walk according to the spirit are spiritually minded. What is the use of going to so much trouble to condemn Luther, when you could do it with little? Namely, if you were to say briefly and in a single word (which is the difficult thing that happened to you from him): because he attacked your tyranny, and therefore he is a heretic, and something else more annoying. For you would easily overlook all other errors.

But, dear rude Leo, you must also consider whether it is also your office to suppress your brother and to deceive him in trade, because the Lord is an avenger of all this. We know that Luther will not give in to you, because such a brave mind cannot revoke the truth that he once undertook to defend. You, I fear, will resist. But what could you possibly do against the truth? especially since your whole cause is based on ambition and money. Now, according to Paul [1 Tim. 6:10], "avarice is the root of all evil, which some have lusted after, and have gone astray from the faith, causing themselves much pain.

To flee the honor of the world, and to renounce all ambition, Christ first taught by his example, in that he did not give in to worldly rule.

but humbled himself so that he took on the form of a servant. Then the apostles, John saying, "Love not the world, neither the things that are in it." And Paul instructs his Philippians thus [Cap. 2,3]: "Do nothing by strife or vain glory, but by humility esteem one another better than yourselves."

Well then, what are you allowed to desire in the worldly sphere, since Paul calls you a steward of God and commands you to suppress all temporal desires? Above all, you should be an example to the faithful in words, in conduct, in love, in faith, in chastity, and above all choose the way of truth. But [Ps. 119,30.]: "I have chosen the way of truth" (as Ambrosius says), no one can say with the psalmist, who seeks the temporal, and drives business. For this is not seeking the way of truth, as one desires to possess, or seeking the honor of this world and what is in the world with cares. And of Peter, that he might be counted worthy to feed Christ's sheep, he required nothing more than that he should love him. How this love should be, teaches John Cap. 3:18: "Little children, let us not love in word, nor in tongue, but in deed and in truth. By this we know that we are of the truth." And Beda, an author not to be despised, says: "There are people who feed Christ's sheep not out of love for Christ, but either for their honor, or their lust for power, or for profit. Paul complains about these in his letter to the Philippians.

I wanted to remind you of this in a broad way, so that it would never occur to you that you think to separate and deter us from the love of God and the truth by such bulls. For we trust in the Lord, "with whom," as Job says [Cap. 12:13, 16, 21], "is strength and wisdom. He knows the one who does wrong and suffers. He pours contempt on princes, and lifts up the oppressed." Answer me: Who has ever been abandoned who has remained in the commandments of God? Therefore, dear Leo, we are not afraid of your wrath and rage. For you cannot possibly overthrow God's judgment seat, before which you must stand with us. To this we appeal with the prophet, and say: "Let the righteousness of the righteous be upon him. This is our hope.

If you want to hear me, do not condemn your brother unheard. Rather, let error give way to truth after it has been made manifest, as Zosimus reminded us at the Carthage Concilium. But because I have delayed you more than necessary, continue now with the bull.

9. which errors according to that (*respectivs*)^a) how poisonous, how annoying, how seductive^b) for the godly and simple minds, and finally how utterly they are against all love^c) and against the reverence for the holy Roman church, the mother of all believers,^d) and a mistress of faith,^e) also against the nerve of Christian discipline,^f) that is, the obedience/ which is a fountain

and origin of all virtues, without which everyone is easily convicted that he is an unbeliever/) is not hidden from any reasonable man").

- a) What do you mean by respective? Say it clearly so that we understand you.
- b) Considering your insatiable avarice.
- c) Here touch yourself by your conscience, Leo. Unless you call the servile submission shown to you love.
- d) A violent tyranny, which neither can nor should be, and which must be bravely resisted at this time.
- e) Good God, what kind of a faith-mistress is this, who eradicates all faith and fidelity, and teaches us to be perjurers by setting aside the oath! She is so far removed from religion that in Rome it is a mockery to be called a good Christian. But she ridicules you, and considers your holy gospel a poem and a fable. Punish us, Christ, if this is not so.
- f) Egg, what a powerless body it is that is governed by such nerves!
- g) "One must obey GOD more than men," dear Leo. But you (we speak to you with the apostles [Apost. 5, 29.]), if it is right in the sight of God to hear you more than God, judge us. What Christ teaches, we must follow in words and deeds.
- h) I believe that we would be unbelievers if we obeyed you, especially if, as has happened for three whole years now, you command us to do evil things, so that the truth is not honored, or if we followed you, you give permission for the worst shameful deeds for the sake of money, if you impose it, as can be seen from your bulls, of which all Germany is full.
- i) Would you consider the one who did so to be reasonable?

10. ^fAccordingly, in the matters touched upon, as the most important,^a) we desire to proceed diligently,^b) as is proper, and to bequeath the way to this pestilence and devouring disease, lest it creep on in the field of the Lord,^c) like a noxious thorn hedge),^{de}) and have diligently considered the errors touched upon, and each of them in particular, ^g) and after careful consideration, and after everything has been considered and often discussed according to the right custom, with our venerable brothers,^h) of the holy Roman church cardinals, and the superiors of the ecclesiastical orders or general church servants, and many otherⁱ) of the holy scripture and both rights teachers or masters, namely the most experienced ones: we have found/) that the same errors *respective*ⁱ) (as thought) are either not catholic^m) articles, and as such are not to be presented as doctrinesⁿ) but against^o) the doctrine or leprosy of the catholic church,

and against the right interpretation of the holy scripture, which is accepted by the church; whose reputation St. Augustine^p) thought to have to yield so much, that he said, he would not have believed the gospel, if the reputation of the church had not been added to it. For from these errors, or from one of them, or from some of them, it follows publicly^a) that the same church, which is governed by the Holy Spirit,^f) is wrong and has always been wrong. Which is undoubtedly contrary to that,^s) which Christ promised his disciples at his ascension (as one reads in the holy gospel of Matthew), saying: "I am with you to the end of the world"; t also contrary to the provisions of the holy fathers,^u) also of the concilia, and the express decrees of the popes or the canons, which are not obeyed, as Cyprianus^v) testifies, has always been a tinder and cause of all heresies, and division of Christendom.

- a) To you they are, even though you called them little before.
- b) As your avarice brings it with it. Or else, as is fitting; yet not to a pope or a bishop, but to a king and to a Leo, you who do this with proud eyes and an insatiable heart.
- c) In which you, like your predecessors, intended to dig and rage, but you are prevented from doing so by us and therefore gnash your teeth. But so that I touch the matter as it is: Are you not ashamed, most holy one, to call your filthy junk trade the Lord's field? and do you not see that Germany is getting eyes again, and notices as well as you do what kind of deceit you are covering up your avarice with?
- d) You have never used a more correct simile, because in this thorny bush you are now already too entangled and anxious.
- e) It will continue to spread where you do not stop it. I tell you beforehand.
- f) Woe to you popes, who let the kingdom of heaven to men!
- g) See and admire Leo's diligence and care.
- h) Who also see that they must starve and suffer hunger.
- i) To whom also belongs something of the robbery, which we nevertheless prevent so confidently.
- k) Be careful what the diligent shepherd will find after so much applied effort.
- l) But I would like to know what that means respectively. Dear, tell us, what do you have in mind when you condemn Luther?
- m) You meant to say Roman.
- n) You act cautiously.
 - o) That is beautiful. They have accustomed their tongues to speak lies, and are diligent to do evil. But, O Lord, why do you not look upon the scornful, and keep silent to him who tramples underfoot him who is more righteous than he?
 - p) An important cause. But do you think that Augustine, if he were alive now, would attach this to you and your church? Therefore, stop,

of these holy men, and "to turn their writings perversely to your benefit, q) This indeed does not follow, but that poverty is upon you, your protonotaries and creatures.

- r) As if the world did not know, and the many public complaints did not show it, that all this happens in Rome on the Florentine instigation, and that this and that from your city administer the church, without whose preconsciousness and consent you also dare to do nothing. How often have you been reminded that you should not call your godless mob and assembly the holy church!
- s) Behold, is not Leo a zealous advocate of evangelical doctrine?
- t) He will also be, and will push you down as one who is mighty in unrighteousness, so that you will not fall burdensomely to the wretched and lowly, and will exalt them. He will break your arrogance, and level this pharisaical height. For he seeth how ye lay ropes, and spread nets over Thabor, and therefore will say [Ps. 14:4.], "Will none of the wicked take notice, that devour my people, that they may feed?" He sees how you practice tyranny with the highest injustice against the Christian people, and will say, "If you will not hear, and take to heart that you give glory to my name, I will send poverty among you, and curse your blessing. For I, the LORD, that is my name, will not give my glory to another [Isa. 42:8]. So the Lord will be with us; if we were not sure of this, we would not have been so courageous in resisting you.
- u) Say: of those bishops who wanted the church to be a secular kingdom and set themselves up as kings in it.
- v) Where are you dragging the holy martyr? He will certainly not give any testimony.

11. Therefore, with the same^a) of our venerable brethren's counsel and consent, also of all and every mature concern touched before, out of the Almighty God and the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and our power,^b) all and every touched article or error (as reported), respective as heretical, or vexatious, or false, or injurious to godly ears, or seducing simple minds, and contrary to Christian truth, condemn, disapprove, and utterly reject, and for condemned, disapproved, and rejected by all believers in Christ of both sexes,^c) in virtue of this bull recognize and declare, and forbid in virtue^d) of the holy obedience, and with penance of the highest ban already pronounced, also against the clergy and religious, also episcopal, ^e) also patriarchal, archiepiscopal or other high churches, also monasteries, priories and convents, and all kinds of^f) dignities or ecclesiastical fiefs, secular or all other ecclesiastical orders deprivation, and incapacity to the same, and others henceforth.

- a) Do not abuse your power in the Gospel. Remember Paul's words, "There is therefore nothing condemnable in them that are in Christ JEsu, who walk not after the flesh."
- b) See, Leo, in what matter you usurp God's authority, and do not abuse the power that the Lord gives you to build and not to demolish. In truth, whoever usurps power unjustly deserves hatred. Remember also that God's counsel is not in the power of man, for He will have truth and will reward abundantly those who practice pride.
- e) You won't make a difference.
- d) We are immovable because you do not seek what is divine but what is human.
- e) He lists his satellites here.
- f) He would rather have everything destroyed than see his predation prevented.

12. But towards the convents, chapters or houses, or godly places of the clergy or secular, also of the beggars, also of the universities and high schools [at loss] of all kinds of privileges, graces and liberties, granted by the apostolic see^a) or its legates, or else in other ways, which wording they are, also of the name and the power to have a high school, to read and interpret some kinds of sciences and faculties, and of the incapacity to obtain the same or others henceforth; also of the office of preaching and the loss of the high schools, and all privileges and liberties thereof.

- a) That's how you do it, popes: the one curtails the other's actions, and you write in front of your bulls: To the everlasting remembrance of the thing, and want to persuade us all that what you set should always be valid. Who then will adhere to you, since it is certain that one of your descendants will overturn this judgment of yours?

But against the secular,^a) with the same ban and loss of all lease¹) and feudal estates, obtained from the Roman church and in all kinds of ways,^b) also the inability to get to the same or to others in the future. Also against all and any of the above-named, at prohibition of the consecrated burial^c) and incapacity to all and any legal acts, the infamy, the lack of credibility (diffidationis), and at the slandering of the majesty insulters and the heretics and their favorers, expressed in rights, with the fact and without further explanation, by all and any of the above-named, if they (that be far)^d) would do against it, to suffer: thereof by virtue^e) of no force and clauses also in letters of confession,^f) of which persons, with

The only person who may absolve and release them is the pope or someone else who has special authority over them, except in cases of mortal danger^g).

- a) Spare the worldly arm, dear Leo, so that you also keep something that you could use against us in the end.
- b) Hear ye the ruler! So who is free from Leo's rule? Or whom does he not mean to seize with his claws? But I am addressing you, you shepherd Leo. Why do you meddle in worldly affairs, you who fight under the banner of Christ? Does this represent Christ's place, to draw to yourself what Christ does not approve?
- c) O outrageous cruelty! Are you also allowed to rage against the dead? When will you set limits to your tyranny?
- d) Rather, let it be so, that many may bravely submit to rage against you.
- e) He also tramples on his antics here, and God wanted him to trample on these alone.
- f) Which we had bought and paid for after all.
- g) We 2) will ask to be solved, because yes we will feel bound!

14. To all and every^a) believer in Christ of both sexes, lay and clergy, secular and all ecclesiastical orders, and other persons, of whatever rank, degree and nature they are, and of whatever ecclesiastical or secular dignity they are, also to the Holy Roman Church Cardinals,^b) Patriarchs, Primates, archbishops, bishops, patriarchal, archiepiscopal, foundation and lower church prelates, clerics, and other ecclesiastical persons, secular and all orders,^c) also the beggars, elders, priors or general church servants, or special brothers, or exempt or non-exempt clergy; also the universities and high schools, and secular, and all sorts, also the Beitelorden assembly.

- a) This is a digression of the Leonese power. But it is the kingdom of the Lord, and he rules over the nations. This one will soon call: The roar of the lion, the voice of the lioness, and the teeth of the young lions are broken. And since you so often cite Jerome as a witness to us, hear what he thinks of this roar of yours: We see, says he, that the princes and heads of the church thus thunder upon the subject people, and trample with tyrannical voice and sensitive invective, that it should be thought there was no shepherd of the flock, but a lion among the sheep. Should we not stop our ears before your roar and not listen attentively to the voice of a shepherd, wherever he may be, who feeds the sheep out of love for Christ and not out of greed for money, and stubbornly follow him?

1) In Latin: snapUiboosis, for which will probably be read enazu.

2) Erlanger: nos; Wittenberger and Jenaer: non. We have assumed the former..

- d) Spare the bellies of so many who have a good appetite, so many brave gluttons and drunkards, so many learned dice players and gallant whore hunters. Spare Leo, at least so many gentlemen, so that if they have done something wrong while drinking, it will not be counted as a mortal sin for them.
- e) Spare ours likewise, angered Leo, as the work of your hands.

15. Likewise the kings,^a) the emperor's electors, princes, dukes, margraves, counts, barons, captains, escorts, squires and all officials, judges, and all public clerks, ecclesiastical and secular, communes, universities, universities, authorities, cities, castles, lands, regions, or their citizens and inhabitants, also all other persons, clergy or religious, as thought, all over the world, before living in the German country^b), or in the future therein: that they shall not say,^c) confess, defend, or with anything, publicly or secretly, with the search of some mind or color, silently or expressed favor to show^d) the touched errors, or some of them, or such wrong doctrine.

- a) Leo's dominion is infinite, and therefore so much more burdensome. What a dangerous thing it is to admit Leo into a commonwealth! For once you, Leo, have been admitted, you also want to be nourished. Now this cannot be done in any other way than by what is robbed from us. Would to God we had heard the Greek poet. But you may be fed by those who have accepted you. We must follow the apostles, according to the appointment we have received from them, and speak out against you, because you are disorderly and a burden to us. Jerome, in whom you think highly, is of the opinion that it will be useful for you to be brought down from your pride, and that you will be able to go the right way all the better afterwards.
- d) Where everything went well for you robbers, and yet you often roar about it, so that you make its land a wasteland.
- o) Even the most secret counsels are directed by Leo alone, but the church does not judge about hidden things.
- ck) This servant of all servants also presumes the right over our favor.

16) Furthermore, because said errors and many others are contained in the books or writings of one Martin Luther^a), we condemn, disapprove and reject entirely said books, and all of said Martin's writings or sermons, found in Latin or other languages, in which said errors, or one of them, are contained, and want them to be held entirely condemned, disapproved and rejected, as said, and command^b) in

By the power of holy obedience, and by the said pleas, to fall therein by deed, all and every believer in Christ of both sexes, who are above named, to refrain in no way from reading such writings, booklets, sermons or notes, or chapters contained in them, which contain the errors or the above-mentioned articles, to read,^c) to say, to preach, to praise, to print, to publish or to defend, by themselves^d) or another, or others, outright or not outright, silently or expressed, publicly or secretly, in their or other houses/) in common or special places. Yes, they are to burn the same immediately, after announcement of this bull, in all places where they will be, diligently searched by the ordinaries and other above-mentioned, publicly and solemnly in the presence of the clergy and the people, at all and every above-mentioned pleas.^f)

- a) Listen, with what emphasis!
- b) You won't cool anything down, because it is already rooted deeper than that it may be eroded by you.
- c) Take care of the word bounce.
- d) How the Roman scribes, the bull makers, are so rich in words!
- e) He does not pass over anything, even, where is even a little bit that is not filled in? This is called being an orator and understanding Latin.
- f) You have lived, it is now over!

17 As for Martinus, pious God,^a) what have we omitted, what have we not done, what paternal love have we shown to bring him back from such errors. For when we cited him, desiring to deal with him most kindly^b), we summoned him, and both by various actions, with our legate^c) kept him, and by our writing reminded him to desist from such error; or else to come to us with safe conduct^d) and with needful food,^e) without all fear and timidity,^f) which perfect love^g) should cast out, and to speak according to the example of our Savior and the apostle Paul,^h) not secretly,ⁱ) but publicly and in plain sight. And if he had done the same, truly,^k) than we respect, he would have come to himself again, and would have recognized his errors, and would not have found so much error in the Roman court,^l) which he reviles so much, in that he accuses the evil-minded of vain rumors more than he should. We would also have taught him most inexplicably that the holy popes, our ancestors, whom he blasphemes unjustly against all discipline, have never erred in their canons or statutes, which he presumes to bite and refute.^m) For

as the prophet [Jer. 8:22] says: There is no lack of ointment or physician in Gilead.

- a) Behold, how meek! Here he accepts the voice of the lambs, who just now roared so cruelly that he frightened all men with the thunder of his words.
- b) Yes, "in the kindest way", as if one did not know how far you would have gone!
- c) Also in the future do not trust them, Luther, whatever good they talk you into believing. For their dwelling is deceit. They talk to their neighbor in a friendly manner, but in their heart they think evil.
- d) He admits that there is danger in the future.
- e) We know you bought man's blood so that you could shed it according to your pleasure.
- f) You feared nothing but what was happening, that he would not come.
- g) Notice. Leo has a perfect love. Who would have believed such a thing shortly before?
- h) "After the example!"
- i) Did he speak in secret who filled almost all of Europe with his preaching?
- k) This at least we believe: once he would be in your hands, he should not be able to speak anything in the future.
- l) Then you will force people not to know what they see or know. After all, what do you not take the liberty of? Do you want to persuade us that the city of Rome is not a puddle of all evil, a dwelling place of the worst shameful deeds, a container of all disgrace and the most shameful vices, a residence of all pestilence, and a general and harmful plague of human life?
- m) Are you not ashamed, Pabst, and do you not blush over any lie? You would certainly not write such things if greed for money did not lead you away from the path of all respectability.

18) But he has always disobediently not listened, and disregarded the mentioned citation, and everything and anything mentioned above, disregarded to come,^a) and up to the present day disobediently and with hardened mind suffered the church punishments longer than one year; and what is even worse, added evil to evil, although he had knowledge of the touched citation, put himself in the voice of the sacrilegious appeal^b) to a future Concilium, against the decree of Pius II. ^c) and Julius II. ^d) of our ancestors, in which it is decreed that those who so appeal shall be punished as heretics^e). For he has appealed to the help of the Council in vain who publicly confesses that he does not believe it^f).

- a) To whom is it unknown why you so eagerly desire to see Luthern in Rome?
- b) This is finally the knavery, and the main vice of all crimes, to appeal to a future Concilium!
- c) You put here the godless decree of an arch-cheat before our eyes. Who will accept it, especially of those whose eyes have been opened? O, what deceit and violence!
- d) You mention of a holy man....

- e) This is finally to abrogate all justice and equity, and to fill God's house with fraud and injustice. This is what I ask you: Do you popes not believe in a supreme judge who will one day demand strict accountability from you? Certainly, you do not believe it. For if you believed in a God, you would not do everything in such a presumptuous way. Therefore, we leave you with a clear conscience. For you deceive us and, as much as there is in you, you corrupt us.
- f) What do you say, murderer of the concilia? Does Luther do this?

So, that we could proceed against him, as publicly suspicious of the faith, yes, truly as a heretic, without further citation or delay to his condemnation as a heretic, and to all and every transcribed penalties and severity of church punishments. ^a) Nevertheless, with the same of our brethren's counsel,^b) we have followed the Almighty God's gentleness^c) who does not want the death of the sinner, but that he be converted and live [Ezek. 18,23.], forgetting all insults that have been inflicted on us and the apostolic chair so far, decided to use all possible piety^d) and to be as much as we can be^e) about it, so that he may get right again according to the presented way of mercy, and step away from touched errors, so that we may accept him again as the prodigal^f) son [Luc. 15,19.], coming again to the bosom of the church^g) graciously.

- a) What he was able to do, he did not want to do. Who accuses Leo of this?
- b) Behold the humility of these venerables!
- c) O the incredible gentleness! Nobody thought that Leo could be so kind, especially if he could murder.
- d) Leo could also be pious if we allowed him to rob and rave on and on as he pleased.
- e) What are you striving to show a good way to seek love, love to which you have given your ways through pride and malice, and under whose wings blood of poor and innocent souls has been invented?
- g) That wasteful Luther! He has so lavishly and superfluously misappropriated the Protestant doctrine.
- g) How often must it be impressed upon you that we have nothing to do with your church, nor do we want to agree with your scribes? Unless rather you come to better sense, renounce avarice, and cleanse your hands of gifts.

20) Therefore, through the heartfelt mercy^a) of our God, and through the sprinkling^b) of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, with which and through which the redemption of the human race and the edification of the Holy Mother, the Church, have been accomplished, we wholeheartedly admonish and implore the same Martinus and all his followers, keepers and favorers,

they want to stop disturbing the peace, unity and truth of the church,^c) for which the Blessed One so imploringly asked the Father [Joh. 17, 11.], and completely renounce such pernicious errors^d). So, if they really obey and assure us of their obedience by sufficient proof and display,^e) they shall find the opinion of fatherly love^f) and open wells of kindness and meekness^g) with us.

- a) Paul commands you to put on heartfelt compassion, to be kind, gentle, humble and patient, but to our great sorrow we must see the opposite, that instead of compassion you have put on cruelty, instead of patience you have put on anger; for righteousness you have put on unrighteousness, and to make it short, for virtues you have put on vice, that is, for Christ, who is God, you have put on the Antichrist, the devil.
- b) I am surprised, since you are such a one, that you can talk like this, write like this, pretend like this and disguise yourself.
- c) Leo certainly wants to rule, but I fear whether he will be able to, since Germany is in such a state of flux.
- d) For from this arises the paucity of so many venerable ones, and great lack to the Lord Himself.
- e) We like to believe that you would give a great drum if we concealed the truth, left our German empire to you, and served you as our unjust lord.
- f) Pack yourself with your love, Father Leo, we know what it is like.
- g) You dare to call yourself a fountain of gentleness and goodness. O ungodliness! In truth [2 Pet. 2, 17], "these are fountains without water, and clouds driven about by the whirl of the wind, to whom is reserved darkness for ever". Therefore, Leo, you do not judge yourself by this. For we will not forsake the Lord, the fountain of living waters, nor dig wells that hold not water.

21) Nevertheless,^a) forbid Martin now and henceforth to refrain from all preaching or from preaching altogether. Otherwise,^b) so that the same Martin, if the love of righteousness and virtue did not turn him away from sin, and the hope of forgiveness did not bring him back to repentance, the horror of punishment^c) would force him to discipline: We request and remind the same Martinum, his followers, assistants,^d) favorable^e) and upholders, in virtue of this writing, by virtue of holy obedience, and by all and every sound touched, to fall into it by deed; and earnestly command,^f) that within sixty days/) of which we appoint twenty for the first, twenty for the other, and the other twenty for the third term, from the attachment of this Bull, in places hereinafter described, to be counted immediately following.

- a) He forbids Luther to teach the truth, because the ears of the city of Rome are not inclined to listen to it. But this one will not obey after he has once chosen the way of truth.
- b) He tries everything, and as they say, he moves heaven and earth so that he may not lose dominion. That is how unwilling the tyrants are to be cast out.
- c) He imagines that these horrors would still move us, and does not know how much Germany is now changed.
- d) Dear one! Where will he be able to turn and escape?
- e) Help heaven, how many good and honest men he calls to Rome! The city will not be able to hold them all. But, dear Leo, see to it that you do not overwhelm yourself with so many guests. At least, if others listen to me, we will come to you.
- f) Good God! We have other lords without you, and we only remember your name.
- g) The days are not enough, dear Leo, especially for those who are afflicted with podagra and other diseases, who have to be carried in litters, nor for the infirm who are forced to walk on crutches.

22) That the same Martinus, his adherents, followers and said holders, completely renounce the said errors, their preaching, publication, assertion and defense, also the publication of the books or writings, about the same or some of them; and burn all and every books or writings, which have touched errors, or some of them in any way in them,^a) or procure to burn them. Also that the same Martinus completely revokes such errors and opinions,^b) and of such revocation^c) by public, legally valid documents,^d) sealed by two prelates' hands, to be sent to us within another equal sixty days;^e) or else by himself (if he wanted to come to us, which would be most pleasing to us)^f) with touched most perfect escort, which we now hereby give, so that no doubt^g) about his true obedience may remain.

- a) You have obtained it. You burn, but in the hearts of the pious. O, a fire very harmful to you! Extinguish it now, if you can.
- b) He will call again and cry out again, and never cease to repeat the word of truth, so that it will not be forgotten.
- c) Very carefully.
- d) That is: according to the form of the apostolic chamber, e) If he wanted to follow me, he should send it over, so that you may see it to your greatest pain.
- f) For then you would be free to kill the preacher of truth. And it is not without reason that you try to lure Luther so often.
- g) You are even gentle in the matter.

23) Otherwise, if (this is far)^a) the named Martinus, his assistants, supporters, followers and keepers show themselves otherwise, or do not fulfill and carry out all and every of the aforementioned within the specified time with the work, following the teaching of the holy apostle [Titus 3:10], who teaches a heretic man according to the first and second punishment. Who teaches a heretical man to shun after the first and second punishment: we now, then and again,^b) the same Martinus, his adherents, followers, favorers and keepers, and each of them, as dry grapevines, which do not abide in Christ [Joh. 15, 6.], but teaching and preaching a repugnant doctrine, contrary to the Christian faith, or vexatious, or damned, not to little offence of divine majesty and of the whole Christian church and faith disgrace and shame, also diminishing the keys^c) of the church, having been public and stiff-necked heretics, and still being, by pre-touched power recognizing: condemning the same as such by virtue of this scripture, and commanding them to be regarded as such by all believers in Christ of both sexes. And subject them, all and every one, to all the above-mentioned, and against such of the right suspended sounds, in virtue of this scripture, and thereby arrested^d) to have been and still to be, recognize and declare.

a) Because it will not be your benefit.

b) (Ex nunc prout extunc et e converso.) Beautiful figure of speech after the style of the Roman court!

c) We saw no keys, now ruler Leo, since you needed the sword with many thousands against the Duke of Urbino and shed Christian blood.

d) This is the apostolic net with which people are caught to perdition. O of the innovation!

24. Furthermore, we forbid all and any of the above-mentioned Christians, by all and any of the above-mentioned offenses, to fall into it, so that they do not in any way submit to reading, claiming, preaching, praising, printing, or publishing writings, even those that do not contain the above-mentioned errors,^a) that were somehow made or published by the same Martin, or that he would henceforth make and publish, or some of them, as being made by a man who is an enemy of the Christian faith, and therefore very suspicious, and that his memory^b) be entirely blotted out from the society of the believers in Christ, to read, to claim, to preach, to praise, to print, to publish, or to defend, by themselves or another or others, outright or not outright,^c) secretly or publicly, silently or expressed, or else in their houses, or other places,^d) common or special places in no way to have; Yes, they shall burn them, as is reported.

a) Do you also condemn the wholesome writings of Luther? and do you uproot even the noblest seed with the weeds and burn it? This is called acting ungodly and forgetting yourself.

b) You wipe out the memory of him whom you would have accepted in grace now, if he would return. By such a performance you make yourself unbearable, so that all honest men will try to destroy you.

c) But, tell me, is it also not allowed to look at them through the lattice? I am surprised at you, what you do in such idle time in Rome, that you do not learn to speak Latin. Let this be a barbarity to me!

d) Not even in the underground burial places?

25 We also remind^a) all and each of the above-mentioned believers in Christ, at the time of the highest ban, to avoid the above-mentioned, declared and condemned heretics, who do not obey our commandments, after the end of the above-mentioned term, and to avoid as much as is in them, nor to have intercourse or any company or fellowship with them or theirs, nor to give them their necessities^c) .

a) Hear another roar of Leo, of which the prophet Zephaniah said in days of old: The princes among them are roaring lions. Where is the quite admirable Jerome here, whom our Leo alone honors?

b) We are alone.

c) Nor shall they suffice for a night shear.

26. Also to more^a) disgrace^b) of the said Martinus and his assistants, favorers, followers and holders, in such a way after the course of the said term declared and condemned heretics, we command all and every Christian believers, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, patriarchal, archiepiscopal, collegiate and lower church prelates, capitulars, and other ecclesiastical persons, seculars and all orders, also the beggars (especially the congregation to which the said Martinus has made profession, and in which he shall reside or abstain). Exempt and non-exempt; also all and every prince of all spiritual and secular dignities and honors, kings, emperors, electors, dukes, margraves, counts, barons, captains, lieutenants, squires, emperors, universities, powers, cities, lands, castles and regions, or their inhabitants and citizens, and to all and every person concerned throughout the world, before residing in German lands, we command that they, or each of them, at all and every pleas,^c) see the said Martinus, his assistants, followers, keepers and favorers personally^d) and hold them captive until our request, and send them to us. On the other hand, for such a good work of ours and the apostolic see.

shall obtain a worthy reward and retribution^e).

- a) This roar will excite the worldly arm.
- b) All who do wrong shall be put to shame, c) Sieve, as he does not unite the church by love, like Christ, but compels it by force and terror, as befits a tyrant. Who will be able to suffer such a shepherd?
- d) Now, finally, it was necessary to have many courtiers to squeeze such a large person.
- e) A reward is promised to those who betray us, and a price is set on the head of the exiles. He is a true Roman. But tell me, dear Leo, what will you do on the day of visitation and misery, which will appear from afar? You will not be able to escape the future wrath of God!

27 Or that at least they and each of them be expelled from the archiepiscopal, episcopal, collegiate and other churches, houses and monasteries, convents, cities, dominions, universities, communes, castles, lands and villages, as the case may be, from all and any of the clergy and laity concerned. But all the cities, dominions, lands, castles, villages, counties, towns and villages where they are located, also the archiepiscopal, episcopal, collegiate and other churches, monasteries, priories, convents and ecclesiastical places, of whatever order (as said), where the named Martinus, or someone of the aforementioned, will go, as long as he stays there, and three days after his departure, we submit to the ecclesiastical interdict. ^{a)}

- a) He forbids the worship of God. Admire the piety of this pope, who recently wanted to be called the pacifist, as if a new Solomon had appeared to the world.

28. And so that all the foregoing may be known to all, we further command^a) all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, patriarchal, archbishopric and other episcopal and collegiate prelates, capitulars, and other ecclesiastical and secular persons; also all the above-mentioned friars, clergy, monks, freedmen and freedwomen, wherever they are, and especially in German lands: That they and every one of them, at the touched church punishments and penalties, to fall therein by deed, proclaim Martinus, and all and every one of the above-named, who after the end of the term do not obey such of our commands or reminders, in their churches, on Sundays and other feast days, when most people are gathered together to the divine offices, as declared and damned heretics, and procure and command that this shall be proclaimed by others, and

that they are avoided by everyone to the highest degree. Also to all believers in Christ, that they avoid them in the same way with the above-mentioned church punishments and penalties; and that they make the present letter, or its trustworthy copy, in the form described below, available for reading, proclaiming and posting in their churches, monasteries, houses, convents and other places.

- a) He does nothing else than commanding, designating, commanding, deciding, forbidding, resisting, frightening and threatening. Indeed, he shows himself as a ruler of the world. But listen, my Leo, do not puff yourself up, for God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble.

29. we also put under the highest ban^a) and curse all and every one, of whatever rank, degree, character, excellence, dignity and distinction, who procure, or in any way make, that this letter, or its certified copy, copy or copies, shall not be read, posted or proclaimed in their lands and dominions, by themselves or another or others, publicly or secretly, outright or not outright, silently or expressed.

- a) Finally the lion's fury comes to the highest, where, when it comes to hearing you under the great roar of your musicians, O Leo, I wish to know with what confidence you do this. Do you imagine that it is in your power to kill the souls that do not die and to wake up those that do not live? But why do you lie to the people of God who believe? Would it be wrong for us not only to bravely reject this wicked bull, like all others like it, but also to publicly kill the bulls?

Finally, because it would be difficult to bring^a this letter to every place where it would be necessary, we want, and decree by apostolic authority, that their certified copies, which are made and signed by the hand of a public notary, or printed in the worthy city of Rome and provided with the seal of an ecclesiastical prelate, shall be given place and perfect faith everywhere and in all places, in the same way as the main scripture would be given place and faith if it were shown and presented.

- a) To remove this difficulty, we have had it reissued. For it is very important to us that this brilliant bull of yours gets around as far as possible.

(31) And lest the said Luther, and all others above named, whom this epistle in any way concerns, should plead ignorance of this epistle and its contents, we will that these epistles should be placed at the doors of the cathedral of the Prince of the Apostles, and the

apostolic chancery, also of the episcopal churches of Brandenburg, Meissen and Merseburg, are posted and proclaimed, recognizing that the proclamation of the same letters, so done, shall arrest the aforementioned Martinus and all others and any aforementioned, whom such letters in any way concern, as if this letter had been read and proclaimed by them personally on the day of such posting and proclamation, because it is not likely that with them that should remain unknown^a), what so publicly happens.

a) We know them well, but we do not want to acknowledge them, we are so obtuse.

32. This shall not be contrary to^a) the apostolic ordinances and orders, which are given to all and everyone, or to their one, or to all others, by the said apostolic see, or to those who have authority from it, under any form, also that of a letter of confession, and with all, even the very strongest clauses,^b) for whatever cause or great concern it is conferred or given to them, that they may not be placed under the interdict, suspended, or put under ban by apostolic letters, which do not perfectly and expressly avoid it from word to word, but do not indicate by general clauses that such a conferral is mentioned: The content, causes and form of the same conferral, just as if they had been inserted from word to word, so that it would be completely abrogated, we want to have considered expressed by this letter.

a) This lightning penetrates through everything, even if one opposes it with something apostolic. And so one devil casts out another; therefore one can hope that his kingdom, which has become at odds with itself, will soon fall.

b) These are like diamonds, and very expensive to buy.

33.^a) Therefore, it shall not be proper for any man to break this letter of our condemnation,^b) reprobation, decree, declaration, prohibition, will, commandment, exhortation, petition, request, remembrance, assignment, bestowal, banishment, excommunication and cursing, or to act contrary to it with sacrilegious thirst. But whoever would refrain from it, shall know that he will come into the disgrace of the Almighty God,^c) and of the holy apostles Peter and Paul. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1520, on the seventeenth day before the first day of the month of Julius [June 15], our eighth year of the Papacy.

Seen R. Milanensis.

Albergatus.

- a) Would that all and sundry read and understand this, so that they may recognize the tree from the fruit. This is what we wish above all, Leo. Far be it from us to want to flee this wretched edict of yours. This is therefore a testimony to your former way of life. Here the fruit will make you known.
- b) Leo titles this miserable decree of his with innumerable names.
- c) Which you have in your power. For what is good that you popes do not presume to do? But to these we answer with Tertullianus: If we are condemned by you, God absolves us. This shall separate us.

[Ulrich von Hutten's letter] to Leo X.

This is what we had to remember about your bull, Pope Leo. It would have been better if you had kept it at Rome with St. Peter and had it constantly hidden, than if you had made it known to the world and brought it to light, to your greatest shame (if there is still shame in you about dishonor). But that we may always remember thee in something right, it is necessary to set a measure to this insolence of thine, and to put a bit to such wanton bulls, that they may not pour themselves out more than is fair. Paul commands to avoid even the appearance of evil; the less you should be an annoyance and offense to the believers in Christ. For even these, especially in Germany, already have the conviction from the papal decrees, as they generally do with money, that the more recent it is, the worse it is. Beware of turning the truth of God into lies, and of preferring your human statutes, which are based only on money and ambition, to the word and commandments of God.

Above all, refrain from twisting the meaning of the holy scriptures in an ungodly way for the sake of gain, and from bewitching the minds of the faithful so that they do not obey the truth. For what do you undertake to give the appearance of goodness to your so evidently wicked deeds, since I, if you would make me take offense, could report to all a bishop in Germany, from whom you have extorted two hundred and forty thousand florins by force and fraud. Does this mean shearing the sheep? Or has the house of the Lord become a pit of murderers? Finally, resist your desires, and temper this your robbery. Thou trustest in lying words, and sayest daily, Here is the temple of the LORD, here is the temple of the LORD; and cryest peace, peace, and yet is no peace. For though thou

you can deceive people through your deceptions, you will not remain hidden from the heart discerner.

But remember the flood of punishment, so that when it breaks like a flood, it does not also come upon you and your false church, and destroy the whole multitude of the vicious people in Rome at once. For what have you in Rome, apart from the innumerable host of your musicians and flatterers, but thieves, forgers, swindlers, robbers, or otherwise shameful people, who, like the bailiffs, lay ropes and snares to catch something every day. Moreover, do not provoke the defenders of truth so much in the future, lest you incur evil in the end. For many are already proclaiming this everywhere with the prophet [Isa. 59, 14. f.]: "Justice has receded, and righteousness has departed, for truth is falling in the street, and righteousness cannot go, and truth is gone, and he who departs from evil must be everyone's prey. Therefore, my advice is that you never take it upon yourself to persecute Luther and those who hold with him. For there are more of them than either you or any bishop could be at liberty to destroy so many souls, even if you were able to do so. You know how people have already grumbled against you in the past, that you hurl this thunder of yours so carelessly and without any cause, that you do not consider, when it will fall into contempt one day, how great an offense it will cause among the people.

Therefore, become accustomed to gentleness, and do not be of a disguised love, but of a Christian and sincere love. Present yourself to us as an example, and see to it not how you enrich yourself, but how we are fed. When you have decided this, feed us henceforth with science and doctrine, and not with bulls, for one is already tired of them. Your letters of indulgence, however, disgust us like nothing else. The true qualities of a pope are wisdom, purity, chastity, and contempt for all worldly things. Put these in your hands, and Germany will honor you when she sees that she is loved by you, and will not oppose you even if you make her afraid. For it is up to you to win all by kindness and not to force anyone by force. This is free, but true, as the thing itself is, and the times bring it with them. Farewell. From Germany.

Let us break their bands, and cast from us their cords [Ps. 2:3].

445: Excerpt from Ulrich von Hütten's letter to Elector Frederick of Saxony concerning the papal bull.

This letter is found in full in Burkhard's *eoinELtar. de Huttisn. tntis ne meritis*, xars II, p. 86; the excerpt in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), *toru. II*, col. 51. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 133; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 451 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 314.

Oh, dear God, what a severe and terrifying bull has gone out against Martin Luther, so that one might well say that it is the roar of a cruel lion, so it resounds; who, when they hear the wretched sheep of Christ, recognize, fear and tremble not for a pious and faithful shepherd, but for the bloodthirsty voice of their worst enemy. For there is no Christian gentleness nor love, much less apostolic kindness and compassion to be felt, so he [Leo] rages and rages. Now, however, his cruel rage becomes more and more evident, the more he conceals and adorns it. Which this bull often shows, but especially in that it invites Luther to Rome as a guest; as if one did not know how they would deal with us if they offered us. If Luther were to come there willingly or by force, I am afraid I would have to follow. But if Luther obeys me, he will never come to his certain doom and slaughter in Rome.

(2) Of the harm and damage that we are and must suffer daily from their tyranny, there is no need to speak in many words, so that each one can understand for himself what it is. For we see it and become aware of it every day that there is almost no gold or silver left in Germany, or even that there is very little; the same is also being gathered up and led away every day by various tricks and new practices of the Holy Roman See. When this happens, it is so horribly abused that it is a disgrace to say so.

Do you now want to know, dear Germans, that I myself have seen what is being done with our money in Rome? Here it is: one part is divided by the pope among his friends and relatives, of whom he has so much that it has become a proverb to say: "The pope's Leo X brothers-in-law and blood relatives in Rome. The other part is consumed by the cardinals, of whom the father pope has made thirty-one in one day. There are so many assessors, proto-

notarii, abbreviatores, apostolic scribes, chamberlains, officials, and the like, many more of this devil's school, most noble and eldest, who still drag after themselves a great heap with many and great expenses, as namely, copists, pedants, runners, parlor keepers, donkey drivers, stable boys, whores and boys, and the like useless servants, an innumerable heap, and an army of whore-keepers. Above that they feed dogs and horses, monkeys and guenons and many strange animals more, in which they have their pleasure and joy; build beautiful houses of loud marble, decorate themselves with noble stones only according to their heart's desire, live and dress themselves exceedingly beautifully and deliciously, and thus pass the time in vain pleasure and joy.

4 In sum, there is an innumerable useless people in idleness at Rome, with our money and goods. There is neither concern for religion nor fear of God; the contempt is so great that I believe it is hardly found so great among the Turks. They lie and deceive, misrepresent, falsify, rob and steal, lie, talk and do all kinds of evil for the sake of the tiresome money and profit, seeking only how they may bring our money and goods out of Germany. And some live only so that they may eat and drink, have pleasure and all abundance. That is what our money does for Rome.

(5) For all this, Most Serene Prince, we send a great sum of money from here to Rome every year, and yet we do not realize that it comes to such shameful abuse, which we give to them so willingly and easily; yes, not only is such money lost, but what is worst of all, it becomes a matter and incentive for many great abominations and vices 2c.

446. D. Martin Luther's writing "Against the Bull of the Final Christ. Beginning of November 1520.

Soon after the publication of "von den neuen Eckischen Bullen und Lügen" Luther turned against the papal bull itself, first for the scholars in Latin in the writing: Väv6r8ii8 6X66rudil6ni ^,utieüristi duUum, which appeared at Wittenberg in the last days of October 1520 by Melchior Lotther. In the "Gesammtausgabe" it is found: in the Wittenberg (1551), toui. II, toi. 89 (wrong: 86); in the Jena one (1566), toru. II, toi. 286 d; in the Erlanger, OM. var. ur^, toin. V, p. 134, and in the Weimar, vol. VI, p. 597. Immediately thereafter, Luther, in order to render his "guilty Christian service" to the laity as well, reworked this scripture into German. While the Latin discusses only the first six sentences condemned in the Bull, there are twelve in the German adaptation.

On November 4, 1520, Luther wrote to Spalatin that the German "Gegenbulle" would now also be printed. After that our time determination. This German writing was also first published by Melchior Lotther in Wittenberg. In the editions: in the Wittenberg (1554), vol. VII, p. 49; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 345; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 531; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 324; in the Erlangen, I. ed, Vol. 24, p. 35; 2nd ed., Vol. 24, p. 38; and in the Weimarschen, Vol. VI, p. 614. We have followed the latter.

Against the Bull of the Final Christ.

Doctor Martinus Luther.

JESUS.

To all lovers of Christian truth, may God give His grace and peace, Amen.

1. It is almost obvious to everyone how I have now come into the third year, with the lying business of indulgences, by which the Christians have been harmfully and disgracefully deceived for many years and lost money, into a desolate trade and dispute, and the matter has been torn apart by some advocates of indulgences. Since they saw no reason to do so, the matter has been torn to such an extent that even papal authority and status are involved, by which alone they have so far obtained what they wanted, even though they were founded neither on scripture nor reason, and even believed and taught against all scripture and reason.

(2) For although they know that papal authority is often hardly wrong, and still errs daily, that they themselves cannot deny it, nevertheless, wherever they may have its will in their conduct, they are not only subject to imagine it to the simple people as an irrefutable truth of the faith of Christ, but make of this same papal authority, if and where they will, a Christianity or Christian church. And that is why they do it: Because they know, and it is true, that the common Christian church (that is, all Christians throughout the world) may not err, they smear our mouths; and in order that their blind suggestions may be received by the poor people for erroneous, certain, Christian truth, they pretend that what they thus enter by papal authority, which may err, the Christian church, which may not err, has entered; shall not be deceived for this reason alone, that the pope has fallen to them. So lead us by the nose, and

as St. Peter [2. Epist. 2, 3.] said of them, with false fictitious words according to their avarice deal with us, that we should call the erring pope and let him understand the erring Christianity, but not before, because where they need his for their advantage; otherwise, as I said, they well confess that he may err and err.

(3) Oh, what error, wickedness, and deception have been driven into the poor people by such a charade under the holy name of the Christian church, and by the free usurpation of papal power! How many souls have been ruined, how much murder has been committed and blood shed, how many lands have been sucked dry and ruined, that it is dreadful to think of it; all of which has been accomplished by no other means than that they have pretended that their Christian church, the pope, may not be mistaken.

4. So also here, since they had seduced the ship, and the naked, unfounded, fraudulent indulgences brought to light, have come to shame, along with many other false teachings, which they have been forcibly pushing until now, and they now see that it may not stand either with writings or reason, they do as is their way and custom, seeking their last remedy, papal sacrilege and violence; They dare to condemn me and my books with naked, violent words of sacrilege, without any cause being shown, and to scold me heretically, to forbid and burn them.

Now I know well that art and sacrilege are two things, and I do not respect the unkind sacrilege; so burning books is so easy that even the children can do it, let alone the holy father Pabst and his high scholars, who it would ever be fine with me to think that they showed a little more art than burning books. About this I may say on my conscience that I would like nothing better than to have all my books perish, which I also only had to let go out to warn people against such errors, and to lead them into the libraries, so that they would gain understanding, and then let my little books disappear.

6 Oh God, if the understanding of the Scriptures were in us, there would be nothing in my little books; and God knows that I am not lying, if such my condemnation alone harms me.

would do. So I have staked my honor and life on it, so that I would not, if I were able to, want to break away from the sacrilege with a hair of my head; indeed, I would gladly be condemned from the papal sacrilege with all my heart in silence. But because Christ says [Matth. 10,32. 33. Luc. 12,8.]: "Whoever confesses me before men, I will confess him before my Father and his angels. Whoever is ashamed of me before men, I will also be ashamed of him before the angels of God," since I am obligated to promote the salvation of every one of my neighbors and to prevent his danger, and since I am now certain that the papal transgression and his own act without reason and cause, yes, out of pure ignorance and error against Christian truth, I must and cannot remain silent, revile the truth and let the souls be deceived, as God wills.

(7) Therefore, I hereby offer to each one my due Christian service, and as much as I like, warn him faithfully to forget me, and to be aware of his own soul, to be careful with all diligence that papal outrage does not drive him away from the truth, with his and his own pompous, inflated, fabricated words, in the bull that is said to have recently come from Rome against Doctor Luther. Let it be known to everyone that he does me no service by despising the sacrilegious, heretical, lying bull, again, no offense, whether he respects it. I am free by the grace of God, may not and will not take comfort in or be dismayed by any of these things. I know well where my comfort and defiance are, which is safe from men and devils. I will do my part, each one will answer for himself on his death and the last day, and then he will be well aware of my faithful warning.

(8) But lest anyone be excused for not knowing how to guard against such outrage and error, I will recount the articles condemned in the bull, and first show the Roman outlaws' blindness and wickedness.

(9) They write in the same bull that the articles which are told in a heap, some heretical, some erroneous, some vexatious, some seductive, some in Christian ears

are insufferable, and thus make fivefold articles. But so pusillanimous is their own criminal, mischievous conscience, that they have not been allowed to speak or interpret the same articles clearly and differently; but pass a blind judgment on the whole heap, so that no one can know which ones they want to consider heretical, or erroneous, or vexatious, or seductive, or insufferable, and yet condemn them; so that they play such a fine fool's game that they want to have a difference of articles, and yet leave no one the difference, but hope that they will all be considered heretical by everyone, for the sake of their condemnation, without distinction. Are these not pious people to me?

(10) With what wisdom and prudence they save themselves from two dangers. The first, that they should not prove and give cause for their condemnation. The other, that if some denounced them as heretical, they would not be beaten to a pulp and found otherwise. But I hope that such prudence will be beautifully rewarded by prudence itself. 1) I will give them a spoon, that they try what they slur, the dear bullists. For I fear that the bull was made on a drunken evening, or in the dog days, and ask them, if heretical and erroneous are not one and the same, then it must certainly not be heretical, what is erroneous there, shall be different from the highly famous bull masterly difference. Thus, what is heretical need not be heretical nor erroneous, and so on. No part of the difference may be the other, otherwise there would be no difference.

Now this is ever publicly true, what is not heretical, that is Christian and divine. For Catholicum et hereticum, that is, Christian and heretical, are against each other without remedy, as Christ says [Luc. 11:23], "He that is not with me is against me"; item [Luc. 9:50], "That which is not against you is for you. Therefore, what is not heretically accused is already praised as Christian, since no error harms the church, but only heresy. For even if I may err, if I hold the pope to be holy and everyone to be pious, error is not heretical, nor damning, nor harmful. But if one condemns erroneous articles, then only harmful-

The same is true of the doctrines that make unbelievers and heretics. If all the errors of Christians were to be condemned, no Christian would remain, since no one is without sin and error. Therefore, it is clear that these bullists do not understand their own word, do not know what they slur.

12) Yes, their mischievousness continues in this, and they make a judgment about themselves, that they themselves are the very worst end-Christian heretics, who condemn and are ready to condemn the clearly recognized truth in and in themselves. I prove this from their own words: For since their own conscience urges and compels them to confess that the articles are not all heretical nor erroneous, they must not reproach them so highly, although they would gladly do so, if they did not fear another; so they publicly admit that they consider the same articles to be Christian and right in their hearts, and have no fault with them, except that they go beyond their art or against their erroneous opinions; thereby moved to hatred and vexation, not liking them, and inventing new censures, that they may condemn them as vexatious and unpleasant, which yet are true, right, and Christian, and not erroneous nor heretical, according to their own confession.

13) Are these not true chief heretics and unbelievers, who may publicly condemn the truth, which they themselves know, for no other reason than that it is offensive and annoying to them? 4) For Christ, all the prophets and apostles were also offensive to the chief priests and scholars, and for no other reason could a heretic, a seducer, a maniac, a sacrilegious man, a blasphemer be condemned, except that he was offensive to them.

(14) Since the Roman liars are invented by their own word as deniers and destroyers of the known truth, why should I fear them or suffer their condemnation unwillingly? Yes, God protect me, that only such people never praise or justify me, which would be the highest shame for me. But I have been urged by my guilty service to expose their such mischievousness.

2) "to eye" - to put before the eyes, to show oneself. -

3) In the original: Final deadlines heretic.

4) In the original: 'to be'.

1) In the original: "heiteren"; Dietz writes: "becheren".

The only way is to warn the poor simple-minded hearts against the endchrist poison, which are ready to condemn everything that displeases their blind head.

15 And that everyone may grasp with his fingers that they in Rome have not a thought to defend the truth, but do everything with false appearances and fabricated words, then notice: They themselves give me all the testimony that I have done right in resisting the preachers of indulgences, and confess that they have preached unjustly and falsely, shamefully deceiving the poor people and damaging them in body and soul. There is still no one in Rome to cite them, to banish them, to punish them, to force them to recant; here there is no one who is zealous for the truth; no cops can be made there, they all go out free and unharmed. Here they are merciful lords, and can see through their fingers without glasses, so that if they were pious and loved the truth, as they pretend, they would punish such blasphemous preaching against God, Christ and His Mother, which is done to corrupt souls, with the highest punishment.

16 But since they themselves have been touched by me, help God, they are forgotten; not only Rome, but heaven and earth must be stirred up, there one finds cops and bans, there one can write, and more than all devils maliciously; still they cry out for shepherds of Christ's sheep, and Christ's vicars, regardless of the fact that with such public play they seek their own benefit alone, throwing truth and all Christianity's need to the wind, so that they are not shepherds, but ravening wolves publicly recognized from their works. We Germans shall forever follow their false pretenses and fabricated words against God and our conscience.

(17) About this, so that no one would ever doubt that the evil spirit had issued the bull, they themselves write in explicit words that the little books should also be condemned and burned, since there is no error in them. Behold, is not this a Roman piece? Thus Christ shall overthrow the end-Christ, and cast him into a false perverse mind [Rom. 1:28]. What follows, then, that all who hold this bull and follow it shall deny God and His word, and

teach no more than error and heresy? For if the booklets are to be condemned, since there is no error in them, as they clearly write, then truth must be condemned and error confirmed.

18 I am blamed for wanting to bring the laity to the neck of the pope, priests and monks. Does this mean that the laity is reconciled and the pope is excused, if I call them free with publicly insolent words and give them the right to burn the truth and right doctrine, and to accept lies and error, and put them in honor, then I no longer understand German or Latin. For I have held it until now: He who sets error above truth denies God and worships the devil; and this is what this highly famous bull wants to call us and force us to do with bannish dread.

(19) Until now, the children have acted in such a way that they have brought us error, covered with the appearance of truth. If this now wants to be revealed, and the deceitfulness cannot be hidden any longer, which they do not want to let go of, God gives them a spirit of deceit [Isa. 19, 14], which makes them as false as they deserve, so that they immediately start to defend their deceitfulness with violence and publicly known error and heresy. And that their lies may stand, they are so bold that they command us to deny publicly known truth, and to receive falsehood.

20 I have never desired nor waited for my enemies to so shamefully betray, revile and disgrace themselves with their own words. What shall I dispute with them, when they themselves freely confess, without constraint, that they condemn, since there is no error within? Which, if they had not written it themselves, would have been incredible to all the world. But so shall it be with all who willfully act against divine truth, that they disgrace and blind themselves, as it is written of divine wisdom, that it makes liars of all who would disgrace it [Wis. 10:14].

What wonder would it be if princes, nobles and laymen beat the pope, bishops, priests and monks over the heads and chased them out to the country? It has never been heard before in Christendom, and it is terrible to

hear that one should publicly command your Christian people to deny, condemn and burn truth. If this does not mean heretical, erroneous, annoying, seductive, offensive to all Christian ears, then all things are newly reversed. From this, I hope, it is obvious that not Doctor Luther, but the pope himself wants to wrestle with bishops, priests and monks by this blasphemous bull of shame after their own accident, and to load the laity gladly on their neck.

(22) What Christian heart can suffer or hear it being commanded publicly, without any pretense, to burn the truth and follow error, as this cursed, insolent, devilish bull does? So I hear that if I had written the gospel, it should be denied and burned for my sake! O blind, mad bullists, what should I curse you? you are more than full of malice, that you command us to deny the truth and keep error.

(23) Hereby I will excuse myself, so that each one may take care of himself and know how to keep the bull from harming his soul. It is not that I wanted to raise the laity above the clergy, but rather that we pray for them that God will turn his wrath away from them and deliver them from the evil spirit that has possessed them, as we are obligated to do out of Christian faithfulness and love. It is more than enough that we recognize how they have unfortunately become mad and foolish because of the great fright of the outgoing truth, which thrusts its strong shine into their faces in such a way that green and yellow gleams before their eyes, and they do not know what they see, hear or speak. It is necessary here that we show mercy to them, and not seriousness, if they want to otherwise desist from their foolish nature, they have more than anyone can do to them. God help them and all of us, amen.

Now let's see the articles that condemned the wretched, miserable people.

The first.

It is heresy to hold that the sacraments give grace to all who do not present a bar.

24. much words are necessary to explain this article to a layman, in order to avoid the sophistic words.

for the sake of those who are touched therein. Recently, they teach that the sacraments give grace to everyone, even if he has no remorse for his sin, or even if he has no good thoughts, but it is enough that he does not have a bar, that is, that he does not have a willful intention to sin. Against this I have said, and still say, that it is erroneous and heretical.

(25) For not only is repentance for sin necessary over the removed bar and evil intention to receive the sacrament, but there must also be a faith that receives the sacrament worthily, since St. Paul Romans 14:23 says that all things are sin that are not done by faith. They do not see the same great bar of unbelief, and condemn newness and faith to the sacraments. What kind of Christians are they! They do not prove anything, nor do they have anything against me. God have mercy on such blind, wretched people.

The other.

Whoever denies that after baptism sin remains in every child, denies Christ and St. Paul.

How cunning is the malice, and wicked is the cunning, that out of pure hatred, only for the sake of appearances, they do not put all my words right, so that they have something to condemn; in addition, the wretched people know well that this article, if they put it right, is not mine, but St. Augustine's and Paul's, who teach that baptism puts away all sin, according to the guilt, but not according to the essence. Sin remains, as we all feel when we come to our senses, but God does not want to reckon it for the sake of baptism, if we contend against it, as I said in the sermon on baptism. But they do not know what sin, grace, baptism, guilt or God is; therefore they condemn, the wretched, blind sophists. If sin does not remain in us after baptism, why do we fight with fasting, prayer and other practices?

The third.

The tinder of original sin, although there is no real sin, hinders the entrance of the Kingdom of Heaven.

(27) The aforementioned remaining sin after baptism is called a *tsundere*, which is a sin that is not baptized.

so that it is easily inflamed by evil thoughts. It must also be pure and dead before we go to heaven. For everything must be swept out that is innate to us from Adam. But my bullists say no, presuming to go to heaven with the same evil tinder and old Adam, that they also have some filth in heaven from which they may stink. Therefore I must be damned; but they shall well understand.

The fourth.

The imperfect love of God in dying has with it a great fear, which fear alone might be a purgatory, and hinder the entrance of heaven.

28 Saint John says [1 Ep. 4,18]: "Where there is fear, love is not perfect. For perfect love casteth out fear: for fear is grievous." These holy words of John say just that, this article; and yet for my sake must be condemned by the mad coarse heads who do not know what they read, say or hear. Without this, where John says: Fear is embarrassing; I have added that fear may be a purgatory. Which I have said is a delusion, and not stiff-necked in my opinion. For I have often confessed that I do not know what it is like in purgatory, as they presume to know, since they know less about it than I do; I know more about it than they do.

The fifth.

It is not founded in Scripture and the holy old teachers that repentance has three parts, repentance, confession and satisfaction.

(29) This article, I think, should be condemned so that avarice does not die of hunger, otherwise they may truly indicate no other cause themselves. For if the satisfaction, the third part of repentance, were to remain as it is written, that where God interprets it and demands it, no one can discard it, then it would come to pass that all the monkey business that the pope, bishops, priests and monks have been playing with the keys, indulgences, cops, letters, reserved cases, recently, the whole Roman fair, which has deceived and devoured the world, would become false, devilish, end-Christian,

Error, deceit, seduction of all people publicly recognized. Therefore, to cover such disgrace, it has been truly necessary to look for a strong cover here, and to defend that the Roman fairgrounds' mischief does not come to light. Truly, Doctor Luther is a heretic that he does not leave such secret mischievousness to the scholars in the schools, but also brings it into German for the laity, who do not need to know the truth for the salvation of their souls.

(30) That God may command you Roman boys, how you deceive us poor people about our goods, honor and salvation, and how you want to have glory and honor among us. You are crying out to be beaten out of your heads and to be driven away. So I have taught that repentance and confession are not enough, but faith must also be there. But the pardon that can be given with indulgences is not founded in Scripture, but is laid down by the prelates, who may also give it. I will be silent here, that 1) they have interpreted the word contritio, taken from Scripture, to mean repentance, as it means much another. Recently, that I say more than I have ever said before, I say that all three pieces, Contritio, Confessio, Satisfactio, understood in their own way, do not stand in any place of Scripture; despite that they indicate it. They know as much of Scripture as the goose knows of the Psalter.

The sixth.

The repentance prepared by investigation, contemplation, and hatred of sins, when a sinner contemplates his time with bitterness of heart, overcoming the greatness, multitude, and filthiness of sins, plus the loss of eternal blessedness, and gain of eternal damnation, makes a hypocrite, and a greater sinner.

(31) As the spider begets poison from the beautiful rose, and it feeds on it, and the pious little bee sucks honey from it unawares, so the wretched serpent-breeders (as Christ calls them [Matt. 23:33]) have also done to my sermon on repentance, in which I taught that repentance should come from love and the desire of righteousness, as they themselves write and teach, and yet do not understand. And where there is no love, there remains hatred.

1) In the original: "dan".

Righteousness. Where this remains, repentance is fabricated, false, and makes only hypocrites, even greater sinners, because it does not atone for the love of righteousness, as Judas' repentance was [Matt. 27:4].

The seventh.

True is the saying, and better than all the doctrines which they have hitherto taught of repentance, that it is said, Never to do is the highest repentance, and a new life is the best repentance; or, To repent is best.

32 If the article is rightly condemned, I will let any layman judge. They have never taught so well of the new as the proverbs do. I still confess that, and ask nothing of it, that they respect the best repentance, the pope and give them money for their loose letters. Repentance cannot be bought, but he who has it must not buy anything; but that would do harm to the Holy See at Rome.

The eighth.

Do not take it upon yourself to confess all daily sin, nor even all mortal sin. For no one can recognize all mortal sin, and in ancient times only the public and conscious mortal sins were confessed.

(33) Behold, the wicked wretches themselves say that daily sin is not to be confessed, and because I also say it, it must be condemned. Item, they themselves say that no one really knows all mortal sin, therefore it cannot be confessed, that is also true; but now I also say it, it is heretical. My David is also condemned with me here, since he says [Ps. 19:15], "Lord, make me clean from my secret sins. For who is he that knoweth all sin?"

(34) From these and other things, everyone may know that this bull was made by insane, raging spirits, or by the head of all wickedness, the final Christian. Who can believe that they have understood and rightly condemned one article, when they so publicly err and fool that even the children and fools may notice it?

The ninth.

When we undertake to confess all our sins purely, we do nothing else than to leave nothing for divine mercy to forgive.

This must also be damned, if St. Paul, St. Augustine, even John!

Gerson teaches. It must ever be that we leave to divine grace much sin which we cannot recognize and confess, as they themselves say of forgotten and unconscious sins. Nor do they slur against themselves, and condemn the same in this bull, and drive us to repent, atone, pay for all sin, which they well know to be impossible, without that it carries much money. What does God forgive if we do enough for all sin? What kind of grace is it that forgives nothing in vain? Behold, they make a trustee out of God, and out of grace a severe judgment, and yet take our goods and honor for such devilish seductions, condemning their own known truth, that we shall never learn anything right from them.

The tenth.

No one's sins are forgiven, unless he believes that they will be forgiven when the priest absolves him. Yes, the sin would remain if he did not believe that it was forgiven. For forgiveness and the influence of grace are not enough, but one must believe that the sin is forgiven.

Behold, Almighty God, behold, all devout Christians! Is this not a wretched, horrible, terrible thing, that the Christian faith is publicly condemned by those who boast of the Christian faith? They pretend that we should not believe that sins are forgiven when we are absolved by the priest; but what should we do? That God may punish you, you Roman end-Christian boys and murderers of souls! What do you pretend to teach us? Shall we say to the priest when he absolves us: You lie in God's stead, and God with you? Why then do you make us believe your loose bulls and letters of indulgence, which you sell in the devil's name? Now listen, dear Christians, something new from Rome: the article of faith is condemned, since we all say: I believe in the Holy Spirit, a Christian church, forgiveness of sins.

37 If I knew that this bull was given by the pope in Rome and not invented by the liar and evil-doer Doctor Ecken, I would call out to all Christians that they should not hold the pope differently than the right one.

Archetypal Christian, of which all the Scriptures say; and where he would not cease to so brazenly publicly forbid us to believe, that the secular sword would gladly resist, more than any Turk. For the Turk lets believe whoever wants to; the pope does not want to let anyone believe. Help now whoever considers himself a Christian, and stand by his faith and all poor simple-minded souls who are sought for death and damnation by such great murderers of souls and wolves. I think they prove here honestly what they have in mind and how they honor Christ.

The eleventh.

Trust not that thou shalt be absolved because of thy repentance, but because of the word of Christ, which saith unto Petro, Whatsoever thou shalt unbind shall be unbound [Matt. 16:19]. Here I say, If thou art absolved by the priest, thou shalt firmly believe that thou art absolved, and thou shalt surely be absolved, whatever thy repentance may be.

38 But this is above faith. For I have taught that repentance, confession and penance are not enough; faith, the best part, must also be there. Who would confess or repent if he did not believe that his sins would be forgiven? What would and should a priest do if I came and said: Lord, I have sinned thus, and I am sorry; but I do not believe that I will be absolved by you? He would certainly think that I am nonsensical. Nor does this bull of vice command us to do so. No one can ever be absolved for the sake of his repentance, otherwise Judas, the devil, and all the damned would have been absolved long ago, but we are absolved for the sake of faith alone. Out, you cursed, damned bull, you deserve more than a thousand fires!

The twelfth.

If it were possible for someone to confess without repentance, or for a priest to absolve him lightly or jokingly when he believes he is absolved, he is certainly absolved.

(39) I have said this to show how necessary and useful faith is in repentance; although it is not possible for faith to be

without repentance. But if it were possible, he alone would be enough, for Christ says [Marc. 11, 24.]: What you believe, that happens to you. It is not in the priest's faith or power, but in my faith, what I shall obtain. But the boys, who would like our consolation and salvation to rest on them, so that they might oppress and disgrace us as they have done up to now, condemn such Christian faith, and place all things on their imaginary, fictitious power.

(40) And what need is there that I should relate all the articles which I have previously set forth in my little book with good reason from the Scriptures, and that the foolish, unlearned, blasphemous, and endchrist bull should not only condemn all things without reason, but should also not indicate and name one article which is heretical or erroneous. And if it had no other defect, the one that is too great and too severe is that it publicly and brazenly denies, condemns and heretically punishes the Christian faith, so that it deserves to be trampled underfoot by all true Christians and to be sent home with brimstone and fire to the Roman end-Christ and Doctor Ecken, his apostle. I am well aware that I am not worthy to suffer death or other suffering because of the accursed bull; what else could I encounter that is better?

41 Therefore, I hereby warn and caution everyone to beware of such devils, and I will give a sign, namely this: If the pope will not revoke and condemn this bull, and punish D. If the pope does not revoke and condemn this bull, and if he does not punish D. Ecken with his companions who follow such a bull, then no one shall doubt that the pope is God's enemy, Christ's persecutor, the destroyer of Christianity, and the true final Christian. For so far it has never been heard that someone has publicly condemned the Christian faith, as this infernal, cursed bull does.

Luther's report to Spalatin about this writing against the papal bull.

See Appendix, No. 27, ? 4.

448 D. M. Luther's writing "Grund und Ursach aller Artikel, so durch die römische Bulle unrechtlich verdammt worden".

Issued on March 1, 1521.

Immediately after the completion of the previous writing, Luther set about a more detailed explanation and affirmation of the articles condemned in the papal bull, because such, as he wrote to Spalatin on Nov. 29, 1520, was desired by him (for example, by the Elector, Spalatin and others (Köstlin, Martin Luther (3), Vol. I, p. 405⁴). In the same letter, Luther inquires about the titles of Fabian von Feilitzsch, to whom he intends to dedicate the writing. The dedication is then dated Dec. 1, 1520 and prefixed to the Latin text, which was published in mid-January 1521 under the title: *Vssertio ornnium arteuloruln M. l'utbsri, per ttullam l,soni8, X. novissirnu ttarnnutorum. WittsmbZas unno N.V.X.X.* From a letter of Luther dated Dec. 7, 1520, we learn that Feilitzsch had died in the meantime, but that no change in the dedication could occur because the relevant part of the book was already printed. This Latin writing is found in the Wittenberg (1551), tom. II, tot. 94b; in the Jena (1566), tona. II, col. 292 and in the Erlanger, opp. var. ur⁴, tom. V, p. 156; the dedicatory writing also in De Wette, vol. I, p. 529 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol.III, p. 1. Luther also edited the same subject matter in German; this, however, is not a translation of the Latin writing, but soon shorter, soon more detailed. On March 1, 1521, this treatment was completed in print. (Luther's letter to Spalatin of March 6, 1521.) The title was: "Grund vnnd vrsach aller Artickel D. Marti. Luther: ßo durch Römische Bulle vnrechtlich vordampt seyn. Vuittenberg." 14 quarto sheets with Lotther's printer's mark. In the "Gesammtausgabe": in the Wittenberg (1554), vol. VII, p. 103 b; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 400; in the Altenburg, vol.I, p. 615; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p.338; in the Erlangen, l.Aufl., vol.24, p. 53 and 2nd ed., vol. 24, p. 56. The German editions do not contain the dedicatory inscription.

JEsus.

To all devout Christians who read or listen to this booklet, grace and peace from GOD, Amen.

1. Blessed and praised be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who at this time enlightens so many hearts and awakens Christian understanding even in the laity, that one begins to see in all the world the right difference between the colored and glittering church or clergy and the truly good church, which until now has been so long hidden from us with holy garments, vows, works, and such outward appearances and laws of men, that we have been taught to be saved more by giving money than by believing. It will and may (as we see

and shall reasonably hope and pray) his divine goodness will no longer tolerate such abomination and error raging in his church, amen, amen.

(2) To which his divine goodness, among others, is no small sign, that he recently made some tyrants of Christendom so blind and deluded with a spirit of deceit [Isa. 19:14], that they let a bull go out to their own highest shame and noticeable irreparable apostasy, in which they also forget that with which they have deceived and fooled the world until now, namely, the good appearance and glittering color. For they have condemned such public truth that stone and wood cry out against them, and no bull has ever been received so shamefully, contemptuously, disgracefully.

3. may God accomplish His work, begun according to His mercy, and give us grace, so that we may recognize and thank His grace, and earnestly ask for a blessed execution, so that the poor souls may no longer be so miserably deceived by such deceitfulness and gimmickry, amen, amen.

For this reason, I, called D. Martinus Luther, heartily rejoice, have undertaken, for further instruction and discovery of the false colored church, to prove the articles all together with thorough writing, so that each one may protect himself against the' blind shields, which such jugglers are wont to use, whether they perhaps once wanted to come to themselves, and leave their glittering to the truth, their juggling to the seriousness, their color to the reason. But first I must make an excuse for some of the accusations they make against me.

(5) And first of all, I will let go of those who blame me for being aggressive or impatient, for I do not almost excuse myself for this, because I have not done this in the books where I have acted on Christian doctrine, but only in the quarrels and foolish nuisances of the papacy, indulgences, and the like jugglery, into which they have forced me, which are also things that have not been worthy nor sorrowful of so many, let alone kind and peaceful, words.

They charge me that I alone should excel in teaching everyone. Since ant

I point out that I have never offered myself, but have always been inclined to grovel at the angles; but they have pulled me out by cunning and force. To gain prize and honor in me. Now, if the game fails them, I am guilty of ambition before them. And even if it were true that I alone had raised myself, they would still not be excused. Who knows whether God has called and awakened me to this, and they are to be feared that they do not despise God in me.

7) Do we not read that God commonly raises only one prophet at a time in the Old Testament? Moses was alone at the beginning of Egypt, Helias alone in King Achab's time, Heliseus alone after him; Isaiah was alone in Jerusalem, Oseas alone in Israel, Jeremiah alone in Judea, Ezekiel alone in Babylonia, and so on; although they already had many disciples, who were also called the children of prophets, he did not let more than one preach and punish the people.

(8) He has never made the chief priest or any other high priests prophets, but has raised up low and despised persons, even the shepherd Amos [Amos 7:14, 15], except King David, even though he was of low estate [1 Sam. 16:11, Ps. 78:70 ff]. Thus the dear saints have always had to preach and reproach against the rulers, kings, princes, priests, and scholars, to dare and to leave their necks to it; as it happened.

(9) In those days also the great men spoke no other word against the holy prophets, but that they were the chief, that they should be obeyed, and not the lowly, despised prophets: as Jeremiah, Cap. 18:18, saith. So do they now. Let everything be unjust that the pope, the bishops and the scholars do not want to suffer; let them only be heard if they already say what they want.

(10) And in the New Testament, were they not also strange, the true bishops and teachers? St. Ambrose was alone in his time, after him St. Jerome, and then St. Augustine. God did not have much

high, great bishops mentioned. St. Augustine was a bishop in a vain, small, unpublicized city; but did he not do more than all the Roman popes with all their fellow bishops, so that they could not hold a candle to him? So it is ever true that all heresies have arisen or ever been strengthened by bishops and scholars; how then shall we be safe with them, now that they no longer wait upon the church, and have become worldly lords, so dangerous at the time they were, when they were better, more learned, holier, and more diligent? Nor do we ever want to be blind.

(11) I do not say that I am a prophet; but I say that they are so much more to fear that I am one, so much more do they despise me and esteem themselves. God is whimsical in his works and judgments, who does not respect great multitude, great art or violence, as Psalm 138:6 says: *Alta a longe cognoscit.*

If I am not a prophet, I am certain for myself that the word of God is with me and not with them, because I have the Scriptures for myself and they alone have their own teachings. This also gives me the courage to fear them so little, as much as they despise and persecute me. There were many donkeys in the world in Balaam's time, yet God spoke through none but Balaam's donkey. In the 14th Psalm, v. 6, he says to the same great ones: "You have desecrated the good teaching of the poor preacher, because he trusts in God," as if to say: "Because he is not great, high and mighty, his teaching must be false before you."

(12) They also say that I bring up new things, and that it is not to be supposed that all others have erred so long. The prophets of old also had to hear this. If the length of time should be enough of an excuse, the Jews would have had the very best thing against Christ, whose teaching was different from what they had heard in a thousand years; also the Gentiles would have despised the apostles, because their ancestors had believed much differently for more than three thousand years. Murderers, adulterers and thieves have remained from the beginning of the world and will remain until the end.

1) In the original: krauchen.

2) Thus the Wittenbergers and the Jenaers; Original: zu.

3) In all editions: good. Analogous is in §16: the holy scripture.

(13) I do not preach new things; I say that all Christian things are in the downfall of those who should have held it, namely the bishops and scholars. Besides, there is no doubt in my mind that the truth has remained in some hearts, and should be vain children in the cradle. The spiritual understanding of the law in the Old Testament also remained with some of the lowly; but it perished with the chief priests and scholars, who were to keep it. Thus Jeremiah Cap. 5, 4. says that he found less understanding and law among the rulers than among the laity and the common people. So it is also now, that poor peasants and children understand Christ better than the pope, bishops and doctors, and everything is reversed.

(14) But if they will not do otherwise, then let me be a heathen. What would they answer, or how would we stand, if the Turk asked us about the reason for our faith, giving no indication of how much, how long, how great people had held this way or otherwise? We would have to keep silent about everything and show him the holy scriptures in the reason. It would be disgraceful and ridiculous to say to him: "Behold, so many priests, bishops, kings, princes, countries and people have kept this and that for so long. So do the same to me now. Let us see, where is our foundation and best stock? Let us look at it once, at least for the sake of our own strength or devotion.

(15) Shall we have so great a reason, and not know it, and hide it from every man, if Christ has so publicly, commonly, and confessedly made it known to every man, as he saith, Matt. 5:15, 16: "One lighteth not a light, and putteth it under the corn, but upon the candlestick, that it may shine unto all them which are in the house." If Christ let his hands, feet and side be felt, so that the disciples might be sure of him [Luc. 24, 39. f.], why should we not also feel the Scriptures, which are truly Christ's spiritual body, and test whether they are the ones in which we believe or not. For all other scriptures are dangerous, and may be flying spirits, which have neither flesh nor bone, as Christ hath.

(16) In order that I may also answer those who blame me, I reject all the holy teachers of the church. I do not reject them, but since everyone knows that they have sometimes erred as men, I will not give them any more credence than they give me proof of their understanding from the Scriptures, which have never erred. And this is what St. Paul tells me in 1 Thess. 5, 21, when he says: "Test and prove all doctrine beforehand; whichever is good, keep it." In the same way St. Augustine writes to St. Jerome: "I have learned to give honor only to those books which are called the holy 1) Scriptures, that I firmly believe that none of their writers has ever erred; but I read all others in such a way that I do not believe it to be true 2) what they say, unless they prove it to me with the holy Scriptures or public reason.

(17) The Scriptures must be clearer, easier, and more certain than all other Scriptures, since all teachers prove their speech by them, as by clearer and more constant Scriptures, and want to have their Scriptures strengthened and explained by them. Thus no one can ever prove a dark speech by a more dark speech. For this reason it is necessary for us to run to the libraries with all the teachers' writings and there bring judgment and sentence upon them, for they alone are the right lord and master over all the writings and teachings on earth. But if this is not to be, what is the use of the Scriptures to us? so much the more do we reject them, and are content with books and teachers of men.

18 Whether many great men envy and persecute me because of this does not frighten me, yes, it comforts and strengthens me, since it is evident in all Scripture that the persecutors and enviers have commonly been wrong, and the persecuted right, and the greater number has always stood by the lie, the lesser by the truth. Yes, I 3) know where few and few people would challenge me, that what I write and teach is not yet from God. St. Paul has caused much turmoil by his teaching, as we read in Actis [Apost. 17,5.18. ff. 18,12.

1) In the original: sanctify.

2) In the original: has.

3) Erlanger: ichs.

19, 28. f.], therefore his teaching was not false. Truth has always rumbled; false teachers have always said peace and peace, as Isaiah [Cap. 57,19.] and Jeremiah [Cap. 6,14.] write.

19 Therefore, regardless of the pope and his great multitude, I will gladly save and protect the articles condemned in the bull, as much as God gives me grace, trusting, by God's grace, to keep them safe from injustice; but from violence there is no more here than a poor body, which I owe to God and to His holy truth condemned by the pope, amen.

The first article.

It is heresy where one holds that the sacraments give grace to all who do not put a bar in front.

20 To understand this article, it is to be noted that my opponents have thus taught that the holy sacraments give grace to everyone, even if he has no remorse for his sin, or even if he has no good thoughts, but it is enough that he does not put a bar in front of it, that is, that he does not have a willful intention to sin. Against this I have set and still set this article, and say that it is unchristian, seductive and heretical. For it is not only necessary to have true repentance of sin over the removed bolt and evil intention to receive the sacraments, but there must also be a firm faith in the heart to receive the sacrament worthily.

21 Christ proved this Matth. 9, 2. when he healed the gout-ridden man and said to him before, "Believe, my son, and your sins will be forgiven. If faith had not been necessary to forgive his sins, why would Christ have required it? In addition, we read that Christ did not perform a sign, nor did he ever help anyone; there had to be faith that he could and would do it, so that also St. Matthew 1) writes, Cap. 13, 58, that he could not perform a sign in his homeland because of their unbelief.

22. item, when he teaches to pray, Marc. 11, 24, he says: "When you pray, you should believe,

1) In the Erlangen and Wittenberg: Joannes,

that ye shall obtain it, ye shall surely have it." But what is receiving the sacrament but having a desire for divine grace? But what is desiring divine grace but a true heartfelt prayer? How should it not be unchristian, if one teaches to receive the sacraments and grace of God without such desire, without faith, even without repentance of sin, without all good thoughts? Is it not a wretched thing to hear such things in Christendom?

Since this is the main article, since the others are all related to it, we need to strengthen it further and explain if it will help. St. James, Cap. 1, 5-8, says: "Whoever needs wisdom, let him seek and ask it of God, who gives to everyone superfluously, and it will be given to him. But let him ask with a firm faith and not doubt. For if he doubts, he is like a wave or bulge of the sea that is driven to and fro by the wind. The same man does not presume to obtain anything from God. Such a man is unsteady in all his ways, because he has a twofold heart."

(24) Is it not clear enough that a man cannot receive anything from God who asks and does not firmly believe that he will receive it? How much less can he receive who does not ask, does not believe, does not repent, 2) does not think good, but only removes the bar of evil intent, as they teach! How could the sacraments give grace to such unbelieving, unrepentant, unkind, covetous hearts? God protect all His Christians from such unchristian, this seductive bull and such master error, which has never been heard from the beginning of the world.

25 St. Paul says Romans 14:23: "Everything that does not come from faith is sin. How then can the sacraments give grace to unbelievers, who sin in all things and works, as long as they do not believe; indeed, how is it possible for them to remove the bar, if they remain in unbelief, by which all their doings are unbelievable?

2) So Walch alone is correct. In the Wittenberg and the Jena: bedrewet; in the Erlanger: betreuet.

Sin is, as St. Paul says here. Nor do they teach that faith is not necessary to receive the sacraments and grace, and condemn with 1) me such public writing.

According to the opinion St. Paul cites Rom. 1, 17. and Hebr. 10,38. the saying of the prophet Habakuk 2,4. for the main part of all Christian doctrine, because he says:

Justus ex fide sua vivet, "a righteous man will live by his faith". He does not say: A just man will live from the sacraments, but from his faith. For it is not the sacraments, but the faith in the sacraments that makes alive and just. Many take the sacrament, but do not become alive or devout from it. But he that believeth is devout and liveth.

27 This is also the intention of the saying of Christ, Marc. 16, 16: "He who believes and is baptized will be saved. He puts faith before baptism. For where there is no faith, baptism is of no help, as he himself says afterwards, "He who does not believe will be lost," even if he were baptized. For it is not baptism, 2) but faith in baptism, that makes one foolish. Therefore we read Apost. 8,37 that St. Philip did not want to baptize the eunuch, but first asked if he believed. And we still see daily that in all the world, where one baptizes, one first asks the child or the parents instead of the baptized person whether he believes; and on their faith and confession one baptizes and administers the sacrament.

How then does this heretical, blasphemous bull, against all Scripture, against all the world, against all Christian custom and faith, presume to teach that one must not believe, nor repent, nor remember good? This is so grossly unchristian that no one would believe it if the bull did not exist, that someone should hold such nonsensical teaching. I hope they will be ashamed of the bull in their hearts, and they would not like it to be read in German by the laity.

29 Further, St. Paul says Romans 10:8 that it is necessary to believe from the heart in order to become devout. Do not say: It is necessary that

one receives the sacraments. For without the bodily reception of the sacraments (if they are not despised) one can become devout through faith; but without faith no sacrament is useful, indeed, it is deadly and corruptible. For this reason, he writes in Romans 4:3 that "Abraham believed or trusted God, and the same faith was counted to him for righteousness" or godliness, as Moses wrote earlier in Genesis 15:6; and therefore it is written that we should know that no other thing makes us godly and righteous except faith, without which no one can ever deal with God and no one can obtain His grace.

(30) All this also proves the reason and common sense of all men. For where one acts with words and promises, there must be faith, even among men on earth. Otherwise, no trade nor community would exist for long if no one believed the other's words or letters. Now God does not deal with us in any other way, as we see publicly, than with His holy Word and Sacrament, which are like signs or seals of His words. So faith must be necessary above all things for such words and signs. For where God speaks and signs, one must believe with all one's heart, so be it, how he speaks and signs, so that we do not consider him a liar or a juggler, but faithful and true. And this faith is most pleasing to God, and gives Him the highest honor, as that He is true and a righteous God. For this reason, he also reckons the same to us as a fundamentally good, frugal piety for salvation.

Because in every sacrament there is a divine word and promise, in which God beckons to us and promises His grace, it is truly not enough to remove the bar, as they say, but there must be an unwavering, unwavering faith in the heart that receives the promise and sign, and does not doubt that it is as God says and signs. Then the grace will certainly be given to him, according to the sound of the promise and the evidence of the sign or sacrament. If faith is not there, then not only is the removed bolt lost, but God will not give it to him.

1) "with" is missing in the Wittenberg. The meaning is: by condemning me, they condemn the revealed Scripture.

2) Erlanger: the bapt.

There he is blasphemed and disgraced to the highest degree, as if he were a liar or a frivolous juggler. And then the sacraments not only give no grace to those who remove the bar, but all disgrace, wrath and misfortune, that it is better to be far from the words and signs or sacraments of God, if faith is not there.

32 Therefore, since baptism, a divine sign or seal, is given by virtue of the promise and words of Christ, Marc. 16, 16: "He who believes and is baptized will be saved," anyone who is baptized must believe these words to be true, and believe that he will certainly be saved where he is baptized, according to the same word and interpretation of the same sign. But if he does not believe, these words and signs of God are there in vain, and thus God is despised. For unbelief leaves him standing there as a fool or a liar; unbelief or mistrust in the sacraments is even a grave, unchristian, horrible sin. And this blasphemous, condemned bull wants to drive us to such bad behavior, and makes heresy out of faith, and Christian truth out of blasphemy. Protect God from the abomination that stands in the holy place, Matth. 24, 15.

33 Therefore, since the divine sign or sacrament of repentance is given by virtue of the word and promise, Matth. 16:19: "What you untie on earth shall be loosed in heaven," 2c., the one who confesses and repents must first of all be diligent to keep these words true, and firmly believe that he is loosed before God in heaven, where he is absolved on earth. If he does not believe this, or if he doubts, then God must be his liar, and is denied by him through such unbelief or doubt. What is the use of his bar or evil resolution, if he keeps the greatest bar and the worst resolution of unbelief, doubt and denial of God?

34 Therefore, in the sacrament of the altar, since it is given in virtue of these words of Christ, Matt. 26:26, "Take and eat, this is my body which is given for you," he who goes to the sacrament must firmly believe that as the words of Christ are, so it is in truth, that his body is given for him, and his blood is shed for him. Believe

If he does not believe this, or if he believes that it is not given for him but for others, then Christ is once again a liar, and his word and sign must be destroyed. O of the innumerable abominable sins that are committed today in such unbelief and abuse of the sacraments, because such faith is nowhere taught, and is now condemned by the bull; learning no more than to take off the bolt, repent, and confess; or, if one preaches of faith, it goes no further than that Christ is truly there, and that not bread, but the form of bread is there. But what he is doing there, and why he is there, is not heard preached or taught by anyone.

35 From all this, I think, it is clear that faith is necessary for the sacrament, who does not doubt, let it be done to him what the words say and the sacraments interpret. And nothing useful is what they say about the removal of the bolt. Yes, it is heretical that grace is given through the sacraments to the same mere removal of the bolt, without faith, so that it may exist with truth, which is said from the teaching of St. Augustine: 1) Not the sacrament, but the faith of the sacrament makes pious and blessed. And again the same St. Augustine, speaking of John, says of baptism: "The word comes to the element, and becomes a sacrament; and the water strikes the body, and yet cleanses the soul; not for the sake of the work or the watering, but for the sake of faith.

Against such strong proof of this Christian article, my opponents do not have a shred of Scripture, nor a speck of reason for their opinion and bar, but everything is a naked, unfounded human poem and dream, and would like to hear their refutation. Is it not a pity, if it were not heretical, that they may teach us their own poems in Christianity, where only God's word is to be taught?

37. they have some movement of their opinion, which is thus done: if the sacraments of the new testament do not give grace to the bar abusers and unbelievers, so would

There should be no difference between the new and the old sacraments. Since the old sacraments were powerful to give grace to the faithful, and the new ones should be more powerful and better than the old ones, they must also give grace to those who do not yet believe, to whom the old ones did not give grace.

This is a far-reaching thing, of which much could be said. Recently, they say all this from a wrong and erroneous mind. For there is no difference between old and new sacraments, neither these nor those give grace to God, but, as has been said, faith alone in God's word and sign gave grace there and gives grace here. Therefore, the ancients also obtained grace through the same faith as we do, as St. Peter says Apost. 15, 11: "We trust to be saved by faith, as did our ancient fathers"; and St. Paul 2 Cor. 4, 13: "We have the same spirit of faith that they had"; and 1 Cor. 10, 4: "Our fathers ate the same spiritual food and drank the same spiritual drink" that we eat and drink, that is, they believed as we do.

(39) This is true, the figures of the Old Testament did not give grace, but they are not called sacraments, as they think, because in the figures there was no word or promise of God, which must be where a sacrament is to be, but were mere figures or signs. Just as even now, bodily adornment and pleasure is a mere figure or sign, in which there is no word or promise from God that whoever has it shall have this or that, as in baptism we see the promise that whoever believes and is baptized shall be saved [Marc. 16, 16]. Now the things of God's promise in the Old Testament, in which they believed, were in all respects like our sacraments, except that they had many and various, and we had few and one, common to all the world.

40 Again, what we have for figures and signs, which are not sacraments, and where no word of God goes beside, are equal to the old figures. So a bishop's garment is now both a figure and Aaron's garment of old; none does not give grace. Therefore, they should not mix the sacraments into the figures,

If they took one for the other, they would not have fallen into such error as to divide the new sacraments from the old, when they must leave the new and old faith undivided.

(41) If this article is well understood, all the others will easily be understood, and the whole bull will become clear. For this article has the greatest power, because it concerns faith.

The other.

Whoever denies that after baptism sin remains in every child, denies Christ and St. Paul.

St. Paul Rom. 7, 7. says: "I would not know that evil desire and lust were sin, if God had not commanded that you should not have evil desire. Now the apostle was not only baptized, but also holy, since he wrote of such evil desire on his part and on the part of all the saints; now where did this same evil desire come to him after baptism? Not other than that it remained after baptism.

43. item, to the Galatians on the 5th [v. 17.] he writes to the baptized and saints thus: "The flesh desires and lusts against the Spirit, and the Spirit lusts against the flesh: these two are contrary to one another, and make it impossible for you to do what you would gladly do." What will or can anyone say to this public saying? He speaks plainly that they have flesh and spirit, and two kinds of unruly desire or lust in them, so hard that though they would gladly be without fleshly desire, yet they cannot; where does this same evil lust come into the baptized and saints? Undoubtedly from the bodily birth, in which such original sin of evil desires is born, and continues until death, from which we have strife and opposition in our spirit while we live.

44 Rom. 7:18: "I have in me, that is, in my flesh, no good: for the evil that I would not, that do I; and the good that I would, that do I not." What else does St. Paul mean by this, for even though he would like to do well according to the Spirit, that is, to be without fleshly desires and motions, the flesh is so evil.

and full of lusts, that he cannot do it, nor be without such lusts; and therefore the evil of his flesh, which he does not desire according to the Spirit, he does, that is, he has evil desires, though he contends against them, lest they prevail and be accomplished with works. As he also teaches Rom. 6, 12: "Do not let sin have the upper hand in your mortal body, so that you follow its lusts or desires"; as if he said: Sin is in your body, and evil desire; but see to it that you force it, and do not willingly follow it.

For such strife of our flesh and spirit, with unruly desires, doth God put upon all whom he baptizeth and calleth, as it is declared in Genesis 3:15, where he saith unto the serpent, I will make enmity between thee and the 1) woman, and between thy seed and her seed. She shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her foot"; that is, the spirit and the flesh contending against each other; but the spirit, though with toil and labor, shall be on high, and subdue the disobedient flesh; as Paul Gal. 5:24. says, "All that are Christians, or belong to Christ, crucify their flesh with its lusts and vices"; and St. Peter [1 Ep. 2, 11.], "Beloved brethren, abstain from fleshly lusts, which only ever contend against the soul."

(46) It is hereby evident that sin still remains in the baptized and the saints as long as they have flesh and blood and live on earth, that this article is quite unchristianly condemned by this bull. But to prove it further, St. Paul says Rom. 7, 22. f.: "I have a delight in God's laws according to my inward man; but I see contrary law in my members, which would have me captive to the law of sins, or violence, and contrary to the law of my mind."

47 Here St. Paul confesses that he finds a good law and will in his spirit, and also an evil law and will in his members; how then can one deny that there is any sin left in a holy, baptized man? Is it not sin what goes against the good spirit and God's law?

What then is sin? I would like to hear. But whence comes such a strife of evil against the good in ourselves, but from the bodily birth of Adam, which remains after the beginning of the good spirit in baptism and repentance, until it is overcome by strife and God's grace and the Spirit's increase, and is finally strangled and cast out by death.

Item, he speaks even more and more clearly in the same place [Cap. 7, 25.]: "I myself, according to the spirit, serve God's commandment, but according to the flesh I serve the law of sin." Is not this clear enough that a certain man finds two pieces in himself? By the Spirit he desires good, and serves the law of God, and is pious, having also pleasure and love therein; but by the contrary flesh he desires evil, and has love and pleasure therein to serve the same. And so, because flesh and spirit are one man, both are imputed to him, though they are contrary to each other, kind, work, love and desire. And because of the spirit he is righteous, but because of the flesh he has sin; as St. Paul Rom. 8:10 says: "The spirit lives before God because of his righteousness, but the flesh is dead before him because of his sin." For since the noblest, best, highest part of man, the spirit, through faith remains pious and righteous, God does not count the remaining sin of the least part, the flesh, as condemnation.

(49) Although I and everyone should be reasonably surprised that this article is not considered the most certain, known, sensitive truth, let alone that it should be condemned by anyone. What do we read in all the saints' lives? What do they confess and prove with all their works, prayers, fasts, labors, and various exercises, but that they contend against their own flesh, to mortify it and make it subservient to the Spirit, and to curb its evil lust and desires, as St. Paul did to Colossians? Paul writes to Colossians [Cap. 3, 5.]: "Put to death your members which are on earth, unchastity, uncleanness, evil desire, covetousness"; item, Rom. 8, 13.: "If by the Spirit you put to death the works of the flesh, you will live in the sight of God. But if you walk according to the

1) Erlanger: "one".

live in the flesh, ye shall die"; and 1 Cor. 9:27: "I mortify my body, and constrain it to service, lest I preach pikelets, and become reprobate myself."

So much more, which saint sighs, cries, laments, does not cry out over his own flesh and evil desire?

How often St. Jerome complains that evil desire rages in his flesh, not only after his baptism, but also when he has fasted, watched, worked, and been most holy! And St. Cyprian, in a sermon on the pestilence at death, takes no other consolation than from the sins, and says: "We must fight without ceasing with avarice, with unchastity, with anger, with ambition. We have to fight constantly and with effort and unwillingness with the carnal desires, with the temptations of the world. Man's spirit is surrounded by the devil's temptation, can hardly meet all challenges, hardly resist all. When avarice is depressed, unchastity rises up. If unchastity is depressed, vain honor follows. If vain honor is despised, anger is enraged, hope is raised, drunkenness is challenged, hatred tears apart unity, jealousy divides friendship. Here you must curse, which God has forbidden; here you must swear, which is not proper. The spirit of man must suffer so much persecution, so much peril must await the heart. And we should still be able to stand among such pains of the devil for a long time? so much more is it to be wished and prayed for that we may soon come to Christ through the speedy help of death.

(51) If this and all the saints' lives and confessions prove the saying of Paul, Rom. 7:22 ff: "I delight in the laws of God according to the Spirit, and yet I find in my members a rebellious law of sin," so that no one can deny that there is still sin in all baptized and holy men on earth, so that they must contend: what then does this wretched bull do to condemn all this? Must then such Scripture and all the saints be their liars? Let every one try himself, and feel he is

Fast, watch, labor until death, and be as holy as he may, and say whether he will not yet find in him evil desire and love, whether it be for unchastity, wrath, hatred, pride, or the like. For not only unchastity, but all evil lust and desires are understood by the desires of the flesh, which may be through the flesh; as Paul tells Gal. 5:18 ff.

Yes, I say that this bull, by condemning this article, blasphemes God. For thus says St. John the Apostle, 1 John 1:8-10: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. But if we confess our sin, he is faithful and pious to forgive us all our sin, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us."

Is this not clear enough that we are still to be cleansed and have sin? St. Paul speaks the same to the Hebrews [Cap. 12,1]: "Let us lay aside every weight and the sin that clings to us" 2c. Here the apostle joins in, confessing that there is still in him, not only sin, but a clinging sin, that is, the wanton evil desire that does not cease while we are alive, always clinging and struggling against the spirit, of which he has a burden and a complaint; which the apostle calls laying aside both.

54) So Joh. 15, 1) 3. when Christ said to his disciples: "You are now clean, because of the word that I have said to you", he says before 2) [V. 1. 2.]: "I am a vine, you are my vines, and my father is a vinedresser. Whichever branch beareth fruit, him will he cleanse, that it may bear more fruit." Here we see that the branches, which are nevertheless fruitful, that is, pious and holy, are nevertheless still unclean and more to be cleansed. So David Ps. 51:12, being already pious and pure, yet he said, "O Lord, create in me a clean heart, and make in me a new right spirit." Again he says Ps. 19, 13: "O Lord, who may know all his sin;

1) In the original wrong "Ivan. 13".

2) In the original: "afterwards", because before instead of Joh. 15 the 13th chapter was added.

Make me clean from my secret, hidden sins."

(55) Yes, that we understand it rightly, it is not possible to ask or desire against and from the sins, because they are already sincere. The first part of grace and the spirit that is put on is only of this kind, that it works against the other sins, and would like to be thoroughly sincere, but is not able to do so because of the opposition of the flesh. For those who have not begun to be pious do not argue, do not complain, do not plead against their flesh and sin, yes, they feel nothing contrary, they go and follow as the flesh wills, as St. Paul Eph. 4, 17-19 says of them; they have come to the point that they no longer feel, therefore they go into impurity and stinginess 2c.

The parables of the Gospel serve this purpose. The first one is about the Samaritan [Luc. 10, 34. f.], who laid the half alive man on his animal, poured wine and oil into his wounds and ordered the ostler to wait for him. For he did not make him whole all at once. So we also by baptism or repentance are not made whole, but are begun and joined with the first grace, that we daily heal and become whole more and more. Therefore St. Jacob says, Jac. 1, 18: "God has given us birth through his word, out of pure gracious will", without our merit, "so that we might be a beginning of his work or creatures"; as if he should say: We are a work of God begun, but not yet finished, while we live here on earth, in the faith of his word; but after death we will be perfect, a divine work without all sin and infirmity.

(57) The other parable, Matt. 13:33, is of the leaven which the woman mixed in three measures of flour until it became thoroughly leavened. The same new leaven is the faith and grace of the Spirit; but it does not make it sour all at once, but finely and neatly by and by it makes us like it, new and the bread of God. So that this life is not piety, but becoming pious; not health, but becoming healthy; not being, but becoming; not rest, but training. We are not yet, but we will be.

but; it is not yet done and done, but it is in progress and swinging. It is not the end, but it is the way; everything is glowing 1) and not yet glistening, but everything is sweeping.

58. and that we make an end of it, only the Lord's Prayer confesses that we are all still in sins, since all the saints must also pray: "Let your name be sanctified, your will be done, your kingdom come" 2c. So that they actually confess that they do not yet sufficiently sanctify God's name; and yet they could not pray this unless the Spirit had already begun to sanctify it. So they confess that they do not yet do the will of God, and yet they would not ask if they had not begun to do His will. For those who have not begun do not respect God's name and will, do not ask for it, and do not ask for it.

(59) Nor can it be said that in these prayers the saints pray for their past sins alone, and not for the rest of their present sins. For for past sins there is a special prayer in the Lord's Prayer, which reads: "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. But these prayers are clearly for the remaining present sins, because they still ask for 2) the future glory of God's name, future obedience of God's will, future possession of God's kingdom, which are still partly in the devil's kingdom, disobedience and dishonor to God's name.

(60) But I know well what they say to all this, that such evil as remains after baptism is not sin, and invent a new name for it, saying that it is chastisement, and not guilt; yea, that it is more a fault or infirmity than sin. Here I answer, and say that they say all these things of their own will, without scripture, reason, and cause; moreover contrary to scripture, for St. Paul saith not thus: I find fault in myself; but in express words, "I serve the law of sin according to the flesh"; item Rom. 7:25, "The sin that dwelleth in me doeth evil"; and St. John, "I am a sinner".

1) In the original: gluwet.

2) In the Wittenberg and in the Jena: not.

hannes does not say: If we say that we have no fault; but: "If we say that we have no sin" [1 John 1:8].

(61) There is no reason why human iniquity should try to force God's word and call wrong what God allows to be called sin; otherwise one would make the whole of Scripture meaningless, and say that the word sin is called wrong in all places, and that nothing is sin anymore, but only wrong and infirmity. Who would object if someone said that adultery, murder and robbery are only faults and not sins? Of course they are faults and infirmities, but they are sinful faults and infirmities that must be healed by grace. Anger, evil desire and inclination to all evil are faults; but are they not also sins? Would they not be contrary to God's commandment, which says, Thou shalt not have evil desire, thou shalt not be angry? What do they want to call sin, if they do not want to call what is against God's commandment sin? St. Paul, in the very text in which he speaks of the sin of baptized people, introduced God's commandment and said Rom. 7:7: "I would not have known that evil desire was sin, if the commandment had not said, Thou shalt not covet." As if to say, "This very covetousness, which remains in me and in all the baptized, is not only error, but sin, which is contrary to this commandment of God, and is forbidden therein.

62. such wild plots and evasive words to disguise the Scripture, St. Paul calls in Greek, *χυβεία* and *παιονυπία*, Eph. 4,14., that is, jugglery, gamesmanship, duplicity, because they toss the words of God to and fro according to their will, as doubters toss dice, and as jugglers give things another nose and appearance; that they may take from the Scriptures their single, simple, constant sense, and blind our eyes, that we may waver to and fro, not keeping a certain sense, and be, as it were, bewitched and beguiled by them, and they play with us as gamblers do with the dice. So they also do to this public text and little word "sin", and say that sin is not called sin, it is called a defect or infirmity; they deceive us, so that we do not see that which is clearly before our eyes; just as he writes to the Galatians.

Cap. 3:1: "O foolish Galatians, who has bewitched you and deceived you, that you do not hear the truth?"

63. If we let them have the power to disguise the divine words in this way, they would probably end up saying that a tree is called a stone and a horse is called a cow, as they unfortunately have done and still do in the words: Faith, love, hope, righteousness, good works, sin, laws, grace of God, and much more, which I want to receive on my oath, also prove that those who wrote about the *Sententia* during these four hundred years have never understood, but have diced and juggled with it according to their lack of understanding, so that the whole Scripture has lost its understanding, and we have learned vain fables and fairy tales for it 1). Therefore let no one be deceived by human fables and fairy tales. What God calls sin in words, let it be true and take it for real sin. God does not lie as a man does, Deut. 23, 19. Neither does he play and juggle with words as men do; but his words are earnest and true, Ps. 119, 86. 142. 160. and 111, 7.

64 What should they not have played, where the apostle would have drawn the high commandment of one, of idols, in the first table of Moses, since the high spirits do not have enough understanding, so they do not leave their jiggery-pokery in the low commandment of the evil desires, which everyone feels that they are against God's commandment, and yet do not want to let sin be sin. And no doubt St. Paul drew out such a low commandment, so that it would shut everyone's mouth, overcome and resolve us with our own feelings, and no one could speak against it. It has not helped yet, nor do they invent jugglery to refute such clear truth and self-confident feeling.

65) But they want to hear their reason why they do not allow sin to remain after baptism. 2) They say that it is a disgrace to baptism to say that sin remains after baptism.

1) In the original: taught.

2) This last part of the sentence is in the original Latin infinitive construction. However, the Wittenberg and Jena editions have already changed it.

68 Thus it is said twice, that sin is forgiven, and there is no sin. After baptism and repentance, all sins are forgiven, but there is still sin until death, even though it does not harm salvation through forgiveness, as long as we fight against it and do not follow it. Therefore they should not deny that sin remains after baptism, just as if we were no longer allowed to have grace that takes away sin, but should deny that not all sins are forgiven, then I would have denied with them and they with me rightly and unanimously.

This is the joy, consolation and blessedness of the New Testament; in it one learns what Christ is good for and what is needed; from it grows love and joy, praise and thanksgiving to Christ and to the Father of all mercy; from it become free, joyful, courageous Christians who pursue sin out of love and atone for it with joy. But those who hide sin from us and only make an affliction out of it, make us secure, lazy and discontented, take Christ away from us, and let us go without fear and care to destroy sin, and thus harden ourselves in dreadful presumption, so that neither Christ nor God tastes or is sweet to us. God protect us for this, and help all who are in it, amen.

The third.

The tinder of original sin, even if there is no real sin, still hinders the entrance of the Kingdom of Heaven.

(72) The rest of the sin after baptism, as mentioned in the next article, is called tinder, because it is easily received and moved to evil love, lust, and works, just as the tinder of the flesh is easily set on fire, as each man finds in himself. Now this article has never been held by me as anything other than a delusion and conceit, not for a consistent, certain truth to doctrine, that there has been no need to condemn it. But since my opponents raise nothing against it, for only the few words: We do not like it, and I do not care what they like or do not like, for which I have been very careful in the meantime, I set it as a constant doctrine of truth, confess it and also want to preserve it; in spite of them, they are commanded to overthrow it with writings or with reason! And prove it thus:

73 St. Peter 2 Petr. 3, 13 [from Is. 65, 17] says: God will create new heavens and new earths at the last day, in which no sin shall dwell, as in these, but only righteousness. Since it has been proved in the previous article that the tinder is sin, it is obvious to all reason that no one will enter heaven with the same sin as before. They will not enter with sins, without doubt. But although this truth is so evident that there is no need to prove it, since no one is so foolish as to think that one can go to heaven with sins, yet because this is such a great bull, and they are so foolish or impudent as to say and put such things, I add one more sentence.

74 St. Paul Ephesians 5:25-27 says: "Christ cleanseth his Christianity by baptism of water and of the gospel, that he himself might bring home unto him a bride, glorious Christianity, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing. I mean that here St. Paul teaches publicly that no sin must go to heaven with it, if there is neither spot nor wrinkle nor any evil mark in it.

(75) And although the said tinder, according to their erroneous opinion, is not sin, but only a disease and infirmity, yet I respect that everyone may sufficiently know that the same infirmity nevertheless hinders the entrance of heaven. For every sickness and infirmity, every spot, every wrinkle, and all such things must first be put away, as St. Paul says [Col. 3:8, Heb. 12:1], if we are to go to heaven, that the figure of Ex. 13:18 may be fulfilled. When the children of Israel came out of Egypt not only strong and healthy, but also armed, as David said in Psalms 105:37: "There was not one among them that was sick or infirm": how much more must all infirmities be gone when we go to the right promised land of the kingdom of heaven, out of this world and right Egypt.

But perhaps the pope jokes with his own in this bull, and perhaps talks about the heaven that is ready for him and all his own, who blaspheme and persecute the divine truth with him, in the abyss of hell with Lucifer and his angels. For into this heaven will go not only the tinder, but the fire of all sin and woe. Otherwise I could not think what other heaven it has, since sin and sickness do not hinder the entrance. Our heaven, where God dwells within, is hindered by the smallest sin and infirmity, and all who enter it must shine as purely as the sun, as the Scripture says [Matt. 13:43]. Unless the pope and his papists want to build them their own heaven, like the jugglers of linen cloths in the carnival. Is it not annoying that one must read such foolish and childish things in papal bulls? And yet command it to be taken for serious Christian articles of faith.

The fourth.

The imperfect love of God in dying has with it, without doubt, a great fear, which alone would like to be a purgatory, "and hinder the entrance of heaven.

Now it is said and proven that nothing frail can enter heaven; everything of its dimensions must be perfect.

and be without sin and without infirmity. For all the saints shall not be equal in heaven, but every one of them shall be sufficiently pure and perfect in his measure. Since imperfect love has an infirmity, and since there is so much sin in it that its infirmity is so great, I think it is clear that imperfect love is a hindrance to the entrance of heaven.

But that imperfect love has fear beside it, I leave to St. John the Apostle, who says 1 John 4:18: "Where there is fear, love is not perfect; for perfect love casteth out fear. Whoever does not believe this saying, I do not ask him to believe me. But since this bull condemns it, I would be sorry if it did not also condemn my articles based on this St. John's saying.

But that the great fear might well be a purgatory, I have thought conceitedly; I neither know how to set it nor how to appal it; experience will teach it; nor is it important, if we do not know it. But methinks the Scriptures prove that the torment of hell (which they compare to purgatory) is fear, terror, dread, flight and despair, as Ps. 2:5 says: "He will address them in his wrath, and in his fury he will terrify them"; and Ps. 6:3 ff. 6, 3. f.: "All my bones are terrified, and my soul is greatly affrighted"; and Prov. 28, 1.: "The sinner fleeth, and no man chaseth him"; item, Deut. 5, 28, 65.: "God will give thee a fearful, desponding heart." We also see every day how great a torment the same terrible terror is, that some die suddenly from it, some go mad, and immediately come into another being, so that we must confess that no torment is equal to the right serious, terrible fright, that also for this reason it is written of the righteous Ps. 112:7 ff: "He will not be frightened by the evil cry," before which all sinners will be frightened. Such fear and terror do nothing but cause an evil conscience, since love and faith are lacking. Therefore, I think that this article should have enough appearances. But whoever does not want to believe it, let it stand; the bull knows nothing about it, with all its masters.

The fifth.

It is not founded in Scripture, nor in the holy old teachers, that repentance has dr*^*i pieces, Rene, Confession and Atonement.

80 Here it is to be noted that I have never denied that God sometimes punishes sin, as we read in Moses, Aaron, David, and many more [histories]; but I have said that the pardon which the pope supposedly gives through indulgences is nothing, and is not founded in any Scripture, but arises from human law. This I prove:

81 First, in their own words, since they say, and rightly so, that repentance would be so great that no atonement would be necessary. But if the atonement were founded in Scripture, it would be necessary and must be done, regardless of the greatness of the repentance or purity of the confession. For what is commanded in Scripture must not be omitted for the sake of any other thing, for Christ says [Matt. 5:18], "Not one letter nor one tittle shall pass away; all things must be done." Therefore it is clear from their own words how they bite their own tongues, and condemn that which they themselves teach.

Secondly, Christ absolved the adulteress without atoning, John 8:11, and forgave the sin of the gout-breaker without atoning, Matth. 9:2, which Christ would not have done if atoning was established in Scripture. For He says (Matth. 5,17): "He did not come to abolish the law, but to fulfill it. But where an example of Christ is contrary to a doctrine, the same doctrine is undoubtedly not sound, nor is it founded in Scripture, and it is of no avail if, on the other hand, another repugnant example of satisfaction is imposed, as some introduce Mariam Magdalenam, who washed Christ's feet with tears [Luc. 7:47]. For I can easily say here that there was no satisfaction, since many works are and may be done that are not satisfaction. But no lessening of satisfaction can be interpreted as being anything other than a lessening of satisfaction. Therefore, where it is abated, it concludes that it is not commanded in Scripture. But where a work

it does not decide that [it] is necessary to gratify or to do 1).

83 Again, where God punishes sin, whether it be pardon or not, no one can put it away, as He says Ps. 89:33: "I will punish their sin with a rod, and with blows or punishments by the hand of man. These words must also be fulfilled on a letter or tittle; and may the pope not put away such punishment for sin, for he may not put away the Scripture and God's Word. It is true that man may appear before God, and punish himself or be punished, that God may hold the rod, as St. Paul says 1 Cor. 11:31: "If we punish ourselves, we shall not be punished by God." And so it may happen that the new is so great that God no longer demands punishment.

In this way, the holy fathers of old set canons of repentance for sin, which was called pardon, so that they would come before God, and we would punish ourselves. For it must be punished, whether by ourselves or by others because of God. That is why I have said and still say that it is all lies and deception with the indulgence of the pope. For, if the penalty of sin is required by God (as is true, and the Scripture teaches), the pope cannot take it off, nor put down the Scripture, and deceives the people. But if there is no punishment (as when repentance is so great, or we punish ourselves), he does not put it down, and deceives the people again.

From this I have said that the three parts of repentance are not founded in Scripture. It is not that I deny repentance, confession and punishment, but that I destroy the indulgence which makes us think that the third part, the atonement, is not true. I have clearly said that the pardon that is or is to be given through indulgences is not written anywhere. By this I have not denied that there is no punishment or satisfaction for sin. I say it is, but it may not be put away. But which is put away, it is invented by men, without any

1) Thus in the original. In the Wittenberg and the Jena: "zuthun"; in the Erlanger: "Zuthun"; in Walch: "Zuthuung."

Reason of the Scripture. For this reason I am also hostile to the word "sufficiency", 2) I would that it had never arisen. The Scripture calls it punishment and mortification of sin; for no one can be punished enough for a daily sin; but he may well be punished for all sin, perhaps with grace temporally, perhaps with wrath eternally.

So this article says that repentance does not have three parts, according to the priest's and his lies and lies, but that the third part is in his power to give indulgences. But it has three parts according to divine holy scripture, that the third sometimes remains, for the sake of great repentance or its own punishment. But no sin ever remains unpunished, as St. Augustine says: *Nullum malum impunitum*, no evil remains unpunished; as also the proverb teaches: Where man does not punish, God punishes. Therefore, the pope has to refrain from the punishment of sin just as little as he has to refrain from repentance and confession. For repentance is a sacrament, which is not his, it has not to walk in any part.

The sixth.

The repentance that is prepared by investigation, contemplation and hatred of sins, as when a sinner contemplates his time with bitterness of heart, and conquers the greatness, amount and shame of sin, plus the loss of eternal life, and gain of eternal damnation, makes a hypocrite and greater sinner.

(87) All that is not of faith is sin, says St. Paul, Rom. 14:23. So also they themselves, all my adversaries, say that right repentance of sin should be in love; and if it be not in love, it is not repentance. I have also taught the same in this article, but they condemn their own doctrine, because I also teach it. Even if someone considers his sin and all sin's harm without love and faith, it does not help before God. For the devil and all the damned also have such remorse, which is called Judasreu and Galgenreu in German [Matth. 27, 3-5].

88. and this is done because it is merciful.

2) In Latin: *satisfactio*; Erlanger: "gnugthun".

and do not have the Spirit of God, they may not love righteousness; and even though they have to consider their sin with fear and trouble, forced by the commandment of the church or the hardships of death, they are so skilled in heart that if there were no hell, or could be without shame and without fear, they would much rather have repentance, confession and atonement. And it is not possible for them to have another heart by their own power of nature, without the grace of God. For man can do no good of himself, but only evil, as I will prove in the 36th article; and even if he pretends to do good, it is still a lie, deception and hypocrisy.

(89) Therefore I have taught, Let every man search his heart first, whether he thoroughly, with desire and a willing heart, hate sin; and if he find himself not so, that he only despiseth his repentance, and first falleth down, and prayeth unto his Lord, and maketh intercession for himself, for a right true repentance, as the church prayeth, *Et cor poe- nitens tribue*, and then consider his sin. It is a strange thing and a great grace to have a repentant heart, and it cannot be prepared by sin and hell, but only by the Holy Spirit. Otherwise Judas would have had the best repentance, who considered his sin well, with great sorrow. Again, it is a forced, imaginary repentance, as experience shows that so much confession takes place during fasting, and yet little recovery.

90 Such false teaching of hypocritical false repentance was proclaimed by St. Paul in 1 Tim. 4:1 f.: "Teachers will come who follow seducing spirits, and with hypocrisy and good appearances they will teach lies, and have a brand in their conscience. Is it not teaching lies to teach repentance for good, which only seems good, and yet is done without faith, love, air and will (which the grace of God alone gives)? They make a brand in their conscience. Just as such a brand is not really innate or grown, but is forcibly imprinted from outside, so their conscience is not grown by grace, but by the grace of God.

The fact that a person is forced and prepared with false imaginary thoughts turns out to be a repentance and is not true.

91 Such a false conscience and repentance makes not only a hypocrite but also a greater sinner; as St. Jerome also says: *Simulata sanctitas est duplex iniquitas*, a glittering piety is a twofold wickedness. One is that there is no fundamental piety, but an unwilling, unloving heart for righteousness. The other is that such basic wickedness, with forced thoughts and fictitious repentance, is covered and pretended as a true repentance and piety, so that it wants to deceive and lie to God. Against such false repentance, which the pope and his liars teach as a good repentance, in all their books, I have set this article, and still set and hold it.

It also happens that such false repentants, in contemplation of their sin, again (although deep in the heart) feel flames and sparks of the desire of previous sin, or evil movement of previous hatred and envy, and immediately in repentance gain right desire for sins, which they might have forgotten, if they had not contemplated them; so that nothing is of any use, which does not flow from the gracious work of God, that also St. Paul says: Sins only increase, where they are considered without grace, Rom 5, 17 ff. Paul says: Sins only increase where they are considered and recognized without grace, Rom. 5, 17. ff; Gal. 3, 21. ff. and 1 Cor. 15, 54. ff. These incendiary blind leaders still strive to deceive us, and to present and convince us of the same astonishment and increase of sin for a good repentance.

It is true that through punishment and such forced repentance, hardened, hardened sinners are prevented and stopped from doing their evil for a time in the sight of men, but their hearts do not become righteous in the sight of God. So they do not leave their wickedness any longer, because they have to shy away from people and fear them. But I have worked with my teachings so that these hypocrites and burned consciences would be fewer, which the Pope and his followers increase daily with the devil's teachings, and so that the right, good, grace-filled repentance would become more and more common, so that we would not anger the Almighty God more with false teachings and repentance than we have done with our sins. He

1) In the original: seltzen.

will say to them the word of Matth. 21, 31: "Harlots and sons of whores will go before you into the kingdom of heaven"; the glittering, false newcomers and forced piety are so much more a source of disgust to him than public sin and sinners.

94. And that I may prove it still more clearly: I have conquered and proved in the first article that even the saints, living in God's grace, love righteousness with great effort and labor, and resist their fleshly lusts and sins; for if these could not sufficiently hate their sin, what should those do who are still apart from grace, and have no opposition to sin? What should the carnal man do in the absence of the Spirit or grace against sin, if in the presence of the Spirit he contends against God for sin? How could anyone speak more foolishly than that nature, before or without grace, should hate and shun sin or repent of it, if, being in grace, it loves, seeks, desires sin, and contends and rages against grace? as all the saints have lamented.

95 If nature should do of herself that the grace of God cannot wring from her with ceaseless strife, it would be said that a great tree, which I cannot bend with might, if I let it, it bends itself; and a river of arms, which I cannot protect with dams or guns, if I let it go, it stops itself. So the pope and the papists also teach us that grace cannot sufficiently compel sin, but without grace it compels and resists it itself. Only into the dog days with the preachers!

(96) Therefore it is vain deceit and hypocrisy to teach repentance by contemplating only sin and its harm, seeing first Christ in his wounds, and from them his love toward us; and then overcoming our ingratitude, and thus contemplating sin out of hearty, thorough favor toward Christ, and disfavor toward ourselves. This is a true repentance and fruitful penance. For repentance should first be to consider sin, that considering sin may flow from repentance and be prepared, not again that repentance may follow,

and be prepared from contemplation. There must be repentance before all contemplation of sin, just as love and pleasure must be there before all good works and their contemplation. Contemplation is the fruit of repentance; repentance is the tree. Now in our lands the fruit grows on and from the trees, and contemplation of sin from repentance; but in Pabst's and Papal saints' lands perhaps the trees grow on the fruit, repentance from the sins; even as they go on the ears, and pervert all things.

The seventh.

True is the saying, and better than all the doctrine which they have hitherto taught of repentance, that it is said, Never-doing is the highest repentance, and a new life is the best repentance; or, Repentance is the best.

97. Is not never-doing the highest penance, as they say in all the world, and in truth, what is the highest penance? Say, O holy father Pabst, we want to listen to you. O thou wolf of Christendom, is it not true that never-ending repentance is not only the right repentance of sin, but also the change of the whole life? Why then is it not the highest and best repentance? For where repentance is rightly approached by the grace of God, man is changed at the same time into another man, heart, courage, mind and life; and this is what I call never-ending repentance, and a new life.

98 Since the pope denies that never-sinning is the highest penance, let us see what he wants to call the highest penance. He will never say that ever-doing, and sinning for and for, is the best penance; Although he and his own repent in the same way, and the first letter of never doing is too much for them, and make never doing into always doing, he must certainly say that Judas' and gallows' repentance is the best repentance, which, made without divine grace from purely natural abilities, is fundamentally wrong, and does not make a new life, nor does it cease to sin, serious and heartfelt opinion; As it is sufficiently proved above that without grace there is no good in man, so also those who live in grace. Have evil and sin contending in them.

99. but the dear pope is moved by the

The little word of Christ Matth. 16, 19: "What you will unbind on earth, shall be loosed in heaven", perhaps thinks, where never-doing would be the highest penance, a man could well become pious at home, would not be allowed to run or send to Rome; thus the Roman treudelmarkt, where one buys and exchanges keys, letters, seals, sin, grace, God, hell, all things, would completely pass away; therefore he must stick the best penance to Rome, to his bag and box.

But we want to prove our articles with scriptures. So St. Paul says Gal. 6, 15: In a Christian state neither the circumcised nor the uncircumcised is valid, but only a new being. Dear Pope, condemn also this apostle who freely says that everything that is not a new being is not valid in Christianity. Now Judaism, made without grace, is not a new being, nor does it raise it, but is a hypocrisy, so it certainly counts for nothing; how then can it be the best repentance?

It is true that a new nature and influence of grace begins with a great temptation and fright of conscience, or otherwise with great suffering and accident, which Revelation 3:20 is called God's knocking or visitation, and causes bitter pain, so that man wants to perish completely and thinks he must perish. But there grace and strength are poured in at the same time, so that man does not perish; and so a new being and good intention is begun there, which is called the right good repentance. Just as we read of St. Paul's conversion, that he, being surrounded by a light from heaven, was frightened, and at the same time received grace, and said [Acts 9:3, 6], "Lord, what shall I do?" So, in the storm and adversity, God pours grace, as it is written Isa. 41:3: "God persecuted them, and so He walked peacefully in them." And the prophet Nahum Cap. 1,3: "God is a Lord, whose ways are like thunderings, lightnings and tempests, and His footsteps are like thick powder clouds"; as if he should say: God, whom He wants to favor, attacks him in such a way that He brings all misfortunes upon him, inwardly and outwardly, so that man thinks that he shall perish before a great storm and temptation.

102. And those who do not suffer his works and ways, drive away his grace from them, and cannot greet God who meets them, nor understand his greeting, nor give thanks. For his greeting is dreadful in the beginning, but comforting in the end. Just as the angel Gabriel frightens Mariam in his greeting, and yet comforts her in the most lovely way. Therefore, the repentance that is practiced with peaceful thoughts is hypocrisy. There must be great earnestness and deep sorrow if the old man is to be undressed. Just as we see when lightning strikes a tree or a man, it does two things at the same time: the first, it tears up the tree and swiftly strangles the man; the second, it turns back the face of the dead man and the broken tree or log to heaven. Thus, the grace of God at the same time frightens man, chases and drives him, and turns him back to Himself. My dear pope knows such works of repentance and grace less than the great block that lies there, and yet he wants to judge and pass judgment within it.

In ancient times there was a heresy called the Donatists, who taught that no man could receive true baptism or the sacraments if the priest or bishop who gave them were holy; St. Augustine overcame them and proved that the sacraments are not of men, but of God alone, who gives them through pious and evil ministers. Since the heresy has been put down, the heresy of the pope comes in its place, and teaches thus: Although he who gives the sacraments need not be pious, he must nevertheless be high and mighty; and what those heretics gave to human holiness, the pope gives to human power and height, and wants that no one has to give sacraments, but he alone, or by his power, God gives, someone has faith, gospel, God's Spirit, or all holiness. The sacraments are now bound to the authority, which in former times did not want to adhere to holiness, and now stick to the red hats, golden crowns and infules, like the scallops to the felt hats and coats of mail.

104 Not content with this, teach further, and give such power to his keys, whether anyone comes who neither believes nor repents, whether he has already

If a man has barely half a salvation, which they call attritio, then he can, by the power of the keys, turn this half salvation into a whole, good, grace-filled repentance, provided the same man does not put a bar in front of it, as mentioned in the first article above. So now the pope can make grace and repentance in us, whether we are already unbelieving pagans and Jews, and without all repentance, and the sacraments must now go, not only from the holiness of the priests, as the Donatists said, but from the power and elevation of men, so that faith is destroyed and forgotten. Seeing then that the pope is not deprived of such heresy and fictitious power (so that he can make the best penances if he wishes), 1) he must deny that never-doing is not the best penance.

105. Beware now of the final Christian, the pope, and be sure that the sacraments hang neither on holiness, nor on height, nor on power, nor on wealth, nor on hats, nor on gloves, nor on pope, nor on bishops, nor to priests, nor to monks, but to your own faith, that whoever absolves you, be he holy or unholy, high or low, poor or rich, pope or priest, believe that God absolves you by him, and you are absolved. For if the sacraments are not attached to holiness, how much less will they be attached to height, power, greatness, honor and riches? since holiness is the greatest thing on earth above all things.

(106) And this is the intention of the words of Christ, when he says [Matth. 16, 19. 18, 18.]: "What you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven"; so that Christ gives no supremacy, but stirs the heart of every Christian to faith, that he may be sure, when he is absolved by the priest, that he is absolved before God, and that the keys are not able to give more than as much as you believe, and not as much as the pope and his own want. Although their great, assumed power of sacrilege and supremacy is to be suffered, so far nevertheless that you keep the right faith, that no one can give you less or more, than as much as you believe and lie, that the pope and his may make a repentance in you, in the power of the keys, without your faith.

1) The brackets are set by us.

The eighth.

Do not take it upon yourself to confess all daily sins, not even all mortal sins. No one can recognize "all mortal sin," and in the old days only the publicly conscious mortal sins were confessed.

(107) That no daily sin is necessary to confess, they all teach themselves, but because I say it, it must be heresy. I think that if I were to say that there is a God, and confess all the articles of faith, it would all have to be heresy, just because I say it; so pious and true is the pope and his own against me.

108) That not all mortal sins may be confessed nor known is clear from Ps. 19:13: "Lord, who can know all his sins? Make me clean from the same secret sins." Here the prophet teaches us that we cannot confess the secret sins, for God alone knows them, and we should put them away with supplication. But that they are mortal sins is testified by Ps. 143, 2: "Lord, do not come to judgment with your servant, for no living man is found justified in your sight." If the dear saints and servants of God have such sins (which we consider sinless) that they cannot be justified before God, what are you doing, wretched priest, that you also want to justify before God those who, without faith and true repentance, with their damned repentance, have begun repentance? They must be mortal sins, for the sake of which even the saints may not be justified before God. For what hinders justification is a mortal sin; and again.

For this reason I have taught, and so should everyone teach, the people to fear God, and after all the diligence of confession to God, to say with David, "Behold, dear God, I have confessed this and that; now your judgments are secret and terrible: if you will enter into judgment with me, I will never stand before you, I will do to him as I do. Who knows all his sins? Therefore I flee from thy judgment unto thy mercies, and pray thee make me clean from all my unknown sins. So people could learn to comfort themselves on God's grace, and not on their own repentance, confession and satisfaction, as the final Christian teaches with his disciples.

That only public sins were confessed in the past, I let the histories say and prove, along with the epistles of St. Paul. I have said only of the mortal sins, which man himself is aware of, though they are secret among men. About these, I say, there are more, which no one but God knows; therefore, let people be at peace, and do not make them investigate all their sins, since this is impossible; and let them confess those which occur to them at the time or which they are aware of, so that they may respect the faith of divine graces more than their full confession.

The ninth.

When we undertake to confess all sin purely, we do nothing else, except that we will not leave it to the divine mercy to') forgive it.

This article has already been proven from the previous one and others. For if it is true, as David says in Ps. 19:13, that no one knows all his sins, we must by necessity leave those unknown sins to the mercy of God, and so rely not on our confession nor repentance, but on His grace, asking with humble, fearful prayer that He may cleanse us of them, as has been said.

(112) Also, as we have shown in the first and second articles, how all the saints complain of their sins in the flesh, which they cannot be rid of, we must confess that these remaining sins must also be committed by God's grace; which, if he were to judge quickly (as he will do to those who despise them), would all be found deadly. That the Pope condemns such things is not surprising, for they teach us to rely in all things on our own work and his power, and not on God's mercy, so that the fear of God and hope are extinguished in the Christian heart. But St. Augustine says Confess. 9: "Woe to all human life, however good it is, if it is judged without mercy. So St. Augustine also wants to have the good life ordered to mercy, and does not like God's judgment: how do we then

not leave some hidden sin of his grace? Oh, it is annoying to hear such clear truth to be condemned by the pope; it is end-Christian essence with pope and papists.

The tenth.

No one's sins are forgiven, unless he believes that they will be forgiven when the priest absolves him. Yes, the sin would remain if he did not believe that it was forgiven. For it is not enough to have forgiveness or the influence of grace, but one must believe that the sin is forgiven.

From this article's condemnation it follows, first, that the article of Christian faith is false and heretical, since all Christians say: "I believe in the Holy Spirit, a holy Christian church, forgiveness of sin. For this article of mine does not teach otherwise than that we should believe forgiveness of sin, just as the article of Christian faith reads. Thank you, Most Holy Father Pope, that you teach us now that the world has never known before how the article, Forgiveness of Sin, is heretical. But if this one article of faith is heretical, then certainly all articles are heretical. So here the most holy father pope condemns the whole Christian faith so grossly that I only fear no one will believe that such a thing is in the bull. Now it is written in it; that is why they are ashamed that the bull is Germanized, and: their end-christian, heretical ravings come to light.

(114) Secondly, the sinner must say to the priest who absolves him, "You deny that my sins are forgiven, as you say. For the Holy Father Pope recently issued a bull condemning all those who believe that their sins are forgiven and that absolution is true; but he who goes to confession should think thus: I want to confess, but I will consider all absolution to be lies, heresy, and error, and I will call all priests liars, heretics, and seducers who absolve anyone; the pope has told me so in his bull.

Thirdly, it follows that Christ himself is a liar and a heretic, since he says to Petro, Matth. 16, 19: "What you loose on earth shall be loose in heaven. For this tender bull gives by banishment and fire that no one should believe that it is loose what the priest

1) Thus, according to the Latin. Erlanger: that.

that is, he should not ever believe that his sins are forgiven, as my article reads. If anyone does not believe that such an abomination is written in the bull, let him read it and see what it condemns. I would also have believed that the sky would fall before such things should come from the pope. I think that the pope has come to his end. However, this article is so publicly true that all Christians' ears are reasonably frightened and horrified by the Pope's condemnation, since it is the greatest practice in all Christendom for one to comfort the other, to believe and trust in God's mercy, which forgives his sin; without the evil spirit, in the last moments of death, blowing into people's heads, as the pope teaches in this bull, that they should not believe that their sin is forgiven. But he does not do this as if it were right and well done, but as an enemy of grace, faith and truth. But the pope, worse than all devils, teaches this as right and good doctrine, sits in God's place, and condemns faith, which no devil has ever done. O, it will be with thee, thou child of perdition and final Christian! Stop it, Pabst, you make it too rough and too much. But let us prove the article, for Christ Matt. 9:2, when he healed the gout-ridden man, he said before, "My son, trust and believe, and thy sins be forgiven thee." Here you see clearly that sins are not forgiven, but he believes that they are forgiven. And Mariam Magdalenam he absolves because of her faith, Luc. 7, 50. for thus his words are: "Go in peace, your faith has helped you." Do you see that it was faith that helped her and destroyed her sin, that Christ himself did not attribute the forgiveness of sins to his absolution, nor to the key, nor to the power, but to her faith? But the pope pretends that it is the fault of his power and not of man's faith that sins are forgiven. What kind of spirit this means to him, is well to be noticed.

Everybody knows that the priest's absolution is a judgment that is not his, but the priest's.

which, in virtue of the words of Christ, when he says [Matth. 16, 19.]: "What you absolve shall be loosed," demands faith, and thus reads: I absolve thee; that is so much as to say, I dissolve thee, or, thy sins are forgiven thee; how then does it rhyme that such divine judgment the sinner should not believe? Now burn and condemn books, pope! So God shall overthrow thee, and cast thee into a foolish mind [Rom. 1, 28.], because thou always resistest divine truth, that thou mayest receive thy deserved reward. Doubt now, whoever will, whether the pope, who drives such errors into the world more than too much, and takes money and property of all countries for it, is the right, main, last final Christian; I thank God that I know him.

The eleventh.

Thou shalt not trust that thou shalt be absolved because of thy repentance, but because of the word of Christ, which saith unto Petro, Whatsoever thou shalt unbind shall be unbinden. Here I say, if thou art absolved by the priest, thou shalt firmly believe that thou art absolved, and thou shalt surely be absolved, whatever thy repentance may be.

This article is sufficiently demonstrated in the previous one. For who would confess or atone if he did not believe that his sins were forgiven? What would the priest say if I came and said, "Lord, I have sinned thus, and I am sorry, but I do not believe that I will be absolved by you? Nor does the bull teach them to do so, and condemn such faith as my article teaches.

But if it is true that sins are forgiven because of our repentance, as the bull teaches, and not because of God's word alone, as my article says, then a man would boast against God that he had obtained grace and forgiveness through his repentance and merit, and not through God's mercy alone; which is horrible and terrible to hear, and grace would be denied altogether. For God's mercy and grace is given in vain to the undeserving, as Rom. 3, 24. Paul says: "We

2) Wittenberger: yours. - The Jenaer has to "tollen" the marginal gloss "verkehrten, Rom. 1."

have been pardoned and justified in vain and out of pure mercy"; and Ps. 25, 11: "Lord, you would be merciful to my sins for your name's sake." He does not say, for my name or merit.

119. also, as it has been sufficiently said above that the dear saints still have sin, and as sin contends against grace, and grace against sin, it is clear enough that grace is not only given to the undeserving, but also to the evil-deserving men and enemies of grace; how then should our repentance be so worthy that for its sake God should forgive sin, and not for his own sake? who says through the prophet Isaiah, Cap. 48, 9. 11: "I will turn away my disgrace from thee for my name's sake; and I will do it all for my own sake, that I be not blasphemed, and will not give my glory to another" 2c. Now if for our repentance sins were forgiven, the glory would be ours and not God's; he would also be blasphemed, as if sin were not forgiven merely for his name's sake.

120. So King Manasseh asked that God would forgive his sin for the sake of God's goodness and His promise, not according to his merit or repentance. [Prayer of Manasseh, v. 11-13.] And what shall I say long? If any man be forgiven his sins because of his repentance, as this accursed bull lies and blasphemes, let him blot out the common prayer, where we all say, Lord, have mercy on me unworthy, poor sinner; and let him alone say thus, Lord, forgive me worthy and well-deserving and wholly sufficient saint my sin; and punish the centurion in the Gospel, when he said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof [Matt. 8,8].

If ever the pope and his saints are so worthy that God must forgive sin for their repentance, my advice would be that he put on his triple crown, and saddled his stallion with gold and pearls, rode in all his splendor before God, and defied him: with his own great worthiness; and would not forgive him sin, that he banished him, and chased him out of heaven. Where do you want to go in the end, you devilish hope? Well then, you can see why you were called

the holiest of holies before all the world. Continue, your blasphemy and raving against God will come to an end.

(122) Therefore I say and warn everyone that he should give glory to God and not trust that sins will be forgiven because of his repentance. For no repentance is sufficient in the sight of God, but for the sake of God's pure mercy, who wants to be honored, praised and loved, to show us unworthy and undeserving of grace. Beware of such bulls and their like teachers!

The twelfth.

If it were possible for a man to confess without Ren, or for a priest to absolve him lightly or jokingly, when he thinks he is absolved, he is certainly absolved.

In the whole Gospel, Christ based all things on faith, saying [Marc. 9:23], "All things are possible to him who believes"; item [Matth. 8:13], "It happens to you as you believe. Therefore it is true that even though the priest joked, yet I receive his absolution with earnestness and believe, it happens to me, not as he does, but as I believe. I said this to prove how great and necessary faith is in repentance, that everything depends on it. And although it is not possible to believe without repentance, as I said above, when I proved how faith and grace are poured in with a great tempest, if it were possible, faith alone would still be enough. For God did not offer His grace on repentance, nor on any work, but only on faith, when He said, "He who believes will be saved" [Marc. 16, 16].

124 And why should not a frivolous absolution be valid, as St. Paul says, Phil. 1, 15, that also the word of God is valid and helps the faithful, if it is preached by his enemies and persecutors, and they all confess that the sacraments, even given by evil unbelieving priests, still have power, even if he is hostile to the penitent. Sin and unbelief are ever greater than jesting or frivolity.

1) In the original: for all. The Wittenbergers and the Jenaers have our reading.

And that I say even more, they must confess that he also receives the benefit of the sacrament who heartily desires it, even if the priest wilfully denies it to him; so much depends on the faith of the penitent; as he is skilful, so he sees, the priest gives or does not give, jokes or is serious; as the sacrament comes, falls, passes, so it is God's sacrament, and can be seen with faith. But God's friend in Rome, the Pope, would like to destroy this faith and deceive us into trusting his power more than God's Sacrament, as if he could forgive sin by force without our faith. God protect all Christian hearts from the end-Christ and Satan's apostle!

The thirteenth.

In the sacrament of penance and forgiveness of sins, the pope or bishop does no more than the least priest. Indeed, where there is no priest, any Christian man does just as much, whether he be a woman or a child.

There, there, the article has hit the right blood sore; here it was necessary to defend and condemn! For the article should make the keys fall out of the shield of the idol at Rome, where he would let him go. But yet it shall not help him, he shall not rightly refute him; and so prove him:

(127) It has been sufficiently demonstrated that it is not the work of the priest, but the faith of the penitent that brings about the forgiveness of sins. For if the pope and all the priests gathered together were to pronounce absolution on a sinner, it would be of no use if the sinner did not believe. For the word stands firm: "He who does not believe is lost"; nothing helps against it. Yes, how should the pope's and all priests' absolution help without faith? If Christ, even God Himself, were to pronounce it, it would still 1) help nothing without faith. Is it not so that God preaches daily and works miracles before men, and yet does not help, because only those believe Him?

(128) For forgiveness is wholly due to faith, and not to priesthood or ministry.

and the pope is as little able to give faith as the lowest priest, the priest as little as a woman and child, I would like to be taught by the pope what he would do more for it than a bad priest? Let your wisdom be heard, dear pope! I will tell you what you do more than another bad priest: you hang up big flags with keys, and sell bulls, ring bells, cheat country and people of money, goods, body and soul, and lead them with you into the abyss of hell; you do this more than other priests and Christians.

129 Thus it is said above how the heretics Donatists, who wanted to bind all sacraments to the holiness of the priests and not to the faith of the penitents, overcome by Augustine, were nevertheless more sorry and better than the pope and his bishops, who want to bind the sacraments to the height and power. For if a holy priest does not do more in the sacraments than a sinful one, how can a great and high priest do more than a low and lesser one, if holiness counts for much more than authority? Therefore, it is clear that the pope alone assigns him the keys, with the same right as Lucifer in heaven wanted to assign him the divine chair. Since the keys are given only to the sacrament of penance, which is common to all Christians, and no one has more or less of it than he who believes more or less of it.

I ask you, most holy father pope, whether you have another sacrament of baptism than all priests and Christians, and whether you do more for the sake of your height when you baptize than a chaplain, layman, woman or child? Tell me, have you become a mute 2) here? If you have another baptism, St. Paul punishes you Eph. 4, 5: "It is one faith, one baptism, one Lord" 2c. If the sacrament of baptism is the same for all Christians, that a layman, woman and child may give it, as happens daily, why should not the sacrament of the keys, penance or absolution also be the same and common? Is it not a sacrament as well as baptism?

131. further, you also have another fair,

1) In the original: "hulft". Wittenberg and Jena: helps.

2) In the original: "a mute".

than all other priests, or can you give more of the Corpus Christi than our chaplain? What do you show of the key sacrament, that you want to do more in it than all of Christendom? Thou seekest thy own free power over the churches, and makest of the key sacrament an unequal, unequal power and tyranny for thyself. If all sacraments are of equal value to anyone who can give them, you cannot take the keys off yourself and make another sacrament of your own than common Christianity has.

For this reason, all Christians should beware of the Pabst's end-Christian poison. As all baptisms and masses are equal wherever and by whom they are given, so absolution is equal wherever and by whom it is given. For it all depends on the faith of the one who receives it, not on the holiness, art, height, power of the one who gives it. Just as baptism cannot be divided and given to the pope and bishops in a different way than to all Christians, so neither can the mass and keys be divided, so that the pope has a different sacrament of the keys and mass than all of Christendom. But if he has another, or more, St. Paul excludes him from Christianity, as he says Eph. 4:5: "One faith, one baptism, one Lord."

It is true that the pope and the bishops reserve some cases and sins for them, but this is the custom of human laws and has been torn down by force. In this way, however, they no longer act in the forgiveness of guilt, they act only in the forgiveness of punishment or chastisement. But the forgiveness of guilt is actually the key and sacrament of repentance, which requires faith. The forgiveness of punishment does not require faith, but it is felt sensitively, and happens without faith, and does not actually belong to the sacrament of the keys. My article, however, says of the forgiveness of sins that it is common to everyone, like baptism and mass, and may not be caught by any height or force, as the pope pretends and lies with his own.

The fourteenth.

No one shall answer the priest that he has repented, nor shall the priest demand it.

This must also be error to you, O holy father pope; now you must let it be truth, and prove it thus. For since it is not at our discretion, but at God's judgment, whether our repentance is right or not, no one can say without presumption that he has repented. For St. Paul 2 Cor. 10:18 says: "Not he who praises himself is approved, but he whom God praises"; and 1 Cor. 4:4: "I am not aware of anything, but I am not justified by it. I do not judge myself, but God the Lord is the one who judges me." To this David says Ps. 19:13: "Lord, who knows all his sin?"

Now if a man should say that he has truly repented, then he would be driven to his own presumption and to impossible works, so that he would recognize all his sin and evil. Indeed, since all the saints still have evil and sin in them, it is not possible for anyone to repent, which is enough before God's judgment, but they all speak with David [Ps. 143:2]: "Lord, do not enter into judgment with your servant, for before you no man who lives is found justified." If no one is found justified, how can he be found repentant, if repentance is the beginning of justification? Why then, O Father, do you want to teach Christians pride and presumption, so that they run into God's judgment?

(136) Thus Christians should be taught that a penitent knows how no repentance is worthy and sufficient before God, and should thus say: Behold, dear Lord, I know that I am not found truly repentant before your judgment, and that there are still many evil lusts in me that prevent true repentance; but because you have promised mercy, I flee from your judgment, and because my repentance is nothing before you, I rely and consider your promise in this sacrament. And if the priest inquires about repentance, he shall say: Lord, before me I am repentant, but before God it is a bad repentance, since I cannot stand with it, but I hope for his grace, which you shall give me now from his command.

¹⁾ Original: "gleichen gemeinen"; Wittenberg and Jena: "gleichengemeine".

agree. This is how people should always be driven to faith. For in death repentance will become all too great, and faith all too small. God's promise is certain in the sacrament, our repentance is never certain; therefore, it is not on uncertain repentance, but on his certain promise that he has built us, so that we may endure in all adversity.

The fifteenth.

It is a great error for those who go to the sacrament and rely on the fact that they have confessed or are not aware of a mortal sin and have said their prayers. All these eat and drink judgment. But if they believe and trust that they receive grace there, the same faith alone makes them pure and worthy.

I have taught this article for the sake of the stupid consciences who prepare themselves for the sacrament with so much effort and torture, and yet never have peace, and do not know how they are with God. Since it is not possible for a heart to have peace unless it trusts in God, and not in its own works, diligence or prayers. St. Paul Rom. 5, 1. says: "Through faith we have peace with God." If peace comes through faith alone, it cannot come through works, prayer or any other thing. This is also taught by experience; even if someone works himself to death, his heart still does not have peace until he begins to surrender to God's grace, to dare and to trust.

138. so also St. Peter Apost. 15:9 teaches that God alone purifies the heart through faith. Thus faith must be prior to the sacrament, without which all prayers do not purify, as this article teaches. It is also sufficiently said above that all works without faith are dead and sinful, as St. Paul teaches in Romans 14:23: "Everything that is not of faith is sin. How then can confession, prayer and all kinds of preparation be without sin if they are done without faith? Therefore, faith alone must be the cleansing and worthy preparation.

139 Not that I reject such prayer and preparation, but that no one should rely on it, and must have more than such preparation, namely faith. For since God promises His grace in the sacrament

and offering, as stated in the first article, praying and working is not enough; the same divine promise must be believed, so that we do not make Him a liar through our unbelief [1 John 5:10]. What else is done, if you go to the Sacrament without such confidence with many preparations, but as if you say to God: You deny in your promise of this Sacrament, and will not give me grace. O, O, O thou bull of vice! what dost thou teach? what dost thou condemn?

They have driven us away from such faith and custom of the sacrament by the saying of St. Paul 1 Cor. 11, 28. "Man shall feel himself, and then eat of this bread, and drink of this cup," which they have drawn from the conscience of sin to investigate, since it is rather based on faith and trust, since no man can investigate all his mortal sin, as is shown above in Psalm 19:13: "Lord, who knows his sin? It is not enough if you are not aware of any mortal sin, as St. Paul says in 1 Cor. 4:4: "I am not aware of anything, but that does not justify me." Why then are we driven to such impossible, forgiven, lost work, and silence faith, according to which man should most test or feel himself? as was said in the previous article. One always wants to drive us from faith into works, so I would like one to drive us from works into faith. Faith may be followed by works, but works are never followed by faith.

The sixteenth.

It would be good that the church in a common concilio ordered to give the laity both forms of the sacrament; and the Bohemians, ignoring both forms, are not heretics nor ambivalent. 1)

141 St. Paul easily wins the article from the pope, and yet wants to be unbanned by his holiness, and gives nothing to the bull; indeed, he banishes the pope, bulls, and all his followers in one heap, since he is

1) In the Bull of Leo X, in this volume Col. 1436, it is said: "but schismatics," while in § 154 of this writing it is again said: "The Greeks and Bohemians are not heretics nor partisans in this piece." Likewise in § 156.

Gal. 1:8: "Whosoever shall preach unto you any other thing than that which ye are taught in the gospel, though it were an angel from heaven, let him be utterly destroyed. Listen, Pabst, this is for you. Christ in the Gospel of Matthew, Mark, Luke, in the last supper, has instituted both forms and given them to all, and said to all: "This you shall do, as often as you do it, remembering me" [Matth. 26, 26. 27. Marc. 14, 23. Luc. 22, 19. 20J.

Now the pope teaches us differently, and gives only one form and half the sacrament, therefore he is certainly banned and banished by St. Paul. If you, Pabst, with all of yours, bite this little nut, and cannot prove yourself banished or banned before God, I will revoke everything I have written all my life and say that you are a Pabst. If you do not do this, do not blame me for calling you the final Christian, whom Paul banished and maligned, as the one who changes his Lord's order, contradicts his gospel, and turns it around. You know that you can neither speak nor raise anything against it; why then do you force your will against such an open and clear text of the Gospel? Dear, let us also deny the Lord's Prayer!

They say that Christ gave both forms only to the apostles and priests, and commanded them to give one or both forms to the laity. So I ask, where is the order described? I hold, in the dark smokehole; it is a muthwillful lie and fictitious gloss. For Christ, when he gave the cup, added the word "all" to it, saying, "Drink from it, all of you" [Matt. 26:27, Marc. 14:23]. Which he did not do, when he gave the bread: no doubt he would have forestalled the Roman iniquity and heresy, seeing that they would rob the cup from his Christians, and suffer the gospel greatly that they denied the bread, because he saith not, Eat ye all of this; but, Drink ye all of it. Oh, how they should cry out and rage, if the word "all" were said with the bread and not with the cup, no one would be able to keep them. Nor do they want to be caught and restrained with a clear text, so publicly decided.

The church also sings in the *hymn Verbum supernum*: He gave his flesh and blood to his disciples in two forms, so that he might feed the whole man, who is made of two natures. If the church is right in this song, then both forms should be given to all Christians, since not only the priests, but also the laity are people of two natures, to whom this food is given in its entirety and to the whole person.

However, we want to set stronger reasons. St. Paul says 1 Cor. 10, 17: "We are One Bread and One Body, all who partake of One Bread and One Cup." Here I ask: whether the laity are also Christians and members of the Christian body, of which St. Paul says: "We are all One Body"? I hope that one would have to say yes. Why then does the pope want to separate them and let only the priests be Christians, if he does not want to let all of them have a share of one bread and of one cup? as St. Paul says here that all who belong to the body should have a share of one bread and of one cup, if they are able, and not be prevented; of this more hereafter.

146) After 1 Cor. 11, 23-25, he does not say to the priests, but to all the Christians of the same city: "I have received from the Lord what I have taught you (do not say: what I have taught your priests alone): The Lord Jesus, on the night when he was betrayed, took bread and gave thanks to God, and broke it and said: Take and eat, this is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. And when he had eaten, he took the cup, and said, This is the cup, a new testament in my blood; which do ye, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me" 2c.

Here you see what the apostle received from the Lord and gave to the Corinthians, as he says; namely, both figures, with words so clearly expressed that I am surprised how the schismatics, partisans, Roman Christians and half-sacramenters do not turn red or pale before it.

148 He says further [1 Cor. 11:26]: "As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you shall proclaim the death of the Lord.

long until he comes," does not say, "As often as you priests alone eat and drink, but speak to them all. Neither saith he that they should do all these things until the pope come and ordain them otherwise, but until the Lord himself come at the last day.

149] More [v. 27]: "Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh this cup unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." Say not, which priest, but in common, which of you all; neither say, he is guilty of the body only, but also of the blood of Christ; always put both together, eating and drinking, bread and cup.

150 Item [v. 28]: "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of this bread and drink of this cup. He does not say, Let the priest alone examine himself, but let every man who is a Christian in Corinth. For he writes not this epistle to the Gentiles, neither saith he, Man eateth of bread alone, and drinketh not of the cup, as the pope teacheth us, and exempteth us from our own sacrament.

Item 29: "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh judgment, as he that esteemeth not the body of the Lord. But once this is said to all, and drinking is bound to eating; which the pope separates and respects not greatly.

At the end he says [v. 30]: "Therefore many of you are sick and weak and dead, because you eat and drink unworthily. I mean, such punishment and plague did not go over the priests alone, because he says: "Many among you are sick", otherwise would have said: many of your priests are sick 2c.

Now what can the Roman traveller do against these mighty sayings of St. Paul? To this he is opposed by the long-standing custom of all Christendom throughout the world, which still persists even among the Greeks, whom Rome herself has not allowed to call heretics or apostates. Why then should I suffer that the Bohemians or anyone else should be called heretics for this, whether they eat both forms? as Christ and St. Paul teach, and all the world, without the pope, has in use. For this purpose it was decided at Basel in the Concilio that they do right. What then does this bull condemn even their own Concilium?

For this reason I have revoked and still revoke this article, which I considered far too mild and gentle, and now say thus: The Greeks and Bohemians are neither heretics nor partisans in this matter, but the most Christian and best followers of the Gospel on earth. And pray to them through Christ our Lord with these writings, that they may remain steadfast in their opinion, and not be deceived by the Roman tyrant and the final Christian's perverse, unholy laws, who out of sheer spite takes one form and half the sacrament from the Christians, whom Christ himself and all the apostles have given, and the church has long used in all the world.

He instructs the priests to take both forms, and gives the reason: it does not suffer. To take one, since both forms are a full sacrament, which is not to be divided. Again, since he gives the layman one form, he gives the reason: one form is a completely full sacrament, and thus plays dice with God's words and sacraments, like a juggler. It is whole and not whole to him, if and where he wants, may contradict him freely, and lie and deceive on both sides. So the priests have another sacrament than the laity, just as he has other keys and sacraments of repentance than all Christendom has.

156 Secondly, I say that the pope and all of his knowing relatives in this piece are heretics, apostates, banished and maligned, because they teach differently than the gospel has inside, and follow their own head, contrary to the common custom of all Christendom. For these are called heretics and apostates, who transgress the doctrine of their fathers, and separate themselves from the common way and usage of all Christendom, and devise new ways and measures out of sheer wilfulness, without cause, contrary to the holy gospel. This is what the final Christian at Rome does in this and many more pieces; nor does he lift up his insolent blasphemous mouth to heaven, blaspheming the Greek church for being ambiguous and apostate, when he is the first and only one of all secessions and parties, the head, cause and instigator; as is the case today and all histories prove.

157 But here I want to exempt and excuse the poor bunch, which is not to blame for the fact that it receives only one form. The pope and his followers alone are guilty; I mean them alone. For at the same time, if someone desired to be baptized, and the pope forbade it and took it away from him, his faith and desire would be accepted before God as if he had been baptized, since the obstacle is not on him. But the pope would be a heretic and unchristian who would withhold baptism from him. We must also suffer that the pope and his followers do not preach, which they owe us with much high duty, and therefore we do not do wrong with them, but only suffer wrong.

So, even though the pope owes us to give both forms, if he does not do so and deprives us, we suffer such his violence and injustice; nevertheless, we remain devout Christians before God, and still receive the fruit of the whole sacrament through our faith and devotion. What would we have to do if he or the Turk took both our forms? What do those who are imprisoned do now? Sick and young children, all of whom can receive no form, and yet all of whom retain the fruit of the sacrament? In the past, some holy fathers did not go to the sacrament for many years in the desert.

But I speak only of those who desire both forms; to them they should be given, and not refused; for the pope is not a lord, but a servant of the sacrament, obliged to administer it when and whoever wishes to have it, as well as baptism and penance 2c. Christ also urged no one to do this. For he saith not, Ye shall do this, but thus, When ye do this, remember me," [Luc. 22:19] not commanding that we do it, but keeping his memory when we do it. But he has left it free, if we want to do it. This liberty the pope sows and keeps within; again, he urges it once a year, which yet Christ does not do; that ever his being should go against Christ with commandment and prohibition, as befits a true anti-Christian to do.

160 I say this, not that I wish anyone to act sacrilegiously here against the tyranny of the pope; for tyranny and injustice we shall suffer, does us no harm; but

that everyone may have understanding and instruction in these matters, and see how Christ and the pope are alike, and how things should or should not go in Christendom, so that no one may mix himself up in the pope's sin, error and ruin, and justify him, and, as his boys do, take his wrong for right or praise it, but, just as if someone were to take our life and limb, we should suffer it patiently, and confess our guilt to God, but not justify it, nor praise it, as if he had done good. So, even if the pope deprives us of the gospel and sacrament, we should suffer and confess our sin to God, who thus lets the pope be a plague on us. We well deserve that the final Christ should reign over us. But we are not to praise and justify him as if he were doing well, and call him *Sanctissimum*, but to publicly confess and punish his diabolical, heretical tyranny against him; as Christ punished the 1) Jews wrong, and yet suffered the same wrong from them.

To conclude, I amend this article and say: It would be good that not only in a common concilio, but also every bishop in his diocese again ordered to give both form and the whole sacrament to the laity, and thus followed the Gospel, without thanksgiving of the pope. For a bishop is obliged to stand against the wolf for the sheep of Christ, whom Christ has commanded him, and should handle the Gospel with life and limb, while he sits in the place of Christ.

If this is not the case, I advise every Christian layman to remember how his Lord Christ placed both forms in one sacrament, and therefore to desire and believe them both in his heart. And thus receive the holy sacrament half bodily, half spiritually, because this perilous time of the final Christ does not permit any further. He also complains to God that because of our sin we are deprived of our own good and sacrament, which Christ gave us and his Antichrist took away. For if anyone despises to desire both these things in the least, he is not a Christian. Let not their talk be moved,

1) In the original: "who". Wittenberg: "Christum die Juden unrecht strafen." The Jenaer has "der" as a conjecture in the margin.

They say that the whole sacrament is received under the bread. Christ also knew well that everything would be received under one form, even in faith alone, without the sacrament; yet he did not use both forms in vain.

The seventeenth

The treasures of the Church, from which the pope gives indulgences, do not find the merits of Christ and the saints.

The pope and his hypocrites, that they might make indulgences dear to the poor people, and take the treasure of the world to themselves, invent, and to the greatest dishonor of Christ teach, that Christ's merit is the treasure of indulgences. But when it is asked where they get the reason for this in the Scriptures, they puff themselves up and boast of their power, saying, "Is it not enough that we say it? Against this I say this article, and can ground it in Scripture.

He himself says Joh. 6, 51, "that he is the living bread from heaven, he who eats of it lives forever". So says Isaiah, Cap. 53, 4, "that he bore our sin. And there is not a Christian so small who does not know that Christ's merit and suffering put away our sin and makes us blessed, all believing that he died for our sin; from which it is clear that Christ's suffering and merit is a living treasure, and gives eternal life to all who partake of it. Now they must all confess themselves that indulgences do not give life, and are a dead thing, from which no one is improved, let alone becomes alive. It does not take away sin, but the punishment of sin. Now no one is so foolish (except the pope and his flatterers) as to think that the remission or remittal of punishment makes anyone better; but the imposition of punishment may well make someone better, as all reason, experience, Scripture, and truth teach.

Therefore, indulgence and Christ's merit rhyme together, like life and death, like day and night, like Christ and Belial (2 Cor. 4:14, 15), like the pope and a Christian man. And also has its proper name. For indulgence means as much as to let go or to abate; it lets go of all good, and lets go of all misfortune; it lets sin go unpunished.

Yes, it puts away the punishment of sin, which God lays out and demands, and as much as is in it, it lets sins go free, and does not hinder them, yes, protects and helps them, while it remits all punishment, and lets money be given and taken for it. For the sake of which St. Paul to the Thessalonians calls the pope "a man of sin, and a child of perdition" [2 Thess. 2:3], because he allows and promotes sin, and thus leads all the world to the devil with him, through his lying, deceitful indulgence,

166 If, having been confronted with this truth, they do not know how to answer, they invent such a dream: the merits of Christ may be used in two ways: first, as it is now said, that they make alive; secondly, that they are also sufficient for our sin. Then I answer, "Yes, they are needed more than once. They are needed more than once, to make money, to attain high rank and honor, to have pleasure and good days, to lead the world into war, blood and all miseries. And what is now in Rome and the whole Roman Church in a more shameful custom than Christ's name and merit? The pope with all his knaves would have been a beggar long ago, if he had not Christ to sell, and all his wiles to propose. Everything must now be covered by Christ's name, which corrupts the regime of the end Christ in the world, as he himself proclaimed, Matth. 24, 5: "Many shall come in my name, and shall deceive many." So the indulgence and its jugglers also come in the name of Christ and his merits, and deceive the whole world, so that even the elect are hardly safe from it.

The eighteenth.

Indulgences are a divine deception of Christians, and indulgences of good works, and of the number of things that are permitted, and not found beneficial.

Some who recognized the inefficiency of indulgences, and yet were not allowed to contradict the teacher of sin in Rome, had a saying and said: Indulgences are a divine deception; that is, even if it is nothing and deceives the people, if it is a reason to give money into boxes, which was considered a good work, it would be a good deception.

Deception, but for the good, divine work. I followed these at that time, and also said so; for I knew no better at that time.

168. But now that the Holy Father Pope has given me a contradiction and condemns this article, I will be obedient and say: I confess my error, the article is not true; and now I say thus: Indulgence is not a divine deception, but a hellish, diabolical, endchristian deception, thievery, robbery, by which the Roman Nimrod and teacher of sin sells sin and hell to all the world and sucks and licks all their money for such unspeakable damage. If the contradiction is not enough, I will correct it another time, and prove it thus: God says Ps. 89, 33: I will punish their sin with the rod, and punish their iniquity with the strokes of men." And St. Paul 1 Cor. 11, 31.: "If we punish ourselves, God will not punish us. But if he punish us, he chasten us, that we be not condemned with this world."

Here you see that sin must be punished, whether by God, man, or ourselves, if we are not otherwise to be damned with this world. The pope still wants to blind the eyes of the clear sayings, and have all sin unpunished by his indulgence, so that we shall be damned with the world, as St. Paul says here. And he wants to cover and sell such abominations with Christ's merit, and Christ's merit must serve him against such public word of God. O Pabst, O Pabst, let it be enough for once!

The nineteenth.

Indulgence does not serve to remove the punishment or chastisement that divine justice demands for sins committed.

The twentieth.

They are deceived who believe that indulgences make one blessed and are beneficial to the soul.

The twenty-first.

Indulgences are only necessary for public mortal sins, 1) and are actually only granted to the lazy and soft.

The zwemndzwanzigste.

Indulgences are neither useful nor necessary to six kinds of people: the dead, the sick, those who honestly prevent, those who do not have mortal sin, those who do not have public mortal sin, those who do something better.

In honor of the sacred and revered bull, I revoke everything I have ever taught about indulgences, and I am sorry in my heart for everything good I have ever said about them. Do not let yourself be challenged, dear man, that the pope here pretends that indulgences are useful to the soul and make it blessed; this has never been heard before, not even from yourself; the old dragon from the abyss of the hells speaks in this bull. Let us dwell on the fact that indulgences are not as the pope gives them. For, as it is said, no sin remains unpunished. Now if an angel says otherwise from heaven, let no one believe it [Gal. 1:8]. And if it has happened to my books that they have been burned, it has certainly happened because I have given and served the pope and his people too much in the indulgence, and I myself condemn such teaching to the fire.

The twenty-third.

The ban is only an external punishment, does not deprive the person of the common prayer of Christianity.

Behold, how the pope strives to be God! In the previous articles, he himself took away the power to make souls blessed through indulgences; in this one, he takes the power to condemn souls through excommunication, both of which are works of the high divine majesty alone, and which no creature can do. This is what St. Paul proclaimed about him: "He will sit and reign in the church of God, and will present himself as if he were God, and will resist and exalt himself above all that is God" [2 Thess. 2, 4].

I have proven this article sufficiently in the sermon on the ban, and I still say recently: A Christian being stands in faith, which neither the pope nor the devil can give or take away. Where this remains, all things are harmless, even death and hell, even the sin committed, as St. Paul says in Romans 8:28: "All things work for the good of the believer" or Christian. Therefore, the ban can be no more than an external punishment, the

1) Erlanger: "mortal sinners", but in the bull: xudlieis oriminibus. Cf. Col. 1437.

is a separation of the community from the church and sacraments. Also the pope himself says in his rights (as he has provided that he once teaches something good) that the ban is a medicine, and not a disturbance; so it must ever not do harm inwardly, but help and improve.

The twenty-fourth.

Christians should be taught that they love the ban more than they fear it.

This is because the pope wants to remain God, and everyone is more afraid of him than of the high, true majesty. But the article from the previous one is already proven, because the ban is a punishment of sin and a remedy for the soul, and he who deserves it should bear it willingly and gladly. Although he should be afraid of sin, so that he may deserve the ban, 1) as a child should be afraid to do evil; but if he does evil, he should gladly suffer the punishment and kiss the rod. If God wants us to suffer death gladly and to love all sufferings, how much more should we love and like this foxtail and motherwort. Except for the pope and his church, who are afraid of their own star 2) in the eye, as it is written Proverbs 28:1: "Unchristian sinners are afraid, and no one chases them.

The twenty-fifth.

The Roman bishop, St. Peter's offspring, is not Christ's governor, ordained by Christ over all the churches of the whole world.

174 This is also the main point of one who has destroyed the holy gospel and has placed an idol of oil in the place of Christ in Christendom, against which I have placed and still place this article, and thus prove it:

175 First, since everything that happens in the church is proclaimed with clear, public sayings of Scripture, is it ever a wonder that nothing of the papacy is publicly invented in the whole Bible, since it is the only thing that is publicly invented in the whole Bible?

The Church has always considered the papacy to be almost the greatest, most necessary and most special thing in the Church, above all things. It is ever suspicious and worthy of evil delusion that so many little things are so clearly and strongly founded in Scripture; and to this great thing no one to this day can give any clear reason. It is so clear in the Gospel [Marc. 1, 16.] that St. Peter is a fisherman and apostle, which they hold low against your papacy; but no letter that says: St. Peter is above all the churches of the world.

But here I make it a condition that I do not hold this article to mean that I want to reject the pope. He has power as great as he wants, I have no interest in that, I can well grant it to him; but I will not suffer that nor remain silent: First, that they torture, force and desecrate the holy word of God to confirm this power. Secondly, that they reproach, blaspheme, curse the Greeks and all who are not under your pope, as if they were not Christians. Just as if the Christian state were bound to the pope and Rome, when St. Paul and Christ bound it only to faith and God's word. Of this no one knows nor has less than the pope with his own, and yet without faith and God's word wants to be not only a Christian, but God of all Christians, and condemn all those who do not worship him, even if they have faith and the gospel in the very best way.

Even if the pope were reasonable, it would be good for him to have less trouble, and not to have all the world's quarrels. It is impossible for the whole world to be bound to one place and to conduct its business there. But let us see how they torture and disgrace the holy words of God to confirm their false power.

178 Christ says Matth. 16, 18. 19. to St. Peter: "You are Peter (that is, a rock), and on the rock I will build my church, and to you I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; what you shall bind on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Allhie they interpret the rock St. Petrum, and pretend it is the

1) The Jenaers: "verdienet"; original and the Wittenbergers: "verdiene".

2) Thus in the Wittenberg and in the Jena. Erlanger, 1st edition: Stahren; 2nd edition: Staaren. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 396, 8 296.

Luther's Works, "d. XV.

3) Wittenberger and Jenaer: "gleuben"; Erlanger: "Glauben". The sense is the same.

Papal authority, on which Christ builds his church, so that all churches are subject to the authority of the pope. And to be subject to the pope means with these masters that the church is built on the rock. Christ had to suffer the gloss over his words for many years.

179) Only, 1) that we expose the lies and mischief publicly and make them ashamed, let us consider the words of Christ. If the building of the church on the rock is nothing else than being subject to the pope, as they say, it follows that the church may be built and exist without faith, without the gospel, and without all sacraments. For what is built is built, nothing more may be built. Since Pabst's authority and obedience are other things than faith, sacrament and gospel, and the church is built by them, it is obvious that Pabst's authority and obedience are enough for its construction, and faith or anything else is not necessary, especially since Pabst and his authority live with his subjects without faith, gospel and sacrament, and even despise them, like the heathen; and yet rock, building and church remain, as they say. Behold, this is Christ's word glossed over. Who will prevent another from saying that the rock and building of the church is called a donkey and a cow, or what he dreams of, if the papists have the power to make whatever they want out of Christ's words?

Further, Christ speaks of the same rock and his church in the same place: "And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" [Matth. 16,18]. Here Christ speaks clearly that against His rock, building and church the devils shall not be able to do anything. If the rock is papal authority, and the building obedience to it, how is it then that the same building and obedience have fallen, and the gates of hell have been able against them, that all Christendom has fallen away from the pope, as the Greeks, Bohemia, Africa and the whole Orient? Yes, they have never been built on it. So then Christ, who cannot lie, promises that the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against his building,

and yet no one can deny the apostasy in Orient: so it follows that Christ says true, and the pope lies, and the building is not obedience to his power, but another, to which the infernal gates can break nothing off.

Nor may it be said that they are no longer Christians because they are not obedient to the pope and are not built on him. Because the pope and all of them still want to be Christians, even though they are not even one jot obedient to God, and partly live without faith. But they have so far proved with their lies that they are heretics who do not agree with them in this matter, and that they themselves are good Christians, even if they do not agree with God and Christ in any matter. So they ape and fool the world, call Christians and heretics what they want.

But we leave that aside, and take before us the right understanding of these words. The fact that the gates of hell have no power against this structure must mean that the devil has no power over it. This is the case when the structure stands firm in faith and without sin. For where faith falls or there are sins, the devil reigns and has power against the building. So St. Peter teaches us [1 Ep. 5:9] that we should fight in strong faith against the devil, who fights most strongly against faith. From this it follows that this rock is Christ Himself, as St. Paul calls Him 1 Cor. 10:4, and the building is the believing church, since there is no sin in it; and building is nothing else than becoming faithful and sinless, as St. Peter 1 Ep. 2:5 also teaches, that we should let ourselves be built on Christ, the rock, a spiritual building.

Since the pope and his authority, and those who are obedient to him, walk in sin and abominable abuse, and are subjects of the devil, as everyone can see, it must be fictitious and false that the rock and building (which Christ sets over the infernal gates) is called papal authority and rule, which the devil has subjected to him. It would be impossible for papal power to do anything evil if it were signified by the rock in Christ's words. For Christ does not lie. So we see before our eyes that papal power goes into the devil's power, and does evil, and has done evil many times.

Now, all you papists, in a heap, bite the nut! The sentence has expired for you, the castle is conquered; there falls, there lies [the] pope with reason and ground; for this sentence of Christ has been the only reason on which the papacy has relied and exalted itself so many years, and now its lies and falseness have been clarified. If we have not gained more from the pope in this dispute, we have nevertheless made this sentence free and undone; indeed, herewith the war is even won, the pope's head is cut off, because this sentence goes against him more than for him. Whoever tells a lie is certainly not of God and is suspect in all things. Since the pope in this main and basic saying is a liar who has perverted God's word and deceived the world with a false regime, it is certainly true that St. Paul [1 Thess. 2, 9.] says of him that the entrance of the final Christ shall be through the effect of the evil spirit, who only enters with lies and false interpretation of the Scriptures. There you lie, dear Pabst; if you honestly save yourself from this, and make the lies the truth, I will say that you were made Pabst by God. All this was done by John Hus and not Luther, as it is written: *Condemnat justus mortuus impios vivos* [Wis. 4:16].

It does not help that one wants to attract some holy fathers who called St. Peter the rock and foundation of the church. First of all, Christ's words go before all the saints' words, who have often erred, but Christ has never erred. Secondly, no saint has ever said that the pope is called this rock. So they called St. Peter a rock not for the sake of power but for the sake of faith; in which, if the pope follows him, we also want to call him a rock, so that the rock remains faith and does not become power. But where he is not a believer, he shall not be called a rock.

186 They also have a basic saying, John 21:15-17, where Christ says to Peter three times, "Peter, do you love me?" And Peter answers three times, "Yes, Lord, I love you." Then Christ also said three times, "Feed me my sheep." Hereupon they want to set the pope over all Christians; but it is

there is still no clear saying that proves such a great thing, and this is still quite dark, and (as said) it is not to be assumed that God should not have instituted such a great thing, as they do the papacy, with some clear saying. Now this sentence also pushes the papacy to the ground. This is easy to notice.

187 For Christ demands love three times from St. Peter before he commands him the sheep, so that he clearly shows that where there is no love, there sheep grazing does not belong. Because the pope and the papacy are without love, it cannot be that sheep should be called pope. Therefore, it is a lie and a false gloss that they interpret the little word "pasture" to mean the unloving rule and power of the papacy. If one wants to allow Christ's words to be torn apart and misrepresented in this way, I would like to say that the Turk's regiment also means grazing sheep. But if they remain in their right sense, then there must be love, or there is no pasture; who wants to pass by here?

The evil spirit has also taught them that the word "pasture" means to sit on top; where do they want to prove their understanding? Must we believe and be satisfied that they therefore boast and reproach, we have interpreted it thus, keep silent, and do not speak differently? Now I want to go on. The word "pasture" is so highly spiritual that even if the pope were as holy as St. Peter, and taught and kept his spiritual law most diligently, he would still not be a pastor. To "pasture" means to give the teaching that the soul lives by, which is faith and the gospel. If the pope were to do this, he would have to wait for every moment of death and put his soul for the sheep. So St. Augustine interpreted rightly: "To feed" means here to give life for the sheep for the sake of the gospel; therefore also Christ soon after interprets the feeding itself (Joh. 21, 28.), and proclaims to Petro the torture he would have to suffer over the feeding and the sheep; which was not possible to do without love.

189 Therefore it is ever vexatious that the high, spiritual, strong, delicious words of Christ should be so shamefully martyred, and expended on the idle, splendid, lustful violence of the

And when they have already drawn it to the best, they bring it to the Pabst's laws, so that the sheep are poisoned more than they are fed. Therefore we leave Christ's opinion here, as St. Augustine also holds it: it is given in common to all preachers in Petro: that they ever do not preach, but love Christ, and are ready to lay down their lives for the sheep.

190 And where "to pasture" would mean to be a pope, the church would have to be without a pope as often as he neither loved nor preached; this is also true. For where the gospel does not go, there is no church; and this papacy is just as useful to the church as the fifth wheel on the wagon, indeed quite harmful; of this I will say more another time. Even where "to love" and "to pasture" is called pontificality, one could not deny that there must be so many popes, so many lovers and pastors; which is also true. For he who loves and feeds is a pope. So in all ways the words of God go against the pope, which he breeds for himself, and it does not help that they say that the pope does not feed through himself, but through others; why is he not a pope through others? If "pasture" means a pope, then he can be a pope as well as pasture through others. But if he cannot do the latter, he cannot do the latter either, and must pasture through himself, or may not be a pope through himself; the word "pasture" cannot be milked and driven like that.

191 Now I will prove that St. Peter is among the other apostles and not above them. Apost. 8, 14, we read that the apostles and elders sent St. Peter and John to Samaria to strengthen the Christians. If St. Peter is a servant messenger of others, what does his successor, even persecutor, the pope, pretend that he does not want to be a servant to anyone? If St. Peter had been the head by divine order, he should have sat and, as the pope now does, command and send, not let himself be sent; he should have suffered ten deaths before that, before he would have let himself be put down against God's order, as the popes do, who make all the world flood in blood before they let their headship go.

192. the piece is not yet resolved, it also knocks them on the head that they are fibbing, do not know how to answer it, yet not

are silent, the Arians are suggesting that the Holy Spirit is therefore not less than the Father, even though he is sent by him. But they do not see that this rhymes here, like the Pabst in the church; the Holy Spirit is not sent in his person, like St. Peter, but he sends himself with God the Father and Son, that is, he reveals himself in the dove [Matth. 3, 16.], cloud [2 Mos. 14, 20.] and believing hearts, as the *sapiens* says [Weish. 19, 7.] and Augustine interprets. Therefore, all sects of the pope must stand and confess that the pope is not the supreme one, but equal or below the others, where he wants to rule divinely and not devilishly. It is against God and his holy word that he exalts himself with his own sacrilegious power over all, if he should only suffer it when we exalt him.

The Scripture also clearly concludes that St. Peter never made, sent or commanded any apostle, so that he could not make St. Matthew with the help of all the apostles, but acquired him from heaven. So that Christ firmly proves that the apostles should all be made equal by Himself alone, also make all bishops equal, and not be united in the unity of power and authority, as the Pope's sect deceives us, but united in faith, baptism, love and spirit, and be one people, as St. Paul teaches Eph. 4:4 ff. Oh, how they should storm, where they would find that St. Peter had sent an apostle, as we find that he is sent. Still ours shall not apply, and their fable shall nevertheless be right. Hereby, I think, enough is proven how the papacy not only floats without some ground of Scripture, but also rages against Scripture.

The twenty-sixth.

Christ's word to Petro, "What you untie on earth shall be loosed in heaven," extends no further than to those whom Peter has bound.

How gladly would the pope be a god, that he might bind that which God looseth, and loose that which God bindeth, that he might turn back Christ's word, and thus set it: What I bind and loose in heaven, thou shalt loose and bind on earth, so that our God, banished, could do nothing more than what the pope willed.

So it happened in the days of John Hus that the pope commanded the angels in heaven to lead the souls of the Roman pilgrims to heaven, who died on the journey to Rome. Against such terrible sacrilege and more than devilish presumption John Hus lay down, and even though he lost his life over it, he nevertheless gained so much that the pope must confiscate the same pipe and, ashamed of the sacrilege, abstain from it until now. The prankster is still coming out, and because he could not keep heaven and hell in his power, and had risen too high, he still wants to capture purgatory. And even though he must confess that he cannot bind anyone in it, nor push anyone into it, he still wants to release it and pull it out.

195 Because one asks for what reason he might do this, he says: I am a pope. With this it shall be enough. For the saying of Christ clearly expresses that his power is only on earth, not below nor above the earth, and that binding and loosing are equal. For thus the words are, "What thou bindest on earth, that thou looseest on earth"; that binding is as wide and as broad as loosing, and where one does not reach, the other does not reach either. Therefore we stick to the word of Christ and despise the papal sacrilege.

196. Above this, all priests need these words of Christ when they absolve, and absolve not, for in virtue of the same words and promise of Christ. If there are the same words here, what does the pope presume to do by them more than the least priest? If they are the same words, then they are also the same power. If the pope can reach into purgatory with them, any priest can reach into it. Behold, thus the priest deceives and leads the whole world, takes what he wants from the divine word, although it is the same and common to everyone, and pretends to drink from the barrel of malvasia, when other people hardly drink water from it; God's simple one word with one power is considered gold to him, and will not let it be considered copper to others. Stop it, Pabst, enough of this game.

197 It is also a dangerous sense that one needs such keys for chastisement. Christ has not given them, that St. Peter should have power with it, something

But they are given to our faith, which must keep them, so that sins may be forgiven. And St. Peter is a servant in it, may hold it against us; but he can do no more with it than as much as we believe. If he dissolves chastisement and guilt a thousand times, he does nothing, but I believe. Faith makes the keys active and capable, unbelief makes them inactive and incapable; otherwise there is no power in it that the pope presumes to deceive himself and us. God Himself cannot give heaven to the one who does not believe; what then should the Pope do with the keys to the one who does not believe? But to put away chastisement does not really belong to the keys. For this is done publicly, and there is no room for faith, which believes only the obvious thing, namely forgiveness of sin in the sight of God.

198) There 1) were also those who by this saying make the Roman bishop pope, because Christ says: "All that you bind shall be bound. But since all priests absolve in virtue of the same words, they may not be peculiar to St. Peter and Pabst, but must be common, so that either all priests are popes who absolve in virtue of these words, or no one may absolve but the pope, the pontificate shall be given therein. And as little as he may make the priesthood common, so little may he make absolution common, because it is one word and thing, binding and priesthood, as they say. Behold, thus they misrepresent the holy words of God: what is common shall be the pope's own; what is given to our faith shall strengthen his power and tyranny.

The twenty-seventh.

It is certain that the Pope has no power at all, nor the Church, to set articles of faith, nor precepts of morals or good works.

199 I would not rather hear what the articles of faith and the commandments of good morals and good works are, as the pope or the church may set them, so that we may once lead the Holy Spirit and Christ to school and make a good shilling.

1) Original and Jenaer: You.

They have not taught us rightly and sufficiently the Christian faith and good works. Learned disciples of the pope, open the mouth of your wisdom and call us the same! Will you? I will say it like this.

200. Christ proclaimed it Matth. 24, 15. 23.: "When you see the abomination, of which Daniel said that it would stand in the holy city, whoever saw it, understands it well. False Christians and false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many, and do such signs as to lead astray (if it were possible) even the elect"; and St. Paul 1 Tim. 4, 1-3. "The Spirit evidently says that in the last days they will much depart from the faith, cleave to false spirits, 1) and devilish doctrines, and teach lies, and have a brand in their conscience, forbidding the marital state, and withdrawing the food which God has given to the faithful to enjoy."

See, should not the pope have the power to set doctrine and articles, if it is so clearly proclaimed by him, that also his spirits, 2) which blow it into him, are expressed? St. Paul also teaches how we should hear such teaching, Col. 2:8, saying: "Take heed lest any man deceive you through the vain philosophy and deceitful appearances of the doctrines of men, and of the temporal commandments, which teach not of Christ." Here we see that we should only hear Christ, and flee the commandments of men, which seem to make us devout, but are only deception and disturbance of faith. And Christ also says Matth. 23, 10: "You shall call yourselves no master on earth; there is only One your Master, Christ." St. Jacob [Cap. 3, 1.] also bequeaths, "Ye shall not be called many masters, brethren." Nor is St. Peter silent, 2 Pet. 2:1. "There shall come among you false teachers, teaching according to their own will." And there are many of these sayings without number.

Hence it came about that the other day in Rome, truly masterly, the holy article was decided that the soul of man is immortal. For it was forgotten in the

my faith, since we all say, "I believe an eternal life." It has also been decided by Aristotle, the great light of nature, that the soul is an essential form of the body, and much more of its articles, which are most proper for the papal church, so that it may keep the dreams of men and the doctrine of devils, while it tramples on and destroys Christ's teaching and faith.

But they want to see their reason why they take away the power to make articles and law. Yes, they say, not everything is written in the Biblia that is necessary; therefore Christ commanded the church, as St. John, Cap. 20, 30, says: "Christ has done many more signs that are not written in this book," and [Cap. 21, 15]: "If it were all to be written, I fear the world could not comprehend the books" that would have to be written. Here let us feel the high intellect of the Papal sect. John does not say of all the signs of Christ, but of many which he has not written; to this he says, the same many are not written in this book; pointing to his book; so that he does not deny, even confess, that they might be written in the other books. Thus our teachers interpret his words to mean the whole Bible, and now St. John's Gospel must be called the whole Bible.

But this is still the finest, John says: "Christ's signs are not all written", so our masters 3) interpret it to our doings and their law, that they are not all written; what do you think? I mean, the pope's sect can interpret the Scriptures! Dear, let us hear the masters of all Christians from Rome now. Much Christ's sign in John's book is not written, so much is said: There is not enough written in the Bible what we should know and do; let the Holy Spirit tell the pope to give and teach more law. See, now you know why the Holy Spirit is given to the pope and to the Christians.

St. Paul and all Scripture teach that the Holy Spirit is given to fulfill the laws, but not to release us from them and set us free.

1) Original: Geisten.

2) In the original: his spirit.

3) So the Jenaer; original: "deutens unsern Herrn"; Wittenberger: "deuten sie unsern HErrn".

as he says in 2 Cor. 3, 6: "The letter of the law kills, but the spirit makes alive"; and Rom. 8, 2: "The spirit of life has redeemed me from the law, which brought me only sin and death. But the master of all Christians at Rome, with his sects, have another Holy Spirit, who increases the laws, binds people, and takes them captive with the laws of men. Forgive me, my God, for mentioning the name of your Holy Spirit. I do not know what to think and what to say against the unspeakable abomination of the end-Christ at Rome, who not only treats your word foolishly, but also mockingly, as if it were a carnival rant. O God, where are they who earnestly beseech thee, and turn away such thy incomprehensible wrath?

The twenty-eighth.

If the pope held with a large number of the church in this way or otherwise, and did not err, it would still not be sin or heresy to hold otherwise, especially in those things that are not necessary for salvation, until a common council condemned one part and confirmed the other.

Why will they not let me keep this article, since it says nothing but unnecessary things for salvation? They have admitted in Our Lady's conception that it is neither heresy nor error that some think that she was conceived in original sin, although conciliarities, the pope, and the majority hold otherwise, because it is considered unnecessary for salvation. Or how do we poor Christians come to believe everything that the pope and his papists think, even if it is not necessary for salvation? Does the papal authority now have the power that unnecessary things must be necessary articles of faith, and can make heretics in things where there is no need?

207- Therefore I must revoke the article itself, and judge to the fire. I have spoken almost foolishly in it, that one should not believe the pope in unnecessary things. So I should have said: If the pope and his papists were so frivolous and wanton in a concilio that they would lose time and money in unnecessary matters, when there are such great, necessary matters to be acted upon.

one should not only not follow them, but should consider them as nonsensical or evil-doers who make such childishly unnecessary things out of the necessary, serious business of the wretched church. What else do they do with this, but as if they were mocking the miserable, meager Christianity? It is such foolishness and frivolity that they speak of indulgences, of the papacy, of chairs and superiors, alas, in all these last Conciliis, and of nothing else that serves the need.

However, the Bulla is right in giving the papists unnecessary business to act and believe in their conciliis. For such mockers of the church should be cast out by God's wrath in such a perverse sense that they do not take necessary things to heart, and only have to deal with unnecessary ones; they are not worth better.

The twenty-ninth.

We have now acquired a right to restrain the power of the councils, and to contradict their actions, also to judge their law, and to freely confess what seems right to us, be it condemned or confirmed by whatever council it may be.

My papists put this article in such a hateful and poisonous way, as if I wanted to teach that everyone would wantonly oppose the conciliis without cause, which has never fallen into my mind or pen; but I have said: Where they put something against the Scriptures in the concilio, one should believe the Scriptures more than the concilio. The Scriptures are our right and our defiance, so that we may also resist an angel from heaven, as St. Paul commanded in Gal. 1:8, be silent against a pope and a council.

And why do they condemn me in this article? Why do they not condemn those who put it, and I have introduced for my reason, as St. Paul Gal. 1:8: "If any man teach you other things than ye have heard, though he be an angel from heaven, let him be banished and destroyed." Do you hear it, papists? Do you hear, Papists, that Paul says, "If he teaches differently from the Scriptures, he should be banished and maledicted.

Why don't you condemn Panor. c. Significasti, de Elect. which I introduced, as he says that one should believe more a layman, if he presents clear Scripture, or bright reason, than Pabst and Concilio; which with him hold almost all 1) jurists, especially the best and most learned?

211. and what will follow from this article, but that the doctrine of men is above God's word, and the pope above God, and all the abominations that go along with it; that even Lucifer was not so wicked in heaven, who did not presume to be more than like God. O help God! Has it come to this in Christendom, to hear that God with His word shall give way to the pope with his law? Here it would be time to suffer a hundred deaths.

The thirtieth.

Some articles of Johannis Hus, condemned at Costnitz, find the most Christian, truthful and completely evangelical, which would not condemn the whole Christendom.

212) Truly, I have almost erred here and have also previously revoked and condemned this article, in that I have said that some articles of Johannis Hus 2c. So now I say: not some alone, but all articles of Johannis Hus, condemned at Costnitz, are entirely Christian; and I confess that the pope with his own has acted here as a true final Christian, condemned the holy gospel with Johannis Hus, and put in its place the doctrine of the infernal dragon. I offer to answer for this where I am supposed to, and with God's help I will prove and maintain it.

St. John [Hus] also did too little and only began to raise the gospel. I have done five times more, yet I worry that I am also doing too little for him. John Hus does not deny that the pope is supreme in all the world; only that he wants an evil pope not to be a member of holy Christianity, although he must be tolerated like a tyrant. For all members of holy Christendom must be holy, or still become holy. But I, if today St. Peter himself were sitting in Rome, I still deny that the pope would be a member of holy Christendom.

by divine order over all other bishops. The papacy is a human discovery, since God knows nothing about it. All churches are equal, and their unity is not based on this one authority, but, as St. Paul says in Eph. 4, 5, in one faith, one baptism, one Lord Christ, which are all common and equal to all parishes in the world.

I do not say that the Decretal are apocrypha, that is, unnecessary to keep, as John Viglephus says, but unchristian, contrary to Christ, described from the inspiration of the evil spirit; therefore I have also burned them with cheerful courage.

The thirty-first.

A pious person sins in all good works.

(215) This article is annoying to the great saints of works, who build their comfort on their own righteousness and not on God's mercy, that is, on the sand; therefore they will fare as well as the house built on the sand, Matth. 7:26 ff. But a devout Christian man should learn and know that all his good works are inadequate and insufficient in the sight of God, despair with all the dear saints of his works, and consider the mere mercy of God with all confidence and firm trust; therefore let us well establish this article, and see what the dear saints have to say about it.

Isaiah 64:6 says: "We are all found unclean, and all our righteousness is like a stained, stinking cloth. Notice that the prophet does not exclude anyone, saying, "We are all unclean," and yet he was a holy prophet. Item, if our righteousness is unclean and stinks before God, what will unrighteousness do? To this he says: "all righteousness" excludes none. Now if a good work is without sin, then this prophet is lying; God be forewarned! Is this saying of Isaiah not clear enough? Why do they condemn my article, which says nothing else than this prophet? But we would like to be condemned with the holy prophet.

217 Item, Solomon Ecclesiastes 7:21: "There is none so pious on earth as to do a good work and not sin. I think this saying is clear enough, and almost from word to word.

1) Original: all of them.

Word expresses my article. Now, Solomon is damned here; let us see, his father David must also be damned, who says Ps. 143, 2: "Lord, do not enter into judgment with me, your servant, for no living man is found justified before your face." Who is God's servant but he who does good works? How is it then that he may not suffer God's judgment? God's judgment is not unjust. If the work were completely good without sin, it would not escape God's right judgment. So there must be a defect in the work, so that it is not pure. Therefore, no living person is justified before God, but all are subject to His mercy, even in their good works. Here you papists shall prove your art, not only writing bulls, but answering to such sayings.

Thus I have shown above, in the first two articles, how all saints contend against their sinful flesh, and are still sinners as long as they live in the flesh, which contends against the Spirit [Gal. 5:17], therefore they serve God according to the Spirit, and sin according to the flesh [Rom. 7:25]. Therefore, if a godly person is both justified by the Spirit and sinful by the flesh, the work must certainly be like the person, the fruit like the tree. And as much as the Spirit has in the work, so much it is good; but as much as the flesh has in it, so much it is evil. For Christ says [Matt. 7:18.], "A good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree beareth evil fruit." Thus God always measures works according to the person, as Gen. 5, 4. f. says: "God regarded Abel and his sacrifice; but Cain and his sacrifice he regarded not." First: Abel and Cain, and then: their sacrifice. So here also, because the person is not completely pure, the work can never be completely pure. If the master is not completely good, the work can also never be completely good. Every work must be similar and equal to its master, as all reason and experience teach.

219 But whether they would say here, as they do: Yes, such impurity is not sin, but an imperfection and infirmity or defect, I answer, Certainly it is an infirmity and defect; but shall it not be sin?

I also want to say that murder and adultery are not sin, but only a defect and infirmity. But who has given you Papists authority to tear apart God's word, and to call such impurity of the good work infirmity, and not sin? Where is one letter of Scripture for you? Must we believe your bad dreams without scripture, and you will not believe our clear scriptures? Is it not known to everyone that before God nothing hinders but sin? as Isaiah says Cap. 59, 2: "Your sins have separated you from your God." If David says [Ps. 145:2] that even God's servants may not suffer His judgment, and no living man is justified before Him, then this infirmity must certainly be sin. And he who leaves no living man justified certainly counts those who walk in good works, unless they are not men nor living.

220 St. Augustine Confesses 9: "Woe to all human life, even if it is the most praiseworthy, if it is judged without mercy. Behold, the great heretic St. Augustine, how he speaks against this holy bull so insolently and sacrilegiously that he not only ascribes sin to the good life, but also condemns the very best life (which is undoubtedly in good works), if they are not helped by mercy, as if they were vain mortal sins. O! St. Augustine, do you not fear the most holy father Pabst? For this St. Gregory of St. Job says: "The holy man Job saw that all our good works are vain sins, if God judges them; therefore he says [Job 9:3]: "If anyone wants to be right with God, he cannot answer him one for a thousand." Who, you Gregori? Should you be allowed to say that all our good works are vain sin? You are under Pabst's ban, and a heretic, much worse than Luther, who only says that there are sins in all good works, and you make vain sin out of it. Oh, I see that you do not want to be exalted by the most holy father Pabst, whom you contradict, and make him a heretic and final Christian in this holy bull.

221. further speaks the same Gregorius Cap. eodem: We have now said it many times that

all human righteousness is found unrighteous when it is severely judged; therefore Job says [Cap. 9, 15]: "Even if I had done something righteous, I would not answer God to be right with him, but would plead with him as my judge." Now God's judgment is not wrong nor unjust, but true and just. If injustice is found in our righteousness, the same injustice must not be fictitious but real, and not only a defect or infirmity, but a damnable sin that hinders blessedness, unless mercy occurs and accepts and rewards the same works out of pure grace. If these sayings do not help my article, God will help it. So I would rather be damned with Isaiah, David, Solomon, Paulo, Augustino, Gregorio, than be praised with the pope, all bishops and papists, if the world were like pope, papists and bishops. O blessed who should die over the cause! Amen.

The thirty-second.

A good work done to the best of one's ability is still a daily sin.

222 This article follows clearly from the previous one. For David does not speak thus, "No living man is worthily rewarded before you;" but thus, "No living man is justified before you." Now "not being justified" is no other than being condemned. And Augustine does not say: Woe to some good life, but: Woe to the most excellent life, if it is judged without grace. The "woe" also means nothing but damnation. And St. Gregory does not say: All human righteousness will be imperfect, but: 1) Injustice will be found. Item, does not say: All good works are sinful, but: are sin itself. Therefore I must also revoke this article, and say thus:

A good work well done is a daily sin according to mercy, and a mortal sin according to the severe judgment of God. Behold, how does the Most Holy Father drive me to such whimsical contradictions by this bull, in which he

1) In the original: worthy.

They will not recognize their sin, themselves and God's judgment, and will not sigh for His mercy, but will run against God with the horns of hope set on them and blow themselves into the abyss of hell. Woe to you, final Christian!

The thirty-third.

Burning the heretics is against the will of the Holy Spirit.

I prove this first by experience. For up to now, from the beginning, the church has never burned a heretic, and will never do so again, even though there were many and various heretics in the past. Secondly, from their own words. For if a pope were a heretic or a bishop, they only depose him and do not burn him; as their own law teaches, which they want to have flowed from the Holy Spirit. Thirdly, they have no scripture about it, that they may show the will of the Holy Spirit.

But if they say, John Hus and Jerome of Prague were burned at Costnitz, I answer that I spoke of heretics. John Hus and Jerome, pious Christians, were burned by heretics, apostates and final Christians, the papists, for the sake of the Holy Gospel, as I said above. From which example the pope and his heretics have also burned several other pious Christians in other places; as it is proclaimed of the final Christian that he should push the Christians into the ovens. In this way Alexander Sextus, the pious man, had Hieronymum Savonarola, of the Order of Preachers, burned with his brothers in Florence. Such worship is now practiced by the Holy Church of the Papists, and it would be a pity that they should do something better.

226 Now Isaiah describes Cap. 2, 4. and 11, 6. ff. the Christian church ever without bloodshed, and says: "They shall turn their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks, and shall not kill nor slay in my holy mountain," that is, in Christendom; and Christ Luc. 9, 54-56. when the disciples wanted to command fire from heaven upon the city that would not receive him, he chastised them, saying: "Know ye, that I am your God.

not whose spirit's children ye are? the Son of man is not come to slay men, but to keep them." To these sayings the pope and papists should answer; so they boast of their sacrilege, want to force us to believe that it is enough that their mind and actions are right, even if it is against the Scriptures.

227 In spiritual law, too, it is strictly forbidden for the clergy to bear arms and weapons, and yet no one sheds more Christian blood than the most holy father, the pope. Now he feeds Christ's sheep with oxen, guns and fire, and is worse than the Turk; he confounds kings, princes, lands and cities; yet he is not a heretic, nor a Turk, nor a murderer, nor a tyrant, but Christ's governor, and gives indulgences, sends out embassies and cardinals to wage war against the Turk. And his papists excuse their idol and idolum thus: The pope does not fight, nor does he burn anyone, sits in his holy chair in Rome and prays, perhaps complements, but he gives the secular sword to war and to burn. This is like the Jews did, gave Christ to Pilate and the Gentiles to crucify, but they, like the great saints, also did not want to go into Pilate's house [Matth. 27, 2. Joh. 18, 28.], although St. Stephen Apost. 7, 52, called them murderers of Christ, and died because of it. So that I call the Pope the greatest murderer that the earth has borne from the beginning, who murders body and soul, I am, praise God! in his holiness and his papists' eyes a heretic.

So the last Babylon is the same as the first, and what the mother did too little, the daughter fulfills. The first Babylon also defended her faith only with fire and burned Christ's grandfathers, as Genesis 11:9 indicates. This Babylon of Rome burns Christ's children. For the evil spirit knows well that if the pope were to defend himself with writings, he would not remain for a moment, and would be found to be the right fundamental soup and the final Christian. Therefore, in order to defend himself against the Scriptures, he has taken fire and committed sacrilege, and now one Babylon is as pious as the other, and defies me, why I am so timid and do not come to Rome; just as if Christ had been courageous.

willingly ran to Anna's, Caiphas', Pilate's and Herod's house and killed themselves. I cried that it would be enough if I stood still, did not flee, and waited for them- where I am-until they took me, like Christ, and led me where they wanted to go; so I should run after them, and drive them to kill me: so cleverly do they pretend all things. Why are they not also so bold, and dissolve my writing; or come to me, and dispute me with their high art? Oh, let the blind be blind!

The thirty-fourth.

Fighting against the Turks is no different from striving against God, who punishes our sin through the Turk.

229 Oh, how shamefully the pope has led us astray for a long time with the Turkish dispute, deprived us of money, and destroyed so many Christians and caused misfortune. When will we recognize the devil's monkey game in the pope? How did his King Ladislaus of Hungary and Poland, with so many thousands of Christians, be hounded by the pope to the Turk and so miserably slain at Varna that he followed the pope and broke the oath he had made with the Turk before, out of his command. For to teach of oath-breaking, that the pope has power to break oath, is not heresy! How should the heretic become, who can do all the things he wants? Item: What misery has been caused in Hungary by the same Turkish war, started with Roman indulgences? We still have to remain blind to the pope.

Now, I have not written this article in such a way that we should not fight against the Turk, as the holy heretic, the pope, interprets to me here, but we should first mend our ways and make a merciful God, not plumply rely on the pope's indulgence, as he has seduced the Christians until now and still seduces them. For what it means to fight under an ungracious God, even against deserving enemies, is shown to us by the histories of the Old Testament, especially Joshua 7:4 and Nu. 20, 21. 25. and many more. The pope does no more with his cross, granting indulgences and promising heaven, than that he turns Christians' lives into death, their souls into the

Hell leads with great heaps, as befits the right final Christian. God does not ask for crosses, indulgences; he wants to have a good life. The pope comes forward with his own, more than anyone else, and still wants to eat the Turk. That is why we are so happy to fight against the Turk, because where he had one mile before, he now has a hundred miles of land. We do not yet see, but the Roman leader of the blind has caught us.

The thirty-fifth.

No one is certain that he will not always sin mortally, 1) for the sake of the most sinful vice of hope.

231. this article is clear enough from the one and thirty-second; for thus David saith [Ps. 143, 2.], "Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant; there is no man unjustified before thee." And Gregory in fine Moral: How can we always be blessed, if our evil works are all evil, and our good works are never all good? Item, Job 9, 21: "Though I were pious, yet my soul knows nothing of it." Item [Job 9:28, Vulg.], "I have feared in all my works, for I know thou spareest no sinner." On this St. Gregory speaks, as if the holy man should say, "What I have done publicly I see well, but what I have suffered secretly I do not know, that is, the secret hope no one can sufficiently recognize; as the same teacher says many times, by which all works defiled may not suffer God's right judgment, as also David says, Ps. 19, 13. "O Lord, make me clean from my secret sins, who can recognize them all?"

For this reason, I must revoke the article and now say: Let no one doubt that all our good works are mortal sin, if they are judged according to God's judgment and seriousness, and are not accepted as good by grace alone; so that the saying of St. Paul may stand [Rom. 11, 32. Gal. 3, 22.] Rom. 3, 19.: "The Scripture concludes us all under sin, so that all the world may become guilty before God", and recognize that

no one may be justified by good works, but that God has mercy on all and justifies by grace alone. This is the right Christian doctrine, by which a person learns to fear and trust God, so that he can love and praise God, so that he despairs of Himself, and by God's grace measure all that is good. Such love, praise and fear of God and faith the Pope intends to destroy with his papists, as he has done and does daily in all the world, as Micah 2:9 says: "You have taken my praise from them forever.

The thirty-sixth.

Free will, after the fall of Ada, or after the sin committed, is a vain name; and if it does its part, it sins mortally.

This article should be clear enough from the previous ones, because St. Paul says Rom. 14:23: "Everything that is not of faith is sin. Where then is freedom, if it can no more but sin of itself? Item, St. Augustin de spir. ei lit. o. 4.: The free will, without God's grace, is good for nothing but to sin. What do you say here, Pope? Is the free will good for nothing but evil? So you would also say that a man with a limp is straight, although he can do nothing but limp and never walk straight. This is just as if I were to say, "The pope is the most holy," when St. Paul [2 Thess. 2:3] calls him *hominem peccati et filium perditionis*; and Christ [Matt. 24:15] *abominationem*, the head of all sin and corruption. The papists have even perverted all the words, have brought up a new language, have mixed everything together, like the builders of Babylon [Gen. 11:7-9], the white must be called black, black must be called white, with unspeakable damage to Christianity.

234 St. Paul 2 Tim. 2, 25. f. says: "Instruct those who resist the truth, perhaps God will once give them repentance, that they may know the truth, and come back from the snares of the devil, by whom they are captives according to his will. Where is here the free will that is the devil's prisoner? not,

1) In the original: fund.

2) "von" set by us instead of "on" in the Wittenberg and in the Jena. Erlanger: "ahn".

that he does nothing, but that he does everything according to the will of the devil. Is this freedom, to be imprisoned according to the will of the devil, that there is no help, but God grant them repentance and correction? As he also says Joh. 8, 33, when the Jews said they were free, Christ said, v. 34.36: "He who commits sin is the servant of sin", or peculiar to sin. "If therefore the Son redeem you, ye shall be justly set free." Thus St. Augustine turns the little word "free will," contr. Jul. lib. 2, and calls it *servum arbitrium*, a captive will.

Item, Moses, Gen.6,5. and 8,21.: "All that the heart of man thinks about and considers and desires is no more than evil at all hours. Hear this, dear papists, Moses opens his mouth against you; what will you say to this? If there is a good thought or will in man at one hour, then we must reprove Moses, who evil chides all thoughts, all desires of the human heart at all hours. What kind of freedom is that, which is not more inclined to evil? And that we put an end to it:

It has been said more than once above: How pious, holy men, who live in God's strong grace, fight against their flesh with great difficulty and effort, and the flesh fights against grace with all its nature; is it not a great, blind error, then, that one may teach that the natural free will may turn to the spirit, seek and desire grace apart from grace, if it so nearly flies, even rage against it when it is present? What reason is not horrified by the fact that the spirit and the flesh are the two greatest enemies, and yet the flesh should desire and seek its enemy, the spirit, when everyone feels in himself how all powers are fighting against grace to drive it out and destroy it? That would be just as if someone said, "No one can tame a wild, raging animal with bands; but when it is loose, it tames itself and willingly goes into the bands.

Therefore, such doctrines are designed only for the disgrace and abortion of divine graces, and for the strengthening of sins and the increase of the devil's kingdom. The scripture calls man to be all flesh, Gen. 6, 5. Thus flesh is most contrary to the spirit, Gal. 5, 17.

Nor do they temper it among themselves that the free will, which is vain flesh, should seek the spirit.

238. and indeed the recklessness and blindness of the Pope and his followers would be tolerable in other matters; but in this main matter it is to be pitied that they are so senseless, for thereby they completely destroy all that we have from God through Christ, that St. Peter rightly proclaimed 2 Peter 2:1: "There will be false teachers among you, who will deny their Lord who bought them. Who is the Lord but Christ, who bought us with his own precious blood? [Who denies him more than those who give too little to his grace and too much to free will? For since they will not let that be sin and evil which is truly evil and sin, neither will they let that be grace which is grace, from which sin should be cast out. As he that will not be sick, let not the medicine be a medicine unto him.

And even if they were right, it would still be safer for them to let all the good of grace alone, and all our things be sin. It is without danger if I also confess a good work to God as sin, and seek his grace for it, which I cannot seek too much; but it is cruel driving if I confess a thought as good, which 1) would not be good. Because they seek the perilous ways, follow them and fight so hard, and leave the safe one, even persecute him, it is good to note that their doctrine is not godly, but quite suspicious.

For this reason I wish the word "free will" had never been invented, nor does it appear in Scripture, and would be called cheap self-will, which is of no use. Or, if one ever wants to keep it, one should interpret it to the newly created man, so that by it the man is understood who is without sin. He is certainly free, as Adam was in paradise, of whom also the Scripture speaks, where it touches our freedom. But those who are in sins are not free and are captives of the devil. But because they may yet become free by grace, you may call them volunteers, as

1) Thus Walch. In the other editions: "a thought . . the".
2) Original: into the.

you call a rich man who is a beggar and yet can become rich. But it is not right nor good to dice with words in such serious, great matters, for a simple-minded man is easily deceived by them, and such teachers are called sophists. Of which Sir. 34:12, 13: "I have heard many things from some words, and the usage of words is strange and wild, whereby I have come into deadly peril of my soul; but the grace of God hath delivered me." Therefore, one should avoid the sophists and, as the Scriptures do, speak plainly, clearly and loudly, especially about high, divine things. This error of free will is a peculiar article of the end-Christ; therefore it is no wonder that it has been driven so far into all the world, for the end-Christ is to deceive the whole world, as is written of him, and very few Christians are to be kept from him. *Vae illi!* [2 Thess. 2, 10. Revelation 12, 9.]

The thirty-seventh.

That there is a purgatory cannot be proved from the Scriptures, which are proven and credible.

I have never denied the existence of Purgatory, and I still hold it, as I have written many times, although I cannot prove it irrefutably in any way, either from Scripture or reason. I do find in the Scriptures that Christ, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Job, David, Ezekiel, and some more, tried hell in their lives, which I consider to be purgatory; and it is not incredible that some dead people suffer the same. Taulerus also says much about it. And recently, I have decided that it is a purgatory, but I cannot decide any other.

242 I have only contested the fact that they lead so uneven sayings of the Scriptures to it, that [it] is immediately shameful to hear. Namely, Psalm 66:12: "We have passed through fire and water," as the whole psalm sings of the sufferings of the saints, whom no one can put into purgatory. Item, St. Paul 1 Cor. 3, 13-15. speaks of the fire on the last day: it will test the good works, and through it some will be saved, even if their works are damaged, because they keep the faith. From this fire make

they also have a purgatory, as they are accustomed to tear up the Scriptures and make of them what they will.

243 Thus also the saying is drawn with the hair, where Christ says Matth. 12, 32: "Whoever speaks a word of shame in the Holy Spirit, it will not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the next. So that Christ wills, it shall never be forgiven him, as also Marc. 3, 29. declares the same opinion, saying, "He that sinneth in the Holy Ghost with words of shame hath no forgiveness for ever," but is guilty of an eternal sin. Although St. Gregory also interprets the word Matth. 12 as meaning that some sins will be forgiven in that world, St. Marcus does not allow such an interpretation and is more valid than all teachers.

I have said all this so that we may know that no one is guilty of believing more than is founded in Scripture, and that those who do not believe in Purgatory are not to be called heretics, if they otherwise hold the Scriptures in their entirety, as the Greek Church does. For that I believe that St. Peter and St. James are holy, the Gospel compels me; but that St. Peter is buried in Rome, and St. James in Compostel, and lies there, there is no need to believe, because the Scriptures do not report this. Item, that I consider none of the saints to be holy, whom the pope raises, is without sin, and the saints are not angry about it; since there are many saints in heaven, whom we do not know whether they are anything, keep silent about them, and are not angry about it, nor do they consider us heretics because of it. The pope with his sect plays such a game, that he only teaches many wild articles of the faith, while the right articles of the Scriptures are silenced and suppressed.

245 But that they refer to the book 2 Macc. 12, 43, how Judas Maccabaeus sent money to Jerusalem to pray for the slain in the conflict, does not conclude. For the same book is not among the books of sacred Scripture; and as Saint Jerome says, it is not found in the Hebrew tongue, in which all the books of the Old Testament are found. Also, the same book has little faith otherwise. For it is contrary to the first book of Maccabaeorum, in which

King Antiochus description [1 Macc. 6, 4-16. 2 Macc. 1, 2. ff., Cap. 9] and has many more fables that take away his faith. And even if it is already valid, it would still be necessary, in such a large article, that even at least a saying from one of the main books would come to his aid, so that all speech would be in the mouth of two or three witnesses [2 Cor. 13:1. Matth. 18:16]. It is suspicious that on this article alone in the whole Bible not more than one sentence should be found, moreover in the least, most despised book, if it is so great and so much attached to it, that the papacy and the whole priesthood are almost built on it, and all have their goods and honor from it, and without doubt that more parts would die of hunger, where purgatory would not be. One should not give our faith such a loose and weak foundation!

The thirty-eighth.

The souls in purgatory are not sure of their blessedness, to speak of all. Nor is it proven by Scripture or reason that they no longer deserve nor increase the love of God.

The thirty-ninth.

The souls in purgatory sin without ceasing, seeking rest and fleeing torment.

The fortieth.

The souls taken out of purgatory, through the intercession of the living, have less reward than if they had done enough themselves.

246 I have only disputed these three articles on school law, often stating that it is my discretion, but I know of no reason to indicate anything certain about it. And what I think of it may be read in my *Resolutionibus*. But that the papists and bullists condemn me therein, and set no other cause than their own wanton conceit, puffed up without Scripture and reason, and in addition do not answer my Scripture and reason, I do not allow myself to dispute; I despise their mere condemnation as highly as they despise my reason and cause. The pope with his bullists know less of these things than the rude block that lies there.

247. so my advice is that no one let him put the pope new articles, but

I will gladly remain ignorant with St. Augustine about what the souls in purgatory are doing and what is happening to them. It is enough that you know how they are in great, unbearable torment and desire your help.

But if you ever want to argue about it, let it remain a delusion and good opinion, as I do. Do not make articles of faith out of your thoughts, as the abomination of Rome does, lest perhaps your faith become a dream. Stick to the Scriptures and God's word; there is truth, there you will be sure; there is faith and belief, whole, pure, sufficient, and lasting.

The last [article].

The ecclesiastical prelates and secular princes would not do badly to wipe out all the beggar sacks.

In this article Johann Eck has been the holy spirit of the pope, yes, in the whole bull, who probably lies as reluctantly as he seldom babbles, so that this holy spirit may be like the teacher, and one knave like the other. I did not say about prelates and princes, but when I wanted it not to be a mendicant order. I still say that, and with me many pious people, amen.

449 Luther's report to Spalatin on the above scripture, which he considers better than the Latin one.

See Appendix, No. 58, 8 1 and No. 59, ? 1.

450 Protective letter of Christ our Lord for M. Luther to the city of Rome.

From Kapp's Nachlese, Vol. II, p. 481, where it is printed from Spalatin's autograph. This writing is also directed against Leo X's bull.

Translated from the Latin by Joh. Frick.

1. you call me to stand up and judge my cause, just as if I were completely satisfied with your cause. You deceive yourself if you think I am the same as you. I will punish you and put it before your eyes [Ps. 50:21]. This, I say, I will put under your eyes, what I myself and the one who was sent by me have done.

I have chosen Paul to teach you, namely humility, gentleness, temperance and peace, but not arrogance, tyranny, indulgence and war. List just one of the virtues that Paul commanded. Can you say that you are free from one vice, from which Peter and Paul have an abhorrence? Thou sayest, my Martin reproach upon thee with an empty and unfounded cry. But if the cry of the tyranny of Count Jerome 1) had been unfounded, the nine peasants whom he had hanged for the sake of a single hunting dog would have lived longer, and Florence would have remained free from treachery. If it had been an empty talk of the brother Peter, the Cardinal Sixti, and of his splendor and expense, the verses would not have been sung of him at Rome:

*Sancta supervacuum dederat mi Roma galerum.
Haec Petrum nivei marmoris urna tenet. Plorat
Sylvetus; plorat Tyresia et agnus.*

Hic leno; haec meretrix; ille cinaedus erit.

What is said about the virtues or vices of Caesar is also true. The whole world has heard about his life, as well as that of his father, Alexander VI, which was led against my teachings and regulations, and strangers from all nations and kingdoms have noticed his company with women in the jubilee year, which is not at all suitable for my vicarium. Greater and more frightening things have been told by Johann Franciscus Sutrius, who administers the oratory in you. There are people who speak publicly of Julius' lechery and lust, and say that young boys danced around with completely naked girls before his holiness. You refer to the sayings of my prophets. I have other prophets, one of whom proclaimed [Isa. 5:8, 11, 12], "Woe to them that set house against house, and bring one field to another, until there be no more room, that they alone may possess the land. Woe to those who rise up early in the morning to drink, and sit up till night, so that the wine heats them up. And have harps, psalteries, kettledrums, pipes, and wine, in their good life, and look not to the work of the Lord." Another of my prophets broke out into the words [Bar. 3, 16. 17.]: "Where are the princes of the Gentiles, who play with the birds of the air, who gather silver and gold, on which the

Do you put your trust in people, and can never be satisfied with them? You could also have gone into yourself long ago, after other teachings and punitive sermons of some of my good friends, who recently pulled through your vices.

3 You could have read the 85th Sermon; the *Franciscum Petrarcham, Joannem Campanum, Bernhardum Ludolfum, Joannem Picum, Philelphum, Volaterranum, Paccensis speech on the death Innocentii VIII, Baptistam Mantuanum in Sylvis, Fastis, de calamitatibus, in prima Parthenice, in eclogis*; the Platina at the very most Oertern, You never took care of the taken away city Constantinople, and were unconcerned that you would bring it back to me. And although you have always reported the Crusades in the Indulgence Bulls many years after each other, and have made the resolution to drive out the enemies of truth from the alms of the poor and simple, to what end has the money that you sent with you been distributed? Where is the treasure left behind by Paul II and Julius II? Where is the astonishing sum of money, which you are in the habit of spending every hour in all human affairs (you do not fail anything, where only money is seen)? But you will have to give an account of your business one day. You cannot deceive me. You will not escape my judgment, even if you win because of the simplicity of my sons, as an ambitious city.

451 Letter from an unnamed man to Spalatin concerning the *Apologia Christi pro Luthero*; also some *collectanea* from Rome and the Roman popes 2c. which should be presented to Aleander.

From Kapp's Nachlese, Vol. II, p. 496.

Translated into German by Joh. Frick.

To Duke of Saxony, Friedrich, court preacher, Georgium Spalatinum, or in his absence to Herr Ulrich Hutten.

I have long since sent Christ's letter of protection for Luther against the Eckische Bulle, and I would like to know if you have received it. Be well and commend me to Frederick, your prince. I am

Yours, as well as his.

1) It is this Jerome Aleander (Walch). -

Hochstraten's pupil, Brother P. H., of the Predicant Order, to Brother Petrum, N. Order.

I am frightened when I think of what I have seen, heard, and know for certain here, namely, of the villainies, wickedness, deceit, cunning, ungodliness, abominations, heresies, blasphemies, and where I did not firmly believe in divine providence, I would almost think that along with divine laws, human laws would also be completely banished from the city.

This has been written in truth from Rome itself. God is witness. Bertold, Archbishop of Mainz, convened a Provincial Synod for the glory of God; soon, however, when he was betrayed by the courtiers, he received from the Pope an atrocious decree, how he would dare to establish a Provincial Synod without the prior knowledge of the Pope.

Pabst Eußenius incited the Dauphin in France, Louis, against the assembly in Basel, so that he also devastated almost all of Alsace. Read about it at Platina.

It is common for the adultery of a wife to become known throughout the neighborhood or city before the husband can believe it. In the same way, the vices of the city of Rome have become known throughout the world before she herself is convinced of her own abominable stains. So great is her blindness; so evidently has the divine grace, which she is not at all disposed to recover, departed from her. The mendicant monks usually go through everything in sermons, but they remain silent about it. For, if Rome were to fall, their freedoms and powers, the mendicancy forbidden to the priests in the past, would also be lost.

From Spalatin's Autographo.

The following pieces are to be advanced to the
Aleander:

I. When the Duke of Pomerania returned from the city [Rome] and was asked what he thought of it, he answered that the city was indeed large, but completely full of arrogant preachers.

II. Theodoretus Arides, later bishop, ... said: soon after his arrival, a Jewish arrival registered for baptism; and when asked about the reason, answered: because your God can see through the fingers of great sins. I heard this myself from Theodoreti's mouth.

III. to Ascanius, duke's ... Brother, who

When Ascanius confessed to everything, if he could prepare a love potion, a clever Jew promised 1) to procure it, if he would get the blood of two Christian children. Ascanius then bought two boys from a beggar woman, had them killed, and gave them to the Jew to burn to powder. This was said by George, Ge. Ascanii's trusted friend, with whom he had been acquainted at the time when eating meat was forbidden; and when he heard that he had been given a red hat, he burst into the words: For the sake of God and man's faithfulness, is this a cardinal? That's what George told me.

IV. Caesar, a son of Alexander VI, as he was collecting money for the army, said to his face: You poltro, *) give so and so much 1000, if you do not want to be stabbed by me with the dagger. From the mouth of Eliä von Westhofen.

*) What this word is supposed to mean, has not been guessed, therefore one must leave it only Latin. In the 6th History, where this word also occurs, it seems to go to the Cardinals. (Walch. It will be Frick's comment.)

V. The archbishop in Hungary wrote to a certain widow that she should not send her sons to Rome. One of them had already left for Rome, and he wanted to send the other brothers there as well. When the archbishop found out about this son, he wrote: he asks for the wounds of Christ, that she should not let him or the other sons go there, but send them to him in Hungary, where he would take care of them honestly. I have translated the archbishop's letter for the widow.

VI A Latin Saracen, who had been in Rome for a long time, decided to leave that place. And when he was asked why he did not want to be baptized first, he answered: "I do not like your religion, because out of 24

poltronibus, or cardinals, you choose one whom you worship as a god. From the mouth of Thomä Volphii.

VII Alexander VI, now elected Pope, when Julianus, Cardinal *de vincula Petri*, took his hand to kiss it, 'as other Cardinals have done, he put his thumb between his index and middle finger, pointing to the borders of Italy. From the mouth of Jacobi Brunn.

George Spalatino.

Ulrich Hutten did it.

1) The old edition offers: "Ascanius, Duke's... brother, promised a clever Jew, who confessed to everything, if he could prepare a love potion" 2c. Because this makes no sense at all, and we lack a model, we have changed it to make some sense.

C. Of the publication of the papal dulle by Eck and the great difficulties that occurred in the process.

1. what difficulties Eck has found.

a. At the publication in Leipzig.

Excerpt from a letter from Carl von Miltitz to the Elector, dated October 3, 1520, in which he gives news of Eck's arrival in Leipzig, of his grandiloquent threats, and how badly he had been received by the students.

This letter is found in Cyprian's useful documents on the history of the Reformation, vol. I, p. 438 ff; our excerpt in Seckendorf, 8i8t. I)utü., lib. I, p. 116, 8 75 translated into Latin. From this translation, the same is retroverted into German in the German Seckendorf and recorded by Walch with the wrong address: "an Fabian von Feilitzsch" and the wrong date: "October 2, 1520. We give here the excerpt according to Cyprian, where the letter is dated "Wednesday after Michaelmas. The whole letter is already printed Col. 777 in this volume: this excerpt Col. 778 f.

I rose to ride to Leipzig, so I found Doctorem Echium with a great shouting and throbbing; did not refrain from asking him as a guest to learn what his intentions and will were. He drank 1) flux and recklessly, started talking about his orders, how he wanted to learn Doctor Martinum. With very pointed words he said that he had had the Papal Bull published and posted in Meissen on the 21st day of September, in Merseburg on the 25th, in Brandenburg on the 29th, and gave me a copy of the same Bull, which I am sending to Your Electoral Grace. Graces. And with his bulla he has a great splendor. He lies in the escort. My gracious lord, Duke Jürge [Georg], has written to a council that a gilded chalice is to be given to him and many florins (gold) in it. Not considering the escort and his bull, good pious children have now on the day of 2) Michaelmas posted his note] 3) in ten places, which I have also sent a copy to Your Electorate. Gn. also a copy, and threatened next to it, [so] that Echius had to flee to the monastery of St. Paul, and must not let himself be seen. Has

1) In Cyprian: "he traugt", a misprint instead of: trangk.

2) Cyprian: "the" instead of: the.

3) Supplemented according to Seckendorf.

complained about this to Mr. Caesar Pflugk, Mr. Caesar ordered the Rector to issue a mandate against those who plague Echium of these dimensions, which was done; that I also send one to Your Elector! Grace also one; has helped nothing. They have made a song of him and sing it in the street. He is highly troubled, his courage and throbbing are gone. They write him enemy letters 4) to the monastery every day, and deny him body and soul. There are also over fifty 5) students from Wittenberg, who make themselves useless to him; he has also let a booklet against Doctor Martinum go out today, which I send to Your Elector four copies. Gn. four copies. The gray monk has also had printed against Martinum. 6) No more than one quatern has been printed, which I am sending to Ew. Gn. also send.

Luther's report of this to Spalatin, in which, according to his Christian mind, he does not wish Eck to perish, but that his attempts be thwarted.

See Appendix, No. 40, § 4.

Luther's report to Wenceslaus Link that the bull at Leipzig had been soiled with excrement and torn, as well as at Torgau and Döbeln.

See Appendix, No. 60, § 2.

Luther's report on this matter to Spalatin is identical.

See Appendix, No. 61, 82.

b. In the publication at Wittenberg and in the "lands" of the Elector and Duke John.

456 D. Joh. Eck's letter to the University of Wittenberg, with which he delivers the papal bull brought from Rome. Leipzig, October 3, 1520, when he immediately fled during the night for fear of the students via Freiberg.

This letter is found in Latin in the Jena edition (1579), tom. II, II. 469. German in the Witten-

4) Cyprian: "fintz briff"; Seckendorf: Fehdebriefe.

5) At Seckendorf: one hundred and fifty.

6) Meant is Alveld's tractatus de communione sud utra^u 8P6616 Quantum ad laicos. (Seidemann's "Miltitz," p. 28.)

berger (1569), vol. IX, p. 96b; in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 315 b; in her Altenburger, vol. I, p. 511 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 316.

To the Rector magnificus and the other Regents of the University of Wittenberg, his ever-honoring masters.

Hail in the Lord Jesus! I am sending you, Rector magnificus and most worthy fathers, by order of our most holy Lord, the Pope, a copy of the bull, printed in Rome, with a seal and a public notary's signature, the contents of which your dignities will diligently investigate. As far as I am concerned, however, and the order which is imposed on me against my will, I ask you for God's sake to obey and execute this bull, so that the articles which are condemned and rejected therein may not be publicly taught or spoken by anyone who is subject to your university 2c. Otherwise, according to the bull, our most holy Lord would be urged to proceed with the deprivation of all liberties granted by the apostolic see, with incapacity to hold a university 2c., which you should prevent for the sake of the true Christian religion and your honor. But that by papal command I have placed Carlstadt and Dolschius 1) next to Martinus, you shall hear that it was not done by me without noticeable cause. But if they recognize the church as a mother and are willing to renounce all heresy, I will gladly and kindly accept them, and absolve them by special power given to me by the pope, and deliver them from the penalties into which they have fallen. But if they harden themselves, which is far, they shall be punished with deserved penance, and you shall not keep them in your university after the end of the term, with penance, expressed in the bull. As for me, I would rather do something favorable to your university than do something unfriendly. I commend myself to your excellence. Given at Leipzig, on the third day of October, in the year of grace 1520.

Your Magnificence and worthy Lords willing Corner,
Apostolic Nuncio and Orator.

1) The Wittenbergers and the Jenaers write: Dolsthen, with the marginal gloss: Veltkirch. It is Johann Doltsch of Feldkirch. Cf. Seckendorf, List. Uutili, in the supplement of the first Inäxx, Xo. XXI. in the Latin Jenaer, torn. I, col. 473, he signs: UöltW Vsltkireli.

457: The Elector Frederick of Saxony's response to the report of the bull sent by Peter Burckhard, then Rector of the University of Wittenberg. Dated at Homberg in Hesse, November 18, 1520.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 100; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 353; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 539; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 378.

By the Grace of God Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.

Our greeting before. Esteemed, dear, faithful one! We have received your letter, which was recently delivered to us at Cologne, with notification of what letters have come to you from D. Ecken in the matter of Doctoris Martini Luther 2c., and have heard all the contents. We do not want to reassure you that nothing has reached us about this before; but recently, before we departed for Cologne, the message of papal holiness, namely Marinus Caracciolus and Jerome, called Aleander, acted with us on account of papal holiness on a letter concerning the Doctoris Martini mentioned; and you will hear from the enclosed copy how this action has been carried out everywhere. Whether anything further will reach us because of this, that shall remain undisclosed to you.

We would be well inclined to inform you of our intentions in this matter; however, something has happened to us in the meantime that prevents this. We have also asked the messenger whether you would further report the matter. We do not want to leave this unopened in your gracious opinion. Date at Homberg in Hesse, on the 18th day of November, Anno 1520.

To the highly learned, our faithful, Peter Burckhard,
Doctor and Rector of our University of Wittenberg.

458 Veit von Warbeck's letter of reply to the Elector Prince John Frederick of Saxony, in which he expresses his joy that this excellent prince is learning to recognize the good cause, and also asks him not to refuse Luther and not to let him move away from Wittenberg, but to protect him constantly and to write to him. October 22, 1520.

Sublime Highborn Prince, my entire submissive and obedient dinst are E. F. G. before beraidt.

Dear Sir, E. F. G.'s letter, dated Sunday after Dionysius, received by me on Sunday Ursula, I have read in all confidentiality, from which I understand E. F. G.'s effort in Doctor Martinus' matter. Oh, God be praised and honored, that E. F. G. will take such a challenge, as if unborn, against Doctor Martinus, heartily and comfortably. I have this hope in God, that he will not abandon his own, as at times we have been threatened, we poor people have been abandoned, but this is only from God, to call upon him for divine mercy.

Noble Prince and Lord. As I suspected that E. F. G. would receive the bulls from the corner, I did not hear (such), and I am not a bit relieved that he would have been so bold as to answer such to E. F. G. (But there is nothing too bad). (But Im nothing to vill.) Dan he will have it for it, E. F. G. sey cruelly denounced by the Bapst D. M. zu meyden. Regardless of this, E. F. G. thinks of the damage that the above-mentioned Doctor Martinus of Wittenberg has done to the laudable university there. Hereby E. F. G. is obliged to defend the same, also, as a German prince, all privileged persons of the same, since all your consolation stands on E. F. G., so that the same is not only a privileged person, but also a privileged person of the same, since all your consolation stands on E. F. G., so that the same is a privileged person of the same. F. G., if the same were to be withdrawn, it might not be good.

E. F. G. should also write D.M. himself, it will not make E. F. G. a small praise, the lon will E. F. G. on zweyfell von GOtt empfaehen.

Noble Prince and Sir. The copy sent to me by E. F. G. in charge of my most noble Lord, I have read with great pleasure. In which E. F. G. has heartily and confidently advised me to protect the innocent as well. My most noble lord has also not received a little joy from it, think also his Churf^G. will not pass E. F. G. on antwort.

E. F. G. I am aware that my most noble lord has become a little weak here, and has caused his elector to remain here, and has ordered his elector to be crowned, and the entry is to take place today, and the coronation tomorrow. As Your Majesty has diligently urged My Lord to be pleased to have his Curf. It has not been possible, and all the other princes have moved to Ach, and as long as they say, the coronation shall take place here, but the people of Ach have thus made a great deal of trouble with the finances, namely XM. fl. as they say, so that it will not happen there, but rather that it will take place tomorrow.

with them. There might also be something about it, that the Colognians would not have liked to see it happen in Cologne, since he has not yet ridden in, they do not want to let him in with the power, but if he rides in like a bishop, they must let it go.

However, it is said that after the crowning, His Royal Majesty will come here with 2c. along with other surges.

The Holy Roman Emperor has also sent his own post to my most noble lord and has requested that, if His Majesty's Supreme Leader requires a physician, His Royal Highness shall not be shy about it, but shall be willing to send the same to His Royal Highness.

However, His Royal Highness has again replied that His Royal Highness should keep them for himself, as the readers are thus. I would also have liked to send E. F. G. the German bull, but Magister Spalatinus cannot bring the printers to Cologne. Doctor M. will not forget us, but the scholars do not like to see it translated into German, because they fear that the common man will understand how to deal with the matter, but if it is printed, I will send it to E. F. G. in the most expedient way. Herewith, I am grateful to you as a poor chaplain. Date Cologne Monday after Ursula [Oct. 22], anno 1520.

E.C. F. G.

vnderteniger Capellan Veit Warbeck.

459. D. Joh. Eck's letter from Coburg, where he fled from Freiberg, to Duke Johann of Saxony, with a copy of the bull, and notification that he has publicized it in Meissen, Merseburg and Brandenburg, and that such bishops have promised to obey it; at the same time, he encloses a copy of the papal breve to Chursachsen found above, No. 439, and asks to wait in Bamberg for a while for an answer. Dated

Oct. 6, 1520.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 97; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 316; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 511; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 317.

Sublime, highborn prince! Your Princely Grace finds my subservient willing services ready with diligence beforehand, together with my

n a poor prayer to God. Gracious Prince and Lord, Papal Holiness, after great diligence, has, through the most learned men in Rome, held up Doctor Martinus Luther's teachings and doctrines, in the College of Cardinals, and since it has thus been found that some articles have long since been condemned in the Holy Councils, are much erroneous, seductive and vexatious, for which reason His Holiness has issued a Bull, as I am sending the credible copy to E. F. G., and have also had the same published by me in Meissen, Merseburg and Brandenburg. F. G., also had the same, and also managed to publicize it through me in Meissen, Merseburg and Brandenburg, as was done through me, also the bishops, as is well due to their reverend and graces, out of required obedience, offered to comply with the bull and papal mandate, and to do so. However, if Luther and his followers abstain under the most noble, highborn Elector, and E. F. G. to the good of the Christian Church, they will be punished. F. G. for the good of the Christian faith and unity, also that the pious Christians are not seduced by false learning, Papal Holiness has especially sent E. F. G.'s brother, the Most Serene Elector, also E. F. G. an admonition to this effect, requesting your help for this as Christian princes, as E. F. G. will further hear from the letter enclosed here. And although I myself would have liked to hand this over personally to E. F. G., the same rode ahead when I came to Coburg, and I also, for lack of horses, left those with the servants on the way, thus without servants and proper clothing, I did not want to go before E. F. G., whom I was quite willing to serve with the greatest diligence. However, if E. F. G. desires further instruction on the matter, I will remain in Bamberg with the suffragan bishop. If something comes to me in writing, I will decide according to my possible diligence. Hereupon I ask with all humility that E. F. G. will not accept my letter, and all this I have done, in disgrace, if I do this alone for the good of the faith, with much effort, work and expense. For to be in E. F. G.'s service, I wanted to be unsaved, hereby commanding E. F. G.. Date the 6th of October, Anno 1520.

E. F. G.

subservient chaplain

Johann Mair 1) from Eck,

Nuncius Apostolicus.

1) So the Jena; the Wittenberg offers: "Maior".

460 A letter of reply from the learned councilors of Wittenberg to Duke John concerning the bull sent by Doctor Eck, in which they advise him to delay the reply and the publication of the bull. Date Wittenberg, October 23, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 476.

Sublime, highborn' Prince! E. F. G. his our quite untertenig willing services before, gnediger prince and her. We have received your F. G. letter in addition to the breve and copies of the said official bull, Doctor! Martinum Luther, we have heard its contents, and we ask Your Lordship in secret to know that such a copy has been brought to our 2) University shortly before by courtesy, for which reason the University is considered good by you and your brother, our most gracious Lord the Elector 2c, since his Lordship has already sent us a copy. Gn. immediately Jtzundt bey Ro. Kl. M., and to use it urgently first of all to E. F. G., then to the most revered 3) our most gracious lord the Elector a special offer delivered, also at the same offer your both Electors and f. g. of the University consider what is to be done therein, with sent over according to this enclosed cedulum, special doubt, such would have formerly come to your churl. and f. g., from which your f. g. council is to recover. However, since we now note that E. f. g. has received a sunderlig writ, as one would say, of official sanctity, in which E. f. g. will be charged 4) with bad debts. 4) is urged, with words unworthy of our esteem, to provide the said doctor, at the time he was taken in disobedience, to be imprisoned and sent in, where he would not resist, we respect, that still a loss and declaration will go out against the said doctor after the expiry of the same time, to which still much time, effort and work belong, hoping that in the meantime, upon consultation of both brothers, and f.g., and with the help of the other, it will be possible for the doctor to be released. g. and with the help of the others, may be directed to other ways. E. f. g. at our discretion, according to the opportunity of the writing, given to e. f. g., together with that, that the same so cunningly to come quietly and without proof, with the answer and otherwise, on harm want contents: because we then on further process

2) Cyprian: ours.

3) Cyprian: highly thought of.

4) "is" put by us instead of: "at and" in Cyprian. - "unschedelichen", if otherwise the reading is correct, would like to mean as much as: not mihzudeutenden.

and to request E. f. g. and the same land and property councils to inform us that we are wholeheartedly willing E. f. g. to hereby bevelende. Date Wittenberg Tuesday after the Eilftausent Jungkfrauen tagk [23 October] Anno xv c In xx.

E. F. G.

Subjects quite willing

Wolfgang Stehlen, 1)

Hieronymus Schürft and Christian
Beyer, Doctores.

To Mr. Johansen Hertzogen zu Sachften.

461 Letter from Hans von Taubenheim to von Einsiedel and other electoral advisors, in which he reports that he does not intend to allow the bishop of Brandenburg to display the papal bull in Wittenberg. Date Wittenberg, the

January 14, 1521.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 517.

My most willing, strictest, most favorable lords and freemen, I wish to order that Duke Albrecht of Meckelburg be accepted and granted alongside the Margrave. The bishop of Brandenburg has been asked by the governor how he would like the bishop of Brandenburg, if he were to come to Wittenberg with the Margrave, to have the bull, such as Doctor Martinus, announced and proclaimed, whereupon I have left with the burgomaster, first of all, after the Margrave and other princes with a large number have come to Wittenberg, that he, to avert all kinds of danger, should appoint some of the burghers to the council, Secondly, that he should not fail to order the places where it is most improper to charge the bullets with soldiers, and that, if anyone should refuse to charge the bullets, he should let them be told in good faith to continue charging the bullets until they have told their lords. In addition, the bishop of Brandenburg should be addressed by the presidents here, and asked on their behalf to stand still with the execution, and in the absence of their lord, who is at this time before Rome. Keys. Mas. before the Diet of Worms, his Lordship in the land, not to provoke any anger or embarrassment that might result from it. If, however, his lordship

In lands, which may not be let down with equity, his Lordship, as a praiseworthy Christian surfer, will know how to keep all equity. And if such an argument would not convince the bishop of Brandenburg to relinquish his appointment, unless the appointed authorities, for their own sake, consider such a matter differently, and if I, before the time of your consideration, also have the right to it, and want to follow it, then the execution shall not be given to him, and we shall also be obliged to do the work; as much as possible shall be done, and with the proviso that such removal shall be taken for no other cause than to prevent further loss and damage, and as the word shall give. Therefore, my dear sir, if this will be done, as mentioned, if it is possible and seen, let me know your meaning. There is no one here with whom I could obtain sound advice. Doctor Heynig 2) is very grateful. With this I ask you as my great favorable lord. Datum ey lens Wittenberg Montag nach octauas trium Regum [14 Jan], Anno Domini 1521.

I send here Doctor Martinus bücheleyn wyder den Emser. 3)

Hanß von Thawbenheyn.

c. At the publication in the diocese of Naumburg-Zeitz.

462: D. Joh. Eck's letter to the official at Zeitz, D. Schmidberg, that he should publicize the bull against Luther in the Naumburg diocese. Leipzig, October 1, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 178.

Translated into German.

To the venerable father, the most reverend Lord Bishop of Naumburg Official, his ever-honoring Lord.

Hail! During the past winter, our most holy Lord had highly learned men in Rome examine Luther's teachings in many disputations, conversations and writings. Since they were in

2) This is Doctor Henning Göde. Compare No. 65 in the appendix of this volume.

3) This will be Luther's writing "An den Bock zu Leipzig". This results in a somewhat earlier going out of the same than was assumed in the 18th volume of the St. Louis edition (end of January).

1) In his introduction Cyprian calls him: Stehelin.

In this way, His Holiness summoned the College of Cardinals, and after a diligent and sharp investigation of the matter, finally, as the governor of Christ and the head of the entire Christian world, 1) issued a pronouncement so that the faithful might recognize what is in accordance with the truth and what is in conflict with it. Therefore, although against my will, he has ordered me to publish this bull in certain countries, as is contained more extensively in the order issued by his Holiness concerning this matter. Accordingly, by virtue of the authority given to me by the Apostolic See, of which I hereby avail myself and obey the orders of said See, I send you, venerable father, the most reverend Lord Bishop of Naumburg Official, whose place you now represent in spiritual matters in his absence, a copy of this Bull printed in Rome and provided with the seal of a prelate and the signature of a notary, and command you in the name of our most holy Lord, and remind you of your duty, that you publish the said bull, and also earnestly command all elders, prelates, archdeacons, lay priests and religious in the Naumburg diocese, that they likewise publish it, and with all seriousness take care that the erroneous Lutheran writings are destroyed by fire; whereby you will have to proceed against the unruly and disobedient, according to the contents of the bull, or report them to the apostolic see. Hereby you will undoubtedly render the obedience due to God and a useful service to the Holy Church. And although I have no doubt that you will all obey this apostolic decree, since you are bound, even without the pope's command, to eradicate error for the sake of your souls' salvation, the pope, if you do not obey his command, must, according to his justice, deal harshly with you and your most reverend lord bishop and cast his complete disfavor upon you. From this you will guard yourselves in a holy way and put into action what you have been commanded to do, which will bring honor to your most reverend lord and to you, for other bishops in your neighborhood have also promised to do this as soon as possible. Your excellence, to whom I commend this matter of faith and myself, be well. From Leipzig on Oct. 1, in the year of the Lord 1520.

Your most humble Johann Eck, Nuncio and Orator of the Apostolic See.

463 Letter from the governor and the bishop's councilors at Zeitz to the electoral governors and councilors, in which they request information as to whether they should publicize the bull sent by Eck. Date Zeitz, 20 Oct. 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 460.

Our willing dinste before, Ernvhesten, gestrengen, Vhesten, especially favorable friends. We give you to know, that a Bebestliche bulla zusampt doctor ecken Schrift, nach vormogen bei vorwarther copien, 2) Thomas forster bürger zü Zeitz, dem bürgermeister schmid des orths zu überantworten, der diese brieffe an gepürliche stelle wohl verfügen würde, by Nickeln wilden, the wheel of Leipzk's dyner, almost cunning weyse there, as then 3) forster stated in his duties, which the notary of the bishop's court here unfinished at the gaffen, when the said forster wanted to hand them over to the mayor, caught them and handed them over in the presence of the cantzler, ern Casparn Thann, as administrator of the Constsistorii, who broke down and read out the certified writs in the presence of the notary, from which it was found that he did not want to do anything in this regard, therefore he handed over such writing to the city governor with a reminder of its contents, wherewith this action has become something so laupar [readable]. From this we find and note that the ways of the right, ordered for such matters, doctori corners to wander did not pass, nor sems bevehls, so in this matter, to present, nor vorstendiget, nor, as is proper and evident, has he received a report from him, and yet he wants to bring this matter to his own attention and to our attention, because of the disappearance of the holy father of the bishop and the doctor. But so that we do not act too much nor too little, because in the presence of our gracious lord in the matter of the bishopric wheel and help to the most illustrious highborn prince and lord Friderich, duke of Saxony, archmarshal of the holy roman empire, elector, landgrave in Doringen and margrave of Meissen 2c., Our noble lord, as the most high-minded of our noble lord's beloved Lord and father, consecrated by his princely graces, and it is not possible for us in such a case to request his electoral graces. Therefore, in the presence of His Royal Grace, it is for our

1) Instead of urbis, read orbis.

2) That is: according to the content of the enclosed copy.

3) Cyprian: "as he then"

We kindly and graciously request your advice and consideration, as you then know how to do in praise of God, and do not neglect to do such things for the good of your country and your people. Without doubt, our kind lord will be inclined to blame you for this, so we will be willing to deserve it as against our dear friends. Date Saturday after St. Luce [Oct. 20] Anno XVC XX.

Stathalter unnd Rette zu Tzeitzs.

To the most noble, strict and most noble electoral governors and saviors, itzo at Eilenburg vorsamelt, unnserenn special gonstigen friends.

464 The answer given by the Electoral Council in the absence of the Elector to the governor and councilors at Zeitz concerning D. Eck's bull, to the effect that this matter is too difficult for them, as unlearned scholars, and therefore they want to consult the Electoral Councilors at Wittenberg about it.

Date Eilenburg, October 22, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 462.

Our willing frl. Dinst previously strict Best Respectable and highly honored special good friend. We have read the contents of the eighty letters which you have sent to us, in the form in which they were delivered by Nickol Wilden, a servant of the Council of Leyptzigk, to a citizen of Zeytz called Thomas Forster, an official document and a letter from doctor Ecken, to be handed over to Mayor Schmid of Tzeitzt, and have received the copies of the said documents and doctor Ecken's letter, and would be willing to do so. At your request and request, to inform you of our council and good faith in this matter. But since it is a heavy and great matter, which requires good consideration, and we do not understand this sufficiently as an unauthorized party. So we have sent such copies of the bulls also to Doctor Ecken schriftt Unnsersigsten Herr des Churfürsten zu Sachssen 2c. gelarten Reihen gegen Wittenberg, und begert einen Rathschlag darauff stellen, des versehenns, weil sie etwas umb doctor Martinus Handlung und fürnemen Wissens haben, Sie werden solchen Rathschlag dester besterndiger und mit einem gutten gründ stellen, Und wenn uns der zukommenbt, wollen wir Ihnen als denn diesen zum furderlichsten den anzeigen. We do not want to behave this way, but we are willing to serve you. Date Eylberg montan nach der eilfftausent Jungkfrauen tag [22. Oct.] Anno 2c. 1) xx.

Rethe.

1) "rc." put by us instead of: "Cr." in Cyprian.

465 The Electoral Governors and Councilors write to the University of Wittenberg, in which they ask them, according to the above promise, for advice in the matter concerning the publication of the bull at Naumburg and Zeitz. Date Eilenburg, October 22, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 464.

Our willingly and gladly dinst before, honorable, honorable, hereditary, high gelarten and eight-barn special lord and good friend. In the absence and place of the Serene Highborn Prince and Lord Friderich, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Our most gracious lord's matters have come to us, in which we are asked to report and request our property therein, on account of our most gracious lord's high consideration, if these are then of course somewhat brave and great, and in our lay and ungelarter, If the same is not understood, to pursue them sufficiently, as the necessity then requires, what should be most useful and convenient to be done inside, so that future harm and disadvantage of the perhaps highly respected our most gracious lord and his churfl. gnaden bruder unseren gln. Duke Johannsen of Saxony 2c. and the lands and people of the same, as much as possible, so we are ready to discover such matters to you, and to learn your, as the most learned and undoubtedly of this matter, sufficient sound advice and consideration, thereupon, in place of our most gracious lord, kindly requesting of you our person, that you, on the next Friday [26. Oct.] at eight o'clock in the morning, we will appear before each other in the College at Wittenberg, and we will have the matters indicated brought before you, in the undoubted confidence that when you have heard them and received a report, you will give us your good will as to what is to be done inside, on behalf of our most gracious lord and the same brother, our dear lord. Lord, and also of our Lordships and of our f. g. lands and people, harm and disadvantage may be avoided and prevented, we will gladly show and declare that this will be sufficient for the good and gracious pleasure of our most gracious Lord, so we will earn it for you willingly and freely. Datum Eylberg montag nach der xiin Jungfrauentag [2. Oct.] Anno XVC. XX.

Rethe.

466 The University of Wittenberg's Answer and Concerns to the Electoral Councils on the above Letter. Wittenberg, October 26, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 466.

Our friendly and wholehearted service before, Ernvhessen, 1) gestrengen, günstige liebe Herren und sreunth. We have on this day at Wittenberg in assembled council upon a reply credentz and your done order from the eight-barn, highly-regarded Mr. Wolffgangen Sthelin, Hieronymus Schurff and Christian Beyer doctor, to the city of our most gracious herm Churfürsten 2c., your bevehls tragere in Werbung und bericht, was sich doctor Eckius gegen dem Herrn official zu Czeitz vermittelst Nickol Wilden des Rats diener zu Leipzig, besagten bebstlichen bullen halben Widder D. Mart. Luther and others, and what you have therefore received from the city of our most gracious Lord at the suggestion of the city governors of Czeitz, along with the above-mentioned letter from Doctor Eckius and the above-mentioned copy of the official bull, its contents, and thereupon the matter has been put to the council, considered, and we have decided upon the following opinion. 2) First of all, we believe that such D. Ecken assume, allerseitz unserer gnedigstett und gnedigen Herrn von Sachssen und irer Churfürstlich er und fürstl. The same is also a matter of great necessity that all of our Electoral and Princely Graces, who have the right to take the matter into their hands, should take the matter into their hands. and princely graces, as it concerns the common land, on the city council's advice and consideration, even if it is necessary, with the common land authority, or the most cautious, a true opinion, what your graces at the same time decide is necessary or convenient, and thus stand for one man. Then so a prince to the prince of D. We consider it impossible, according to the land and the people, and that the other part does not want to have the matter taken care of itself, so that both parts of the subjects may remain united and in peace in the length and hardship of the matter: And should our most gracious and kind lords of Saxony be able to agree on this in the future, 4) then it is certain that

Doctor Eckius has ordered such by official sanctity, because Doctor Martinus Luther has asked for knowledge of the Holy Scriptures from unauthorized high authorities and has requested that the matter be referred to him in Germany by 5) official sanctity, for a proper and necessary hearing and knowledge of the same, unauthorized and unauthorized, high angels of the Holy Scriptures, and what is found there, which would be kept by all parts. In particular, 6) concerning the letter of the city governors of Czeitz, 7) we find, as do the city governors themselves, that D. Eckius did not proceed formally and properly with the submission of the said copy of the official document, since he did not show any proper appearance to the Lord official of Czeitz of his claimed authority and said bull, for which reason he is obliged to believe the same. In his letter, the same Eckius has also not set any reasonable time for the said official to comply with the matter, and for the present reason, and for other reasons, we are obliged to advise the said official, and it is not demonstrable, that he has brought the matter to the attention of the Lord of Naumburg in a hurry and, above all, with his opportunity and circumstance, which he has done. f. g. hir Inne gesellig, abweisen, mit vormeldung unseres gnedigen Herrn Churfürsten, dan es eure, unsers gnedigsten Herrn des Churfürsten von Sachssen Stadthaldern, notturfft in dem vahl auch sein würde: And because it is presumed that now, in the assembly of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, there are also official offers that the Roman Emperor and the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire should be granted the same. and the princes of the Holy Roman Empire and of the Christian faith, 8) and that the matter be brought to a proper legal hearing and settlement, or that in other ways the matter be brought to the proper sanctity, or that it be settled there, as in the case of the fountains, the nobles, and the city halts, according to the justice of the needful discussion and action. Since it is common in law that in lesser matters, than those concerning the holy Christian faith, one has had an official stand on official or pious writings and orders, from which common stencils have arisen, even if they have been credibly proclaimed, until one has actually taken the official sanctity or the Holy Roman Emperor's comfort and opinion, but that such an offence has occurred. This is what we want for this time and for the time being in your favor,

1) Cyprian: "Ehrnvhester".

2) In the old edition: "entfloßen" instead of: "escaped".

3) In Cyprian: "not".

4) "uffn vahl" probably as much as: on the case".

5) Cyprian: "bet".

6) Cyprian: But.

7) Cyprian: concern.

8) Cyprian: prosecute.

but on the improvement of the same, with which they have to let themselves be heard against the city guard at Czeitz with an unprovable answer, we do not withhold our friendly and favorable opinion, and we are willing to show you friendly service in this or other matters. Date Wittenberg under our Rectorate's Insigel. Friday after Crispini and Crispi[ni]ani [Oct. 26], Anno XVC. XX.

Rector, Magistri und Doctores der Universitet zu Wittenberg.

The Ernvehsten gestrengen Kurfürstlichen verordenthen und heimgelassen Reihien und Stadthaldern, itzt zu Eilenburg, unsern günstigen und Freunde.

467 Another letter from the bishop's councillors at Zeitz to the electoral councillors, in which they again ask for good counsel. Date Zeitz, November 5, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents", Vol.I, p.471

Our most sincere thanks to you, our dearest, dearest, dearest, special and other friends. When we wrote to you at various times and notified you of the response you would receive from the University of Wittenberg to our previous request in matters concerning physicians, we have sent you all the information contained in the letter from the same university, which you have been advised to receive. And after you have asked, among other things, to have the cantor from us appear before you on the Monday after St. Martin's Day, we were quite eager to do so. But we inform you that the same cantor, Heinrich Schmidburg 1) doctor, has decided today his last day in this world, and that he will be gracious and merciful, therefore the apointment will not take place. However, since our gracious lords also want his princely grace to be interested in this doctor's corner in the future, we again ask you to inform us of your council and your intentions, so that we may show ourselves in this matter in a proper manner and not cause the court any burdensome innovation.

lead. As you then, in praise of God, wish to do, and as we otherwise have confidence in you, we will serve you cheerfully and willingly. Date Monday after the holy day of God [Nov. 5] Anno Dni. xvc xx.

Unnsers gnedigen Herren von Freisingen und Naumburg Stadthalter und Rette zu Czeitzs.

468 The Electoral Councils wrote to the Councils of Zeitz, in which they said that they knew nothing more about the fact that Luther had appealed the bull and intended to write against it. Philipp Melanchthon would give their friend thorough information about it. November 15, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden", Vol. I, p. 472. According to the above letter, the Electoral Councils had requested that Chancellor Schmiedburg appear before them in person on "Monday after Martinmas" (Nov. 15). Since the latter had died on Nov. 5, the people of Zeitz, as it seems, sent another envoy to the Electoral Councils on the same day. The latter gave him the following letter to Melanchthon.

Our dearest, most sincere, most respectable, most kind, most good friend. We have read our current letter, which you sent to us in response to our request, concerning Doctor Eck's action and the official bulls of Doctor Martinum, with your request for its contents, because we then actually report that the aforementioned Doctor Martinus has to expire 2) and write against the bulls, but we still do not receive a report at the time, as it will be assumed by us. Thus, we have received We have therefore sent your sent one, because we suspected from him 3) that he wants to move against Wittenberg, to ask him to write to Philipp Melanthon, who has the most knowledge of our understanding about Doctor Martinus' action and opportunity, to show and report to him how Doctor Martinus has made the appeal against the specific bulls and wants to hold the trial with the execution or letter against it. We do not want you to be misled by the fact that he will actually report this matter to our lawyers, as much as we know about it; we will gladly serve you to the best of our ability. Datum Dornstag nach Sannt Martens tag [15. Nov.] Anno 1520. Reihe.

2) Cyprian: "exesxlren".

3) Cyprian: "In

1) In Cyprian incorrectly: "schendburg", in the old edition of Walch: "schenburg" instead of: "schmidburg" (Cyprian, Vol. II, p. 181). It is called "Schmiedberg" or "Schmidburg". Compare No. 462 in this volume. Likewise Appendix, No. 59.

469 Letter to Melanchthon from the Electoral Councils of Saxony, asking him to help the person sent from Zeitz obtain a copy of Luther's appeal against Doctor Eck and the papal bull 2c. November 15, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden," Vol. II, p. 184. This letter was given to Melanchthon (No. 468).

Our friendly dinst before, kind and merciful, especially good friend. Our gracious lord, the bishop of Freysing and Numburg, governors and rescuers, have now written to us concerning the official bulls and the doctor's corner action, and have asked us to demand that they show their respect for your history at Wittenberg, so that he may obtain a printed notice or copy of the appeal of the worthy and highly respected Doctor Martinus Luther against the reported bulls and other charges, as you will then appreciate from such your writings. If, however, we have no other report or knowledge of such an appeal, or of how Doctor Martinus is to excipirate and write against the official bulls, than what has come to us, we have written to the governors and ranks above, that we have given their 1) sent letter to you, as the one who has the most knowledge of our understanding of Doctor Martinus' action and opportunity, to inquire about it from you. Therefore, on behalf of our most gracious Lord Duke Frederick Elector of Saxony 2c., we freely request that you inform the governors and rescuers of Ezekia of his further report here, as much as you are aware of these matters, so that he may report this to the governors and rescuers of Ezekia. This will be noted by our most gracious lord to your favor, so we want to earn it for our person friendly for you. *Datum ut supra* [Nov. 45, 1520].

Rethe.

470 Der churfürstlich sächsichen Rätthe Antwort an die Zeitzischen Stiftsrätthe auf ihr Schreiben vom 5. November 1520. Bor dem 15. November 1520.

1) Cyprian: "iren". But it was only One Skilled, as can be seen from No. 468, also from the following.

From Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden", Vol. II, p. 181. There it is stated that this is the answer to the letter sent in No. 467. This document therefore falls between November 5 and 15.

Special good friends, we have received your letter, in which you are obliged to inform us that the respectable and highly respected Heynrich Schmideburg, doctor and cantor, has decided his last day and has passed away in God, along with other eternal requests, and have read the content of his 2) petition, we would like to inform you that we do not like to obey such a request of the aforementioned cantor, but that the eternal God would be gracious and merciful to you. According to your writings, the charges that doctor Eckius has sent to the official between two times, doctor Martinus, have been shared with our council between two, so that you may still note our goodwill, we do not want to withhold our consideration from you, and first of all, we find that the alleged bulla, through a bad abuse, has been punished. by a bad missive, or letter of transmittal, the official, doctor schmidbergk blessed gedechtnis, zw sent, and darynnen is not indicated or verleüptt the official zw time, the itzunntt is, or könnftigk wyrtr 2c., and the honorable doctor, as an official, in the meantime, the execution, which is also not scheduled for a named time, is in God's hands, we respect that the aforementioned mandate, due to the abuse, is null and void, dead and gone. On the other hand, we do not consider that such a bull has been handed over in the form that it should have been, and has used the solitary power that was then in use, but rather that the doctor has been made official with a missive that is supposed to be compulsory, and that there is no credible evidence of the power and authority of the court, how it would extend, and how it would be justified, or presented, which should have been done at our discretion, after one had not committed or obligated himself on his own bad word and mere word. Thirdly, we are told that doctor Martinus has been accused of a great deal of fraudulent bulla, so that he has been excused and the execution has taken place. Therefore, our concern should be to give a second warning, and not to take any action until it is seen how it will be, and how the other bishops, who, as we have heard, may have been dealt with in a different way than before, will also hand over the case to them.

2) Cyprian: "seys".

You are to be guided by this, and you are to report this matter, with its location and circumstances, to our noble Lords of Freysingen and Naumburg before all dynasties, and thereupon to your F. G. We have not wished to withhold this from you on your request and good will, with a friendly request from us in our friendly will, 2c. to you, 2c. 2c.

471: Nicolaus Hausmann, pastor at Zwickau, letter to Nicolaus Tilomannus, *custos canonicus* and vicarius at Zeitz, dated July 31, 1521, concerning his conduct at Schneeberg, especially the papal bull and the obedience to be rendered to the bishops.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Part III, p. 467.

Translated into German by Joh. Frick.

Much salvation! Venerable and excellent licentiate, I do not know what people praised me for before I was called to the preaching ministry. I consider myself unworthy of being praised and extolled by anyone. God's praise and glory, to whose grace alone everything I have done that is good, is to be attributed. But if an adverse rumor is now spread about me, as if I wanted to change the previous habit and act against all respectability, I am not at all surprised about it, because my office and status want something different. When I preached Christ in Schneeberg, building and tearing down was not in my line, although I punished many abuses without hesitation. But now that such an important care of souls has been entrusted to my faithfulness by God's providence, what else can I do but gather Christ's lost and strayed sheep, and straighten out and restore what is weak? What account would I have to give to the strict judge if I were negligent in this? But in order to answer your letter, venerable licentiate, I will begin with the bull, which is indeed a bull. I understand very well what this fright of the Roman bishop has to do with his bull. I am more afraid of God than of men, and I do not allow myself to be turned away from the Christian faith, but hold fast to the Gospel of Christ. If this bull were to be issued according to the apo

If it were to be set up in a stolical sense and remind me to take care of the growth of the common being, I would accept it with all joy and reverence; but since it is so pompous and full of rage and earthly honor, I can make so much less of it, because I see that it is approved and accepted by no one. Am I therefore disobedient? Even if I promised obedience to the bishop once, I will not show it in all things. No one is bound to obey what is said against faith and love. It may happen in permissible matters; although I may have promised obedience according to custom when I was in Altenburg, I will not allow myself to be bound by oaths. I know that in carelessly promised things one can take back one's given word; but it has now come to the point with the oath that one makes it a rope of malice, and the one who commits himself with it may not then boldly confess and defend the truth. I will protect the honor of Christ and all his defenders to the best of my ability; but I will not allow myself to swear for eternity. If I remain obedient to Christ, I will also show obedience to all prelates. But as far as judicial rule is concerned, I confess that I have publicly reminded people who want to enter into a marriage alliance, or who have already entered into one, that they should first, if they are not one, report to their parish priest as their judge, and if he cannot satisfy them, they should be referred to the episcopal vicarii, because it would be fair that each one should first be presented to his own. This godly thing also belongs to the pastoral care, and I will by no means let it be suspended by force. As often as I have received orders from a messenger, I have carried them out, but not without the prior knowledge of the council, and that by right; for it wants to use force against the disobedient even in permitted matters, but in such a way that no one will be demanded unfairly and unjustly. Here you have, my Lord Licentiate, my apology and obedience. In the past days, the Conventual, Mr. M. Zeiner, has also very graciously excused me. I recognize that your admonition flowed from the reason of love, which I will constantly remember even without the slightest bitterness of heart, and by the grace of Christ will in the future do nothing that is contrary to justice and equity; as I then follow your excellence in all lawful things, I hereby make myself a pledge, and hope to be able to do the same in the future.

You will not be so gullible when the most disgraceful calumnies of me come to your ears now and then. Be well and have recommended me to your intercession. From Zwickau on the day before St. Peter's chain celebration [July 31], in the year after the virgin birth in 1521.

Nicolaus Hausmann, unworthy preacher at Zwickau.

d. At the publication in Erfurt.

472 Luther's report of November 4 to Spalatin on how both the University of Erfurt, from which Eck had imperiously requested the publication, and the Bishop of Bamberg rejected the publication, and likewise how the students of Erfurt besieged Eck with armed hands, tore the printed bull into pieces, and threw it into the water.

See Appendix, No. 27, 89.

473: The objection of Hieronymus von Endorf, imperial councilor, to Mr. Siegmund von Dietrichstein, heir to Carinthia and governor of Styria, about the Eckische Bulle. Deu January 11, 1521.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 199.

Wolgebornner, noble dear Lord. Your Grace is my very willing beforehand. Your G. as a councilor, governor in Steyr, also general with commissaries of Roman Khays. Majesty, for himself as a Christian and yes, as a member of the nobility and as my lord, whom I consider in other respects to be my noble lord, and more noble, and who would gladly do harm and warn, to promote his need and benefit to the best of my ability, and before that, according to my old, undischarged duty as a councillor to His Majesty. Majesty, who then greatly concerns such things, as well as my name is forgotten, I do to know with this own my potency, as I have now been to Ingoldstat: Nemlich an sannd Stephans tag 2) ist diss Babstlich Bull (der copy Im Drugk, so Ich hernach zuwegen brachte E. G. hierJnn zu vernemen hat) auf der Canntzl in sannd Mauricii Pfarckirchen

have been sold. And how I freely grant for the sake of the Biblical Holiness, the highest obedience and pious obedience, but because I take such a brutal and vnuat attitude towards every Christian man; and so contemptuous of a common Christian assembly, and after that so interfering with His Majesty's will. Majesty; to this end, I do not like any thing better, than that I (although I have a good reason) should also have gone to the church, and contradicted these things with sincerity, especially for the sake of our Lord, as it seems to me that everyone is guilty of this; I would also be glad to do so if I had not ensured that such a thing had been brought to my attention, and had appealed to his Majesty himself. E. G. also now asks with whom I have been acquainted to intercede such unheard of things and perhaps with less exhortation, such fate (and we have heard of Luther, who is not yet alive, nor has he been able to read his shrines yet, so that they are lost), and therefore would have liked to come to our Lord in Cham, so that I could inform His Royal Majesty of this. Majesty with the fundamental, evident recognition of the holy shrine, item of the right and other high and protected reproaches of my few achievements to them and their descendants, and also to report something to the country and the people, and especially to the people of the nation of great and urgent need. Now there is so much of this bull that it is too much for a letter, and not all things (as godly, just, and faithful as such a one may be) want to be written about; therefore I will report all of them, the most important, and after the most recent.

First of all, your Lord sees in the book of rulings, especially from the words, through me, (which are interpreted to you by a thoughtful, rather than a little learned, lay), how the Babst of the Weltlichkhait, and before our Lord Khaiser, takes up the sword. Then he shall, in the event of the forfeiture of any hereditary right, and fiefs, as the others 3) have been transferred, be transferred to it. I will confess that I have not heard of any great misfortune or folly (which arises from your lordship and everything else, and must arise out of necessity).

To the third, fourth and fifth of the B-bar, as it is also forbidden by law, so it is also forbidden by law in the case of the forfeiture.

1) Cyprian: mainen.
2) December 26, 1820.

3) Instead of "zundert" probably "hundred" (irgend[wie]) is to be read. See the second note below.

khait, that is, khainer erlannung vnd vnteüglkhait zu allen vnd yeden Rechtslichen Vebungen. Item 1) the nunc also of the renunciation of the serene majesty, although he does not express which majesty, the benevolent, imperial, or whether he himself wants to create one with it; which, however, has been of sann Peter weyt, but has learned and learned at the other. Namely, in the other chapter of his first epistle [v. 13-15], according to Khriechian law text, in Latin, thus speaking: Proinde subditi estote cuivis humanae creaturae propter Dominum, sive Regi tanquam praecellenti, sive praesidibus, ut qui per eum mittuntur in vindictam quidem nocentium, laudem vero recte seu bene agentium, quoniam sic est voluntas Dei. But where all these things are concerned, and to whom it is a matter of seizing the sword, the scepter, and the crown, even if it is a matter of leniency, it is a matter of mercy? that is what Eur G. thinks.

Sixthly, in the Puechstabn C, the Baebstlich Heyligkait shows how Luther's appeal, which he has made to the church, should be against the statutes of Babst Pii des Anndern, and also Julii des Anndern, in which statute it is foreseen that such appeals are to be punished as the khetzer. However, this statute is included in the ecclesiastical laws, so that it can be followed, even if it is included in them. Majesty, whether he may and should suffer this on account of his own sovereignty and ambition, and also on account of his Christian assembly. Then what would be at the council, or why should it be held (as it is to be held every 10 years), if nothing or all that the bishops like is to be brought for it. I want to be sure that his appeal may not be understood from any point of view. Then we have been in the tenth year, in which the common Christian assembly should have been wrapped up, and therefore the time would have been there every hour, if only some clergy themselves would not have been silent.

On the seventh day, at the end of the book, there is such a richly woven net for all of us, with so much yarn, with so much knitting and mashing, that I do not know which of them, so high or so low, so unlearned, so wise or so low, does not have to deal with it. Then, the Autumnal Holy Spirit will, with the utmost care, and also in front of all the announced weltlichenn penen, that no one of Luther's Schrifftn nothing lesenn, but verprennen.

nor shall he praise anything of his; and yet often one may have heard something good or praiseworthy now and then from him, even his sermon, shrift, and thing. This is so, because of the things that a person does not want to do other than according to the good and right of his mind for right, last of all, higher and more understandable.

Nor more of the things that have been left undone by others or by divine authority itself. But all this is not so simple (then one would not read more in one hour than he would in ten years), but the most important thing, with a mouth given by God and nature, to keep silent about the slogan of one's high mind, so that one may praise good things, again according to one's own knowledge, experience, and conscience. Therefore, if our Lord were a holy man, he would have something to do with the faithful, as much more than a Christian, and indeed the head of the Christian Church, in the midst of its members, and as many of the faithful as possible, according to the divine prophecy (which may only now have been properly applied) and likeness, Luke 10, when the Lord did more mercy than the letter, and helped the wounded to salvation.

To the eighth and last (although there are many more), at the time of the election of His Holiness, the most important, and amenable to the unheard-of intervention of all the authorities, and before that, of Kay's Majesty. Majesty. Then the Holy Roman Pontifical will there be held by all and any prelates: that Luther, his companions, associates, keepers and patrons are to be personally seen, held in custody, and that they are to be sent to us. Neither does anyone leave out, but the spiritual, as well as the ecclesiastical, against the imperial and even bavarian law, which is then 6. de sum. tri. I. III. L IV. when the emperor himself punishes the unrighteous members of the Christian congregation and the clergy, both spiritual and ecclesiastical, each according to his rank, and the priest asks for them to be taken to be punished by his majesty: Nor, in his own bishopric of Rome, to any corporal punishment, even in the midst of the ecclesiastical, nor to any punishment, but to the disenfranchisement of the Christians. And it has come to this, if one speaks against spirituality, that he is to be caught for it and sent to Rome. Thus, we are the armies that have been visited on the long, great, and unspeakable many times. E. G. knows what selltzam things have come to you out of your rule of the noble principality of Steyr, and some even to Finckhenstain. The sacraments, and indeed the most important, practiced by the clergy against all devout, heir, and meeting

1) Cyprian: "maggel".
2) "nynndert" - nowhere. In Cyprian: "mynndert".

How then may it be with the great, poor, single-minded sharen, which there armuet halb nit mag, noch ainfallt halben khan: Our Lord's apostle and the dear saints made the plynndten seen, the deaf 1) belonging, the dumb speaking, the stooping, the shrinking and the lamens straight, and in sum the shrancken healthy, also the dead refreshed 2) them. But our present apostles and living saints make us blind with eyes to see, so that we also only have to hear what they want to hear, to be a horn and a fool, to make us sick and then healthy. If we also kill, perhaps more, and before that, many people like to die, because of the Selgerät. And that our Most Gracious Lord would suffer, and would have it decreed (though I cannot remember), what else would be more necessary, higher, and greater for Him. And that many emperors may have hindered him), his majesty shall not tolerate it for the sake of the Holy Roman Empire. When no one is obliged to concede and to pay such unlawful leave. Then his forefathers in the empire are mostly guilty of this with their rejection of the letters, 3) the papal stool, and the rule of the Roman churches, and how this is in good order for the sake of the integrity and rightness of the faith. Because there was still confusion in some articles, especially concerning the drifalltigkhait. And even though such disagreement was only with the letter, and therefore only with measure, now his Majesty, as it is known, has judged many things about it, and has drawn into disputes, and yet Christianity has neither changed nor improved, but has changed and changed noticeably. It may also be that our most gracious lord cannot help the church itself. Then, as well as in the ecclesiastical law dist. IXIII. [sic!] 4) one chapter is thus saying: I, Louis, Roman Emperor, decree and grant, by the grant of our confirmation, to thee selgen Petern and by thee to thy vicarius, Mr. Pascali, highest bishop and his descendants, in perpetuity, as you of our predecessors have hitherto had in your power and dominion and have raised up the state of Rome 2c., it is to be remembered that when St. Peter was in the flesh, he said: I do not accept your assignment.

When I was a Roman bishop, I left all things and did not ask Nerone for any opinion about Rome, and he was not allowed to, but saw that he did much harm to my descendants, then he misled them in the preaching of the Gospel, in holy prayer, and in the fulfillment of God's commandments, and made himself great to take over, and to be noble. As he also speaks enough himself, by learning to be subject to the emperor and his governors, that is, to the princes and other administrators, as then indicated in Latin.

It is also important to see to it that the Lord God does not speak again or do anything else (Then it has been said before, Matthew 21 [v. 43]: The kingdom of God will be lifted up by you, and given to a people, and it will bear its fruit). As soon as I have come home, I will also write to my own messengers at the end of my term of office, and I do not want anyone else to know, according to my knowledge, also according to my merits, for the sake of the welfare of the well. I want to have (as I hope) a blessing, as I also can no longer. Take from it what is good, and handle it according to good, rich reason. It is indeed high time, so that we ourselves do not grow in the sword of him, who has so long graciously waited, and after all my needs, even high, apparent needs, will not wait any longer. E. G. also wants to keep this my unambiguous letter. If I cannot escape my longstanding faithfulness (perhaps to the extent of my own guilt), that I will not be denied, then I am (dear God) a mere mosquito, and would like to be able to deal with it easily in the future, although this should not be done to me by anyone; then I may not harm anyone, but to all good, even God before and after Kay.Maj, for my Christian benefit, out of the debt of conscience and most faithful loyalty. Your Lord will also not let himself be oppressed to write me something little in return. To whom I, as to my Lord, in all things and in all times, most sincerely commit myself. D. Masenn, the 11th day of January, anno XXI.

E. Gl.
sculpted servant
Hieronymus v. Endorf.

1) "Doves" put by us instead of: "fools" in Cyprian.

2) Cyprian: "erkhukhten". The word "erquickten" also occurs in Luther in the meaning "to make alive".

3) Cyprian: "Briefeshafft", but as the following will show, "Priesterschaft" should be read.

4) Maybe for XVIII?

474 Letter from Siegmund von Dietrichstein to the Elector of Saxony, in which he sends him a copy of the above Endorfian considerations, and at the same time reports that he has also sent a copy to an imperial chamberlain, so that he may read it to the emperor on his own. February 28, 1521.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 520.

Most Illustrious Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord. Your Princely Grace, my most gracious and most willing service at all times. I have received such a letter from a trustworthy friend, as E. F. G. has to hear from a friendly letter, and because of this, Kys. Mas. also the Holy Roman Empire's Highness may not be served a little in the current affairs, I am sending the same to the King's Majesty's Chamberlain. Maj. Cämmerer to one, that he should read them with the first, earlier time, and alone. But whether he will have the vleys with it, as I would like, I do not know. Therefore also otherwise one that, after E. Churfürstl. G. is the most honored of all, and may be of some use to her, and I have had the same (as deserved by me) but in the grace of which I am still reassured, so I did not want to leave it to E.F.G. to send, which I am in the meantime my most gracious Lord. Date Grätz, the last day of February, Anno 1521.

E. Churf. G.

Vnndertheniger Alterwilligster Diener Sigmund von Dietrichstain, Freyherr zu Holmburg vnd Vinckenstein, Erbschenck in Kärndten, Lands Captain in Steyer.

2. where the bull has been published without difficulty.

a. With the bishop of Eichstädt.

475: The Bishop of Eichstädt, Gabriel von Eib, at D. Eck's request. Eck's publicized mandate, or publication diploma, concerning the papal bull against Luther. Date: October 24, 1520.

This document is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 97b; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 316 b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 512; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 318.

Gabriel von GÖttes Gnaden, Bishop zu Eichstädt.

1. To all and everyone, secular, ecclesiastical or regular churches and monasteries, prelates, abbots, provosts, deans, priors, guardians, custodians and ministers, of all orders, also of the beggars, also to our field deans, governors, parish lords, parish administrators, canons, chaplains, altarists, priests and all feoffed clerics, and unfeoffed, throughout our diocese; also to all and every one to whom this letter of ours shall come, and to whom the business hereunder shall concern, or may concern in time to come: blessedness in the Lord, and to obey these our, more apostolic or papal mandates. Because in days gone by, the worthy and noble, our dear faithful, Johann Eck, Canonick of our Churches, of our most holy in God Fathers and Lord, Lord Leo, by divine providence Pabst of the Tenth, to things written hereafter Nuncio, has had us reminded and requested by some of his missive letters that we want to command you and each of you to read the papal letter, from the named our most holy Lord Pabst at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of the Holy Spirit. Peter, in the year of the Incarnation 1520, on the 17th day before the first day of the month of July [June 15], of his 8th Pontificate, concerning the erroneous and benign teachings of a brother, Martin Luther, of the Hermit Order of St. Augustine.

2. Because we now desire, in the duty of our pastoral office, to turn our minds to the blessedness of our subjects, as well as to the unity, peace and peace of the Holy Mother of the Church, and to be obedient to the papal mandates and commandments, as we are obliged to do: So we command you all and every one above, and in virtue of holy obedience, by the censures, penalties, and penalties, contained in the touched papal letter; Earnestly commanding that when such papal letter, or a true copy thereof, is signed with a prelate's and notary's seal, affixed, and vidified by our vicar in ecclesiastical matters, be delivered to you, and that everything and anything contained therein be proclaimed and proclaimed in your churches before the multitude of the people, with preceding interpretation. Also reminds and requests all Christian believers of both sexes to obey the papal letter or bull in question, in all and every article, concerning them or each of them respectively or visually, in the censures and penalties expressed therein 1).

1) Wittenberger: herein.

with the work, which we also, and each of them, by virtue of this letter, request and remind, as much as they thus reminded and requested, the divine vengeance, and the Holy Papal See's disfavor, also the penalties and censures in the said bull understood, want to avoid: We therefore remind and request that we nevertheless proceed and proceed against the disobedient and recalcitrant, if they are reported to us, according to the force, form, content and capacity of the bull, and otherwise as we may rightfully do, unhindered by their disobedience and recalcitrance.

3. given at our castle of St. Willibaldsberg, on Wednesday the fourth and twentieth day of October, next after Severini, in the year after the birth of the Lord one thousand five hundred and twentieth, under our vicariate's impressed seal.

b. With the bishop at Freifingen.

476 Bishop Philip of Naumburg and Freifingen, Count Palatine of the Rhine, publication diploma and mandate against Martin Luther's books and writings. Dat. Freifingen, January 10, 1521.

This document is found in Latin in the Jena edition (1566), tom. II, fol. 469 d. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 101; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 359 b; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 554 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 562.

Philipps, von Gottes und des päpstlichen Stuhls Gnaden, Bischof zu Freifingen, Administrator zum Naumburg, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, Herzog zu Bayern 2c.

1. To all and every one of our beloved in the Lord, of the churches and monasteries, also freed prelates, abbots, priors, deans, chapters, parish lords, parish administrators, and other priests, Clerics, and open scribes through our city and diocese of Freisingen, to whom this document of ours will come, which concerns this matter, to render blessedness in the Lord, and to firmly obey our, even more the papal mandates and orders.

2. you should know that we, by virtue of a transfusion of a letter of our most holy in God Father and Lord, Lord Leo, by divine providence of Pabst, the name of the tithe, against a brother, Martin Luther, of the Order of St. Augustine the Hermit, and his an-

dependent. Patrons and holders, on account of the erroneous and such doctrine and writings of the touched brother Martin, that they seduce the kind and Christian minds; which papal letter recently went out at Rome on the seventeenth day before the month of Julius [15 June] in the twentieth year. June] in the twentieth year, by the worthy, our beloved in God Johann Ecken, Doctor of Holy Scripture and Papal Law, of our named Lord Pabst's nuncios or skilful ones, find requested several times that we want to procure the same Papal Scripture, or the same credible Transumpta, to be proclaimed and publicized by touched our city and diocese.

3. Since we now want to follow such request, and such papal mandates, out of duty of obedience, we therefore order you all and every one concerned, earnestly commanding in virtue of the holy obedience, and at penance, understood in said papal letter, that if you are requested in virtue of this letter, or if your one is requested, that you will diligently proclaim and publicly announce to the Christian faithful the papal letter referred to, or the credible transcript thereof, and everything and anything contained therein, in the sermons in your churches and monasteries, as well as elsewhere, when and as often as it may be necessary, and that you will also permit and create the proclamation and public announcement thereof. Also to faithfully remind all and every believer in Christ to refrain from the errors and the teachings of the aforementioned brother Martin Luther, as reported and indicated in the aforementioned papal letter, also from the same preaching, proclamation, defense and handling, and from the presentation of the same booklet, sermon, writing, or slips of paper, who have and hold the erroneous teachings of the aforementioned Martin Luther, not to praise, extol, print, sell, proclaim, publish, or handle and protect them, publicly or secretly, or to have or conceal them in their dwellings or other ends, in some ways.

4) If, however, one of you should dare to deliver the same books and writings to the prelates and deans of the chapters, after this mandate has been issued, to burn them without any delay and to deliver them, and to do otherwise, which is due to them or to each of them, according to the papal letter, either in accordance with or in opposition to the divine vengeance and the disgrace or wrath of our Lord the Pope,

also avoid the judgments, censures, and other sounds and punishments expressed in the papal letter.

Given at our castle in Freisingen, on the tenth day of Januarii. In the year of the Lord, one thousand five hundred and in the one and twentieth, under the expression of our secret or petition.

D. How Luther appealed from the bull of excommunication to a general concilium, and what happened at the Nath in Wittenberg, and between the princely ministers and the learned councilors because of it.

477 D. Martin Luther's report to Spalatin of the intention to renew his appeal. See Appendix, No. 27, § 6.

478 "D. Martin Luther's Appeal or Appeal to a Christian Free Concilium from Pope Leo and his Unjust Offenses, Negated and Repeated," Anno 1520, Nov. 17, which is nothing other than a repetition, renewal and appendix of the appeal filed Nov. 28, 1518.

This writing appeared under the title we have placed above it many times in German (the Erlangen edition lists seven individual printings), also several times in Latin. In the Latin complete editions: in the Jena edition only the conclusion, tora. II, toi. 257 b; the whole text in the Erlangen, opp. var. urZ., tora. V, p. 121. the indication there: II, 272-meaning tom. I, 227 - and the proof: IVittonb. I, 231 is incorrect, because there only the so-called appellutio soounää, No. 243 is found in this volume. German rn the Wittenberg (1554), vol. VII, p. 58; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 351; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 537; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 330; in the Erlangen, vol. 24, p. 28 and in the second edition, vol. 24, p. 32.

Jesus.

Let it be known to every devout Christian that I, D. Martinus Luther, moved earlier by honest complaint, have made an appeal legally and properly, from Pope Leo the Tenth to a free Christian concilium, which follows according to its content, and is that: 1)

1) This first paragraph is on the back of the title page in most editions. In the Latin Jena

1. since the divine, natural and human law, for the comfort and protection of the oppressed, has invented and instituted the appeal, or appeal from the inferior to the superior, and no inferior has power to resist it, or to bind the superior's hand; also it is evident how a Christian common council, especially in matters concerning the Christian faith, is over the pope, and he, to appeal from him to the same, has no power to resist, although Julius II. and Pius II. with their sacrilegious, mad laws have resisted it in vain:

I, Martinus Luther, 2) Augustinian, Doctor of Holy Scripture at Wittenberg, 2c., before you, Mr. Notary, as before a public credible person, besides these present witnesses, will and noble to appeal and call, that, after in past days, by some papal (as they pretend) preachers of indulgences in Saxon lands was preached too unskillfully, to seduce and damage the poor people, and I with honest reason of the Scriptures resisted them, by a free public disputation; Then they were furious with me, and after many blasphemies, so that they publicly and freely proclaimed me a heretic from the pulpits, at last also sued before the most holy in God Father Leo the

Tenth, through He Marium de Perusiis, and thus obtained a letter of summons, cited me to Rome, to put me on trial, before He Hieronymo de Genu- tiis and Sylvester Prierias.

I complained that I was not safe in Wittenberg, much less in Rome, that I was poor and weak in body, and that I was unable to make such a long journey, and that the judges were suspicious and displeased with me, because Sylvester, my adversary, had written against me publicly;

is referred to Document No. 243 at the end of the same, and notes that what follows (from 8 12 of our writing) is an appendix to this appeal. In contrast, in the Erlangen edition, opr>. vur. urZ., tom. V, p. 121-128 the whole document No. 243 is printed again, which already idick. tom. II, p. 438 sqa- in its entirety. What follows here in German, § 1 biss 11, is not No. 243 itself, but only a summary.

2) The "called" is in the original edition only after: "the holy scripture".

in the sacred Scriptures of these things quite unlearned; and He Jerome, as a jurist, and not a theologian, who could not be judge of these things,

I have requested through the most illustrious, highborn Lord, Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony 2c., 1) that the matter be ordered out to honest and learned persons: they have again needed their gross stoicism, and by papal sanctity obtained that the matter be ordered out to Mr. Thomas of Cajeta, the Cardinal St. Sixti, and of the time papal embassy in German lands, so that they themselves remain judges in this matter. For since the same Cardinal is the most distinguished of their order and mind, it was to be presumed that he would judge against me, or that I would be frightened before such an adversarial judge, would fail to appear, and would fall disobediently into punishment and judgment.

5 However, I took comfort in the truth, came to Augsburg with great effort, food and travel, and was kindly received by the *Reverendiss.* I was kindly received by the Reverendissary Cardinal.

6 But regardless of the fact that I offered to answer, publicly and secretly, and also appealed to four high schools, he pushed me hard to contradict, and would not show cause or reason. No pleading or submission helped me. Finally, he threatened me with a gruesome papal order letter, and I should no longer come before his eyes if I did not object. So that I was forced to appeal to the most holy Father Leo to better inform him of such a complaint; as is further noted in the same appeal 2).

Now, however, they despise such appeal, and I still today desire to prove my errors to myself, and I would be willing to contradict where I would have erred, that I testify to this; in addition, I have submitted my disputation to the pope, and am still waiting daily for the verdict: so I do hear, and the same Rev. Thomas Cardinal S. Sixti writes to the most noble Lord, Elector of Saxony 2c., how the above-mentioned judges at Rome continue to condemn me in this matter.

They have disregarded my faithfulness and superfluous obedience in appearing at Augsburg with such difficulty; they will not heed my offer of an answer, openly and secretly; they will even disdain to teach me, poor sheep of Christ, the truth and to lead me away from error; but, for an unheard and unproven reason, out of sheer force and iniquity, they press me to contradict the speech that I hold true in my conscience, so that they want to lead me astray from the Christian faith and the public opinion of the Scriptures.

(8) For the authority of the pope is not over nor against, but for and under the Scriptures and divine truth, and he has no authority to choke the sheep of Christ, to throw them into the jaws of wolves, to hand them over to false teachers, but to lead them to the truth, as is fitting for a shepherd, a bishop, who sits in the place of God.

(9) For this reason I find myself complained of and offended. For it should come to pass that henceforth no one should confess Christ, nor read the Scriptures publicly, and so be forcibly cast out from the right, true Christian faith and Scriptural understanding into vain, human conceits and opinions, and be driven into seductive fables.

10. Therefore, with this writing, I appeal and call for a future free, safe concilium, for me and for all who adhere to me and want to adhere to me in the future, from the above-mentioned most holy Pope Leo, who has not well considered and understood this matter, and also from the aforementioned judges and their loading, dealings, and everything that may result and occur from it, and all that may result therefrom, from all their judgments, sentences, and from all the complaints that may come to me from them in general or in particular, as from those who are nothing, unjust, free and unreasonable, and I request, first, second, third, to give me the *Apostolos* 3) who has to give them, especially from you, *Notaris, testimoniale*.].

3) Apostoli are letters of permission (äirmssorius littkE) given by officials and ecclesiastical judges to witness the appeal when appealed by the bishops to the pope or by the pope to a general concil. See Du OuirZs s. v. ^x>c>8toli.

1) In the original: erbeitet.

2) No. 212 in this volume.

(11) And I condition that I will execute this appeal, and prove its void, abusive, unjust and unreasonable proceeding, as it may best be done, with reservation to increase, diminish, change, improve, and all the benefits that the rights give to me, my adherents, and those who will still adhere to me.

12. But now the same Pope Leo persists in his unchristian outrage, hardens and multiplies, so nearly that he also in a bull, as I hear him say, condemns me uncalled, unheard and unconquered, in addition to denying God and his holy word, and promises, as an apostate and unchristian, the power of the Christian church and a free Concilii, also gives me to deny the Christian faith publicly, and with unheard blasphemy suppresses the holy word of God:

I hereby inform everyone that I still stand by my previous and present appeal, and that I have legally denied the same before a common scribe 1) and a fair witness, and that I hereby deny and deny before everyone, on and in virtue of the same, and that I hereby appeal anew, and invoke a Christian concilium, by the same Pope Leo,

14. first, as of a sacrilegious power, presumptuous, unjust judge, in that he condemned me unconvicted, and undicted reason or report.

(15) On the other hand, as of a heretic and apostate who is obstinate, erroneous, condemned in all Scripture, in that he gives me to deny the Christian faith in the sacraments.

Thirdly, as of an enemy, adversary, oppressor of all holy scripture, in that he sets his own mere words against all divine words publicly and insolently.

Fourth, as of a despiser, blasphemer, and reviler of the holy Christian Church and of a free concilii, in that he pretends and denies, with his unchristian ancestors, Pío II and Julio II, that a Christian concilium is nothing, knowing well that, though it is not yet assembled, yet there are those who belong to a concilium, that is, the Christian community. Just as the Roman Empire or the council of any city does not mean anything if the princes and lords who belong to it are not assembled. With these and all other matters and undertakings, I hereby publicly offer to come forward and instruct.

18. For this reason, I humbly ask the most noble, highborn, well-born, noble, strict, wise, prudent lords, Carolum, Roman emperors, princes, counts, lords, knights, nobility, councils, cities and communities of the entire German nation, to save divine honor and protect Christian churches, doctrine and faith, and preservation of free Christian churches, doctrine and faith, adhere to me and my appeal, fall away from the Pope's unchristian authority, resist, and do not follow his mighty outrage, or stand still, and do not follow the same unchristian bull, until I and my cause are honestly summoned, and interrogated by unsuspicious judges, and refuted with thorough writing. Without a doubt, Christ our Lord, the right judge, will pay each one abundantly at his last judgment with eternal grace.

But if someone would despise such my request, continue to follow the pope, I hereby want to excuse myself, and have weighed down his conscience by such my faithfully given warning, brotherly requested before, and leave room for God's final judgment on him, the pope and all papal heaps. 2)

Maledicent illi, et tu benedices. Psalm. 109, 28. Verum est.

1) The "common scribe" or notary who acted in this appeal was Johannes Agricola of Eisleben. The witnesses were Johann Pockmann, Master of Philosophy, of Hof; Valentin Klochtzer of Geir, Imperial Notary; Jakob Seidler of Neuendorf, Thomas Kluege of Zwickau, priest; and Caspar Creuciger of Leipzig, cleric. About Agricola compare St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, p.41 f.

2) This is followed in Latin by notarization.

479 Report of the council of Wittenberg to the electoral governors and councillors on how Luther had asked them to accept his appeal; however, they had first wanted to inquire with the electoral council whether they should agree to accept Luther's appeal and how they should otherwise conduct themselves in the matter. Date Wittenberg, November 5, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 474.

Gestrengen, Erenvhesten, besondere gonstige Herren, gonner und forderer. Your gratitude is our willing consent at all times. We kindly request you to inform us how Doctor Martinus is ordered by us, how he has appealed to the holy future council, that he might come under ecclesiastical ban, which half of us, the council, have obtained on account of the whole community, that we want to adhere to him in his appeal. Because these matters are somewhat large and important, we have asked our most gracious lord, the Elector 2c., or most graciously E. G., as his Cf. Gn. Stadthaltern, did not know how to promise the same adherence to him, but rather took a long and urgent time, E. G. in high lead ask, E. G., will inform us in writing what we are to do and what we are to do, so that we may commit the above-mentioned Doctor Martinus without delay, in accordance with his intentions, and without fail, and you will not leave us with an anthwort. This we want to do for the sake of E. G., our special lords, benefactors and claimants, with our willing and friendly services. Given EylendsMontags Nach aller heyligen tage [5.Nov.]. Anno domini rv c in xx.

The Council of Wittenbergk.

To the Gestrengen, Erenvhesten Herren, Fabian von feylitz und andere Reihen und Stadthaltern unseres gnedigisten Herrens des Churfürsten 2c., hertzogen zu Sachssen 2c., unsern besonder gonstigen Herrn, gonner und forderer.

The Electoral Councillors' letter to the learned Councillors of Wittenberg, in which, together with the enclosed letter of inquiry from the Council of Wittenberg, they ask the learned Councillors for their opinion on what answer they should give to the Council of Wittenberg, so that it can act without reprimand in this matter.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 186.

Our willingly friendly dinst before, honorable, highly noble and respectable special lord and good friend. In the absence of the Most Illustrious, Highborn Prince and Lord, Mr. Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c., Our most gracious lord, the council of Wittenberg has now come to us with a letter in which it is reported that although Doctor Martinus has recently appealed to the future council, he was afraid that he might come under ecclesiastical ban, for which reason he has procured from you on behalf of the whole community that they would adhere to him in his appeal 2c. With requested request to inform them what they should do in this matter. As you will then further see from your letter.

If then this matter is somewhat great, and we as members of the council do not have an adequate understanding of it, then we, in place of Our Lord's Highness, freely request on our behalf that you consider this matter on your behalf, and report what we think we should give to the council of Wittenberg for answer to such a letter, so that they may be protected as much as possible from complaint, and yet show themselves to be ignorant of the matter. If, without a doubt, you do our Lord's friendly opinion, we will gladly and willingly do it for you. Date

Series.

To Doctor Henning
Doctor Wolffgang (to WittenDoctor
Hieronymus / berg. 1) Doctor
Christianus

1) The addressees are the Doctors Henning Göde, Wolfgang Stehlin, Hieronymus Schürf and Christian Baier.

Section Four of Chapter Six.

Of the action of the two papal nuncios, Caraccioli and Aleander, who came from Rome at the same time as D. Eck, with Chursachsen at Cologne, against Luther. 1520.

A., Von der beiden Nuntien Legitimation bei dem
Churfürsten zu Sachsen.

481 Leo's X. Creditiv for Marinus Caraccioli to
Chursachsen. Dated Rome, June 6, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 164.
Translated into German.

Pope Leo X.

Beloved Son, Beatitude and Apostolic Benediction. We have sent to our most beloved Son in Christ, Carl, elected Roman Emperor and Catholic King in Spain, our Nuncio and Notary, our beloved son Marinus Caraccioli, a man of whose fidelity and prudence we have many samples, with the intention that he may always be mindful of maintaining friendship and good understanding with His Majesty, that he will always be careful to maintain the friendship and good understanding that exists between us, and that he will be a reliable interpreter and guardian of our will in matters that have occurred for the benefit and honor of both parties. Since we have now ordered him to go to your Serene Highness and communicate some things to you in our name, we do not wish to go further, but only to remind your Serene Highness in the Lord, as we do, that after your previous praiseworthy performance and respectful testimony against us and this Holy See, you may give complete credence to this our Nuncio, in regard to us, which will be very agreeable to us. Date Rome at St. Peter's under the Fisherman's Ring, June 6, 1520, of our papal dignity in the eighth year.

Yes. Sadoletus.

To the beloved son, the most illustrious Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire.

482. Leo's X. Creditiv for Hieronymus Aleander and
Johann Eck an Chursachsen. Date July 17, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 173.
Translated into German.

Pope Leo X.

Beloved Son, Beatitude and Apostolic Benediction. We have sent the beloved sons, Hieronymus Aleander and Johann Eck, both our notaries and nuncios, people whose special learning and faithfulness are well known to us, to your Serene Highness and the other princes and prelates in Germany, where it has been necessary, so that they may condemn the Lutheran heresy that has arisen, which, although it is obviously in conflict with the Catholic faith, we have nevertheless condemned by virtue of our and this Holy Apostolic See's prestige and authority, strengthened by your help and favor, but bring the authors of this evil, especially the instigator Martin Luther himself, the child of wickedness, either to repentance, or, if they stubbornly persist in their mind, bring them to due punishment, as your Serene Highness will see more extensively from other letters of ours bearing the lead seal and sent to you in the form of a breve. Since the virtue and godliness of your Serene Highness can nowhere be expressed more praiseworthy than when you help to cleanse the Catholic faith of all dross, and since it is also fair and eminently worthy of your family and ancestors that you prefer the common good to private gain in such matters: We exhort your Serene Highness in the Lord to listen favorably to our nuncios, Jerome and John Eck, or to one of them, and to give them complete faith, as well as to use all power and exert all effort, so that all this corruption from the pure Christian faith may be eradicated the better and easier, even in the first time, in which God will be pleased, and you will be honored. Given in Rome at St. Peter's under the Fisherman's Ring, July 17, 1520, in the eighth year of our papal dignity.

Yes. Sadoletus.

To the beloved son, the most illustrious Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire.

B. The same action. Application and request to the Elector.

483 Short account of the action at Cologne between the papal envoys Caraccioli and Aleander and Elector Frederick of Saxony concerning Luther. Nov. 1520.

This writing is found in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), *tora*. II, col. 116; in the Jena (1566), *torn.* II, col. 314d; in German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 98; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 317; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 512 and in the Leipzig, vol. X VII, p. 376. Walch notes that the narrative itself is attributed to Heinrich von Zütphen, but the addition to Spalatin.

1. papal holiness sent, Martinus Caraccioli and Hieronymus Aleander, on Sunday after all holy days [Nov. 4], 1520 at Cologne in the Barfüßerkloster, in the presence of the bishops of Trent and Trief, my most gracious lord, Elector of Saxony, 2c., and, after displaying the gracious and paternal attention of their papal greeting and avoidance, how praiseworthy his electoral graces, ancestors, and his electoral grace have hitherto held against the holy Christian faith, papal holiness, and the Roman See, and what greater hope there should also be at this time in his electoral graces.

Finally, two things were requested in the resolution. First, that S. C. F. G. would be willing that the bull be executed, and Doctor Martinu's books be burned 2c. Secondly, that S. C. F. G. want to punish him, or accept and hold him in prison, or send him to Father H.

3 His Electoral Grace has given them notice that they want to take a stand on the matter, and to give them an answer on their occasion. On the following Wednesday [Nov. 7], S. C. F. G. had the papal nuncios or delegates, in the presence of the bishops of Trent and Trief, answer in Latin through some of their councilors and servants, according to the following German notice.

[Answer given by the Elector Frederick, Duke of Saxony, to the Roman papal envoys, Marinus Caraccioli and Aleander.] 1)

4 Our most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., has in no way provided that

1) This heading is found in the Latin editions.

papal sanctity should have had such a search carried out by S. C. F. G.. For S. C. F. G. has always, in praise of God and without speaking of glory, endeavored to remain in the laudable footsteps of his ancestors and parents, highly glorious and of blessed memory. As then reported by reason of papal sanctity of both their courtship, and S. C. F. G. again, by divine help, is willing to do, and to keep himself as a pious Christian prince and obedient son of the holy Christian church. Now S. C. F. G. notices from the delivered letters that besides Aleander Johann Eck is ordered and given by Father H. to be nuncio in this matter. Thereupon Eck (just at the same time that S. C. F. G. was required by the Roman Imperial Majesty for her coronation, and therefore absent from her principality and lands) took the liberty, contrary to the content and capacity of P. H.'s bull, to name and complain about other persons besides Doctor Martinus; which action is quite inappropriate for this application, and what complaint S. C. F. G. had against it. C. F. G. may and should have about it, they both, Aleander and Eck, and manly to judge, have considered that his electoral grace's brother, and his electoral grace, like their parents, according to their humble showing, should have been spared against P. H. with such a submission.

Moreover, our most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony, is unaware of 2) what has been done to her absence by D. M. and her subjects. M. and her subjects had taken such a burdensome action; so that it could have happened that a considerable number of people, learned and unlearned, clergy and secular, would have wanted to murder D. Martini pending the cause and the intended appeal.

His Electoral Grace has never had anything to do with D. Martinu's matter, nor has he yet. Should D. M. should have written and done something improper against papal sanctity, or even have taught, preached, or written anything other than what is proper for a Christian man, H. C. F. G. would have no pleasure in it at all.

7 S. C. F. G., for the good of the matter, two years ago, at the request and request of the Legate and Cardinal S. Sixti to act paternally and to settle the matter amicably, has had Doctor Martino negotiate to join him in Augsburg; as was then done by Doctor Martino,

2) In Latin: *obscurum*; in the German editions: "not unconscious".

there is also the archbishop of Trier 2c. D. Martino was given by the pope as commissary, against whom D. Martinus, if required and assured with free escort, would have proved himself without doubt. Doctor Martinus also offered to do all sorts of things, and again he inherited. D. Martinus may also think, as he and many honorable, Christian and highly learned people should talk about it, that he was caused to write by manifold, unspiritual attacks of his enemies, which nevertheless leaves S. C. F. G. in his dignities.

8 Our most gracious lord is also truly neither reported by imperial majesty, nor anyone else sufficiently that D. Martini's teachings, writings and sermons have been so overcome that they should be burned. If, however, this had been truly reported to H. C. F. G., they should actually believe that H. C. F. G. wanted to have kept himself as a Christian prince and obedient son of the holy Christian church.

(9) Because it would not be in the best interest of S. C. F. G.'s brother and S. C. F. G. to allow such a swift execution and burden to grow on their Christian and princely graces and on their Electors' and S. G.'s understanding, country and people: therefore, S. C. F. G.'s request that this swift proceeding be stopped. Therefore, S. C. F. G. requests that this swift action be stopped, and that the matter be directed so that Doctor Martinus may come before equal, learned, pious and unsuspicious judges, on a free, safe, sufficient escort, in convenient, safe places for interrogation, and that his books not be burned uninterrogated and unconquered.

If it were found that Doctor Martinus had acted wrongly, S.C.F.G. would not know how to give him a coincidence, and would hope that P.H. would not seek anything from S.C.F.G. about this report, which could be dishonest and referable to S.C.F.G.. This is what S. C. F. G. is willing and able to do for P. H., as an obedient son of the holy Christian church.

When Marinus and Aleander heard such a request, they discussed it secretly with the others who had joined them from Father H.; but after they had again been admitted to the discussion by the most illustrious of our most gracious lord, the Elector, Aleander began, repeated what our most gracious prince had previously had brought forward; he also mentioned how by many and various means Father H. D. had always been willing to turn Luther away from his error and bring him back to the right path. H. D. Luthern from his error and to bring him back on the right path. Marinus also let himself be heard in all kinds of speech, and D. Mart. Luther very badly.

indicates that he would not have fulfilled his manifold hereditary duties.

12 Aleander also made the same and other speeches, and he was most pleased that he was considered to be leading a good cause; he also did not want to admit in any way that the archbishop of Trier should have any power or right to judge or pass judgment in this matter. For the commission of a lower, appointed (subdelegati) judge had expired when the principal had taken the matter back to himself. 1) And because it was a matter of faith, he stated that no one but only P. H. was entitled to speak in it. He gave such an example, which is not much heard, as: If one of our most gracious lord the Elector 2c. If one of the subjects of our most gracious lord of the Elector 2c. were to call either the King of France or a foreign prince to judge in his matter, our prince and sovereign would be very unhappy about it and would not be able to stand it.

When he had made many vain words, and had often spoken against himself, he finally said: it was neither in his nor Caraccioli's power or authority to do something that was not written in the Bulla; therefore they wanted to continue according to the Bulla and burn Luther's books. For P. H.'s mind and opinion would not be to proceed against Luther's person, but against his error, as they did not want to make their hands (to use Aleander's words) 2) fat with Luther's blood. This happened around evening; and it seemed that they still wanted to bring up a lot, but since there was no order to give further answers, and the Elector, prevented by important business, could not be there himself, both parts parted from each other. Done at Cologne, Anno 1520.

[Written by Mr. Heinrich von Zütphen.] 2)

Since Marinus Caraccioli and Hieronymus Aleander, papal legates and orators, were dispatched by the pope to Emperor Carl to sue D. Luther before his majesty, and to obtain that books of his that had gone out of print be burned 2c., it was said that imperial majesty would soon give this answer to their speech without some advice: Dear, let us first hear what our father Duke Friederich says about this 2c., then we will answer P. H. Legaten.

15 The same orators have also promised Erasmo Roterodamo, by order of Fr.

1) This sentence, which was quite wrong in the old editions, we have put right according to the Latin.

2) Inserted by us after the Latin.

and wanted to rebel against Luther by writing. Erasmus, however, rejected this and said: "Luther has a greater reputation with me than that I should write against him; also, his books are so covered with divine scripture that I can neither judge myself well in them nor understand them sufficiently. He is such a great man that I learn more from one leaf of his writings when I read them than from the whole of St. Thomas.

16 The Sophists of Louvain, when they once complained to the Margarites that Luther was confusing the whole of Christendom with his writings

When she was revenged and turned back, she asked who Luther was. But when she answered that he was an unlearned monk, it was said that she had replied, "You scholars, of whom there are a great number, write against the one unlearned monk, and the world will undoubtedly give more credence to many scholars than to one unlearned man. 1)

1) At the end, the German Wittenberg edition and the Jena edition have: "Solchs ist geschriebe von D. Heinricho Züphoniensi." More correctly, the Latin editions have it after § 13. The following would then be Spalatin's addition.

Section Five of Chapter Six.

About the burning of Luther's books.

How Luther's books were burned in three places.

484 Luther's report to Staupitz on how his books were burned in three places, at Louvain, Cologne, and Mainz, but at Mainz with great contempt and danger to the burners.

See Appendix, No. 20, § 6.

Luther's judgment of his books in a letter to Spalatin, from which it can be seen that he does not care much about their demise, and instead wishes the people righteous preachers of the Holy Scriptures as living books.

See Appendix, No. 40, § 2.

B. How Luther, after the adversaries had burned his writings, publicly burned the Papal Dulle and the Decretals, along with Emser's and Eck's roofs at Wittenberg.

**486 A brief history of how the antichristic Decretals of D. M. Luther were burned.
Dec. 10, 1520.**

This writing is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, fol. 123b; in the Jena edition (1566),

tom. II, fol. 320 (incorrect 230) and in the Erlanger, opp. var. arZ., tom. V, p. 253. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 1M; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 353; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 539 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 332.

In the year of the birth of our Lord and Savior Christ, 1520, on the tenth day of the Christian month, all the students in Wittenberg were called together by a public notice, posted on the black board in front of the Lectorio, to the effect that the antichristian decrees should be burned at nine o'clock (before noon). At that time, the students often gathered at a place in front of the Elsterthor, behind the hospital; there, a handsome magister prepared the fireplace, piled up wood, and set it on fire. Then D. M. L. threw the antichristian decrees, together with the Bulla Leonis X., which had recently gone out against him, into the fire with these words: Because thou hast afflicted the Holy One of the Lord, let the eternal fire afflict and consume thee [Jos. 7:25].

When this was done, D. Luther went back to the city. Luther went back to the city, and many doctors, masters and students with him.

The next day, D. Mart. Luther, after reading and explaining the Psalter, which he had begun to read and explain in the previous year 1519 *mensē Martio*, *admonished* all listeners to beware of the papal laws and statutes.

4) That the decrees be burned would be child's play; it would be highly necessary that the pope, that is, the Roman see itself, together with all its

He said, "If you do not contradict the Pope's blasphemous rule with all your heart, you cannot be saved. He further said with great seriousness: "If you do not wholeheartedly oppose the blasphemous rule of the pope, you cannot be saved. For the kingdom of the pope is so contrary to the kingdom of Christ and Christian life that it would be better and safer to live in a wasteland where no man is to be seen than to live in and under the antichristic kingdom.

(5) Therefore every Christian should take care, as much as he loves the salvation of his soul, that he does not deny Christ. This will certainly happen if he keeps company with the papists. So that anyone who puts up with their religion and false services in the church, as they are in use today under the papacy, and does not contradict their powerful errors, must be eternally lost in that life. But if he contradicts them, he must certainly expect the death of his body and life. But, he said, I would rather wait in this world for all kinds of journeys than burden my conscience with silence, for which I would have to give an account to God (where I would remain silent).

Because I have been heartily disgusted with the raging Roman beast for some time, I consider the Babylonian plague and pestilence to be an abomination, and I want to report this to my brothers as long as I live and warn them. If I cannot resist the great harm and destruction of countless souls, some of ours are to be preserved so that they will not be cast into the abyss of hell together with the others. The others may do what they will in this matter; for it is time that we take it seriously to amend.

This and many other things like it were told by Doctor Luther in clear, distinct words, with the beautiful adornment of innate fatherly language, which I, as a clumsy, unspeaking man, cannot claim. But no one among us doubts that he is more senseless than a stick (as all papists are), that this and other things he has said are the truth. It is also clear to all simple believers who are still children in Christ, that is, who are not yet poisoned with the stain of papist doctrine and the splendid good opinion (as it can be seen) of this world, and to all innocent Christians, that Doctor Luther is an angel of the living God [Mal. 2, 7], who shall feed the erring sheep with the word of truth alone; because these same are dumb dogs and sleep [Is. 56, 10], so ascribing to them the name with dishonor that they are shepherds of the flock. And even though the mountains,

that is, the high leaders of the world and Cedern Libani (the rulers of the church) oppose with all force and pride, yet the sheep of Christ recognize their shepherd's voice, which is presented to them through his messenger [John 10:4, 5]. But these sheep do not hear the voice of a strange shepherd. Blessed are those who do not take offense at the contemptible figure of this man (Luther), who touches the mountains of the world, who cannot do otherwise, according to their nature, but smoke [Ps. 144, 5].

487 V.M. Luther's writing: "Why the Pope's and his disciples' books were burned by D. M. Luther. Let also show whoever will, why they burned D. Luther's books." December 1520.

This writing, after the burning had taken place on December 10, was published in the same month in Latin and German at Wittenberg in quarto. The title of the Latin is: *tzware kouitiōis Uolnani et ckisoipnlorrn eins lūbri u D. Nrrtino l,ntkero eornkntsi slnt. Oomroonstret vieissiin ynisaus volet: enr luitbori libros exnsseerint.* [^]VittenberZ. Recorded in the Wittenberg edition (1551), torn. II, fol. 1191^r; Jenaer (1566), torn. II, col. 316 d and Erlanger, opp. var. nrZ., torn. V, p. 257. In German, it has appeared in many individual editions under the title we have placed in the heading (the Erlanger edition lists thirteen of them). In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1554), vol. VII, p.138; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 354b; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p.540; in the Leipzig, vol.XVII, p.333; in the Erlangen, I. edition, vol. 24, p. 150 and in the 2nd edition, vol.24, p.151.

Jesus.

To all lovers of Christian truth be desired grace and peace from GOD.

I, Martinus Luther, 1) Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, Augustinian at Wittenberg, hereby declare that by my will, advice and consent, on Monday after St. Nicolai [December 10] in the year 1520, the books of the Pope of Rome and some of his disciples were burned. If anyone should be surprised at this, as I am sure he is, [and] should ask for what cause and command I have done this, let him be answered herewith.

1) This is how it is interpunctured in the German Wittenberg and Jena editions. In the Latin editions and in the Erlangen edition, the comma precedes "genannt". But compare ?3.

2. first, it is an ancient custom to burn poisonous, evil books; as we read in the stories of the apostles Cap. 19:19, where they burned books for five thousand pennies, according to the teaching of St. Paul.

(3) Secondly, I am ever unworthy to be a baptized Christian, and a sworn Doctor of the Holy Scriptures; above which a daily preacher, by virtue of his name, standing, oath, and office, is bound to destroy, or ever repel, false, seductive, unchristian doctrine. And although there are many more in the same duty who would not or would not do the same, perhaps out of ignorance or infirm fear, I would still not be excused, if my conscience were sufficiently informed and my spirit courageously enough awakened by God's grace, someone's example would let me endure.

4. Thirdly, I would not have undertaken such a work if I had not experienced and seen that the pope and the papal seducers not only err and deceive, but, after many vain instructions from me, are so hardened and obdurate in their unchristian error and ruin of souls, that they not only do not want to be instructed nor taught, but blindly condemn and burn the evangelical doctrine with blocked ears and eyes to confirm and maintain their end-Christian, devilish doctrine.

5) Fourthly, I also do not believe that they have this order from the Pope Leo the Tenth, as much as it lies in his person, I still learn otherwise; whom I also hope that such books burned by 1) me (although his ancestors) do not please himself, and whether they pleased him, I therefore have no interest in it. I also know and have certain information that the people of Cologne and Louvain, who boast that they have the imperial majesty's leave and order to burn my books, are saving the truth; for they have bought such nobles, with many thousand guilders worth of gifts, from some officials.

Fifthly, because by burning books like this, the truth has a great aftereffect.

1) Wittenberger: "before". - The Erlanger notes: "all old prints: before"; but the Jenaer has correctly: "from".

In order to prevent the evil of the common people from becoming delusional, to the ruin of many souls, I have, by stimulating (as I hope) the spirit to strengthen and preserve them, burned the books of the adversaries, again, in view of their unpleasant 2) improvement.

(7) Therefore, let not any man be moved by the high titles, names, and cries of the papal estate, of the spiritual law, of the long-standing custom of these burned books; but listen, and see first what the pope has taught in his books, and what in the sacred spiritual law is poisonous and abominable doctrine, and what we have hitherto worshipped instead of the truth, and then judge freely whether I have burned these books lawfully or unlawfully.

Articles and errors in ecclesiastical law and papal books, therefore they are to be burned and avoided.

The first.

The pope and his own are not guilty of being subject and obedient to God's commandments.

This abominable doctrine, he writes clearly in the chapter *Solitae, de majoritate et obedientia*, as he interprets St. Peter's word, who says [1. Ep. 2,13.]: "You shall be subject to all sovereigns": St. Peter did not mean himself nor his successors, but his subjects.

The second.

It is not a commandment, but a counsel of St. Peter, since he teaches [1. Ep. 2, 13.] that all Christians should be subject to kings, *ididem*.

The third.

The sun signifies papal, the moon 3) secular power in Christendom, *ibidem*.

The fourth.

The pope and his see are not obliged to be subject to Christian conciliarities and orders, Cap. *Significasti de elect*.

2) "unhöfliche" (so the Jenaer correctly; Wittenberger and Erlanger: "impolite") - not to be hoped for. In Latin: *luspavili*.

3) Thus the Wittenbergers and the Jenaers. Erlanger: "month". Latin: *l'uua*.

The fifth.

The pope has full power over all rights in his heart. In ?rolo. 8cxti.

The sixth.

From this it follows that the pope has the power to tear down, change, and establish all conciliation and all order, as he does daily, so that no power nor benefit remains for the conciliis and Christian orders.

The seventh.

The pope had right to demand oath and duty from bishops for their coats, c. Significasti ; contra illud: Gratis accepistis, gratis date [Matth. 10, 8].

The eighth.

If the pope was so evil that he led countless people to the devil with great heaps, still no one should punish him for it, Dist. 40. Si Papa.

This article, if it were alone, it should be enough cause to burn all Pabst's books. What should they not do devilishly, unchristianly, if they hold and teach such an abominable thing impudently? Behold, Christian man, what spiritual law teaches you!

The ninth.

Next to God, the blessedness of all Christendom is in the pope, ibidem; contra illud: Credo ecclesiam sanctam etc.. Thus all Christians would have to perish as often as the pope is evil.

The tenth.

No one may judge the pope on earth, nor judge his judgment, but he shall judge all men on earth. 9. q. 3. c. Cuncta.

This article is the main article, and in order that it may be well established, it is always attracted by many chapters and by the entire spiritual law, so that it seems that the spiritual law is only invented so that the pope may freely do what he wants, give leave to sin and hinder the good. If this article exists, then Christ and his word are down. But if it does not exist,

so the whole spiritual right with the pope and chair lies down.

Now he does not exist; for St. Peter says 1 Ep. 5, 5: "You should all be humble toward one another"; and St. Paul [Phil. 2, 3] Rom. 12, 10: "Each one hold the other higher than himself"; and Christ often says: "He who wants to be the greatest, let him be the least" [Luc. 22, 26]. St. Paul punishes Peter, Gal. 2, 11, in such a way that he does not walk rightly according to the Gospel; and Apost. 8, 14, St. Peter was sent out with St. John by the other apostles as a subject. Therefore it is not and cannot be true that the pope is subject to no one, nor is he to be judged; but he is to be subject to everyone and to be judged, because he wants to be the supreme. And the spiritual law, because this is its reason and its whole essence, strives in all things against the gospel.

It is true that worldly authorities are not to be subject to their subjects. 1) But Christ turns and changes this and says: You shall not be like the worldly rulers. But Christ turns and changes this and says: You shall not be like the worldly rulers, and he wants his people's rulers to be subject to everyone and to suffer judgment from them. As he saith Luc. 22:25, 26: "The rulers of the Gentiles are mighty over them: but ye ought not to be so: but whosoever will be chief among you, let him be the lowest." But how can he be the lowest, if he will not let anyone judge him?

If one wants to force Christ's word (as some do) that he should respect the lowest in his heart and not show himself outwardly in this way, then one must also say that he should respect the highest in his heart and not show himself outwardly in this way. And so, either keep both spiritually in the heart, or show both outwardly, that Christ's words may stand.

This is the article where all misfortune has come from in all the world. Therefore the spiritual right, as a poisonous thing, is to be destroyed and avoided. For from this it follows, as it has followed, publicly to all, that no evil can be prevented, no good promoted, and we must continually let the gospel and faith perish.

1) In the original and in the Wittenberg: "Unterern". Latin: inlsrioritnis.

The eleventh.

The Roman See gives power and authority to all rights, but it is not subject to them, 25. q. 1.. That is to say, what he wills is right; but he owes no allegiance to it. Just as Christ says of the Jewish Pharisees, Matt. 23:4: "They lay heavy burdens on men's backs, but they will not touch them with a finger." Against this St. Paul says Gal. 5, 1: "Stand in your liberty, and be not subject to the laws of men."

The twelfth.

The rock where Christ builds His church, Matth. 16, 18, is called the Roman See, dist. 19. cum proxim" suis; but Christ alone is the same rock, 1 Cor. 10, 4.

The thirteenth.

That the keys are given to St. Peter alone, but Christ gives them to the whole church (Matth. 16, 19.) 18,18.

The fourteenth.

That Christ's priesthood was transferred from him to St. Peter, de constit. c. translato. 1) Against this David says Ps. 110, 4 and Paul to the Hebrews [Cap. 7, 17]: that Christ is a unique, eternal priest, which priesthood will never be transferred.

The fifteenth.

That the pope has authority to make law over the Christian church, 25. q. 1. ideo permittente. Against this St. Paul says Gal. 5,13: "You are called to a freedom from God."

The sixteenth.

That he interprets the saying [Matth.16,19.): Quodcunque ligaveris etc. to the effect that he has power to burden the whole of Christendom with his wanton laws, when Christ wants nothing else with it than to drive sinners to punishment and repentance, and nothing at all to burden the other innocent with laws, as the words clearly read.

1) So in all Latin editions and in the German Wittenberg. Jenaer and Erlanger: trmWlatio; the latter notes that this is wrong.

The seventeenth.

That he should not eat meat, eggs, butter, this and that for several days, when he has no power to do so, and should only kindly admonish each person's free will and leave it unrestrained.

The eighteenth.

That he forbade the whole priesthood to marry, thereby increasing much sin and disgrace without cause, against God's command and Christian freedom.

The nineteenth.

That the Pope Nicolaus the Third or Fourth in his final Christian decree, among many evil pieces, puts: Christ has given with the keys to St. Petro and his descendants power of the heavenly and earthly kingdom, so everyone knows well how Christ fled the earthly kingdom [John 6, 15.], and all priests have the keys, but not all emperors are over heavenly and earthly kingdom.

The twentieth.

That he considers the great unchristian lie, that Emperor Constantinus gave him Rome, land, empire and power on earth, to be true and demands, against which Christ says Matth. 6, 19: "You shall not gather treasures on earth"; item, v. 24: "You may not serve good and God at the same time."

The twenty-first.

That he boasts that he is the heir of the Roman Empire, de sent. et re jud. c. Pastoralis; so everyone knows well that spiritual office and secular government do not suffer with each other. And St. Paul teaches [Titus 1,9] that a bishop should wait for the word of God.

The twenty-second.

That he teaches that it is right for a Christian to protect himself against violence by force; against and about Christ, who says, Matth. 5, 40: "Whoever takes away your skirt, let him also have your coat."

The twenty-third.

That the nations may disobey their overlords, and the kings he may depose; as in many places he sets and often does, against and above God.

The twenty-fourth.

That he also will tear all oaths, covenants and duties, made between high and low estates, against and above God, who commanded that everyone should keep faith with the other.

The twenty-fifth.

The pope has the power to discard and change the vows made to God, *de vot. et vot. redempt.* which is also against and above God.

The twenty-sixth.

Whoever pardons his vow to fulfill the Pope's commandment is not guilty of the vow's crime. *Ibidem.* That is so much said: The pope is above God.

The twenty-seventh.

Let no one serve God who is legitimate; yet Abraham and many saints were legitimate, and God Himself instituted marriage, without doubt. Thus, the final Christian rises above God.

The twenty-eighth.

That he makes his useless law equal to the gospels and holy scripture; as he indicates many times in the decree.

The twenty-ninth.

That the pope has the power to interpret and guide the holy scripture according to his own will, and that no one may interpret it differently than he wills; so that he sets himself above God's word, and tears it apart and destroys it. St. Paul 1 Cor. 14,30. says: The superior shall give way to the inferior enlightenment.

The thirtieth.

That not the pope from the Scripture, but the Scripture from him have credible continuance, power and honor; which is the main article of one, therefore he, as a right final Christian, deserves that Christ from heaven himself destroy him with his regiment; as Paul proclaimed. In these and similar articles, of which there are countless many more, all are directed to the effect that the pope is above God and man, and that he alone is subject to no one, but to everyone, including God and the angels.

that they themselves also say, his disciples, that the pope is a strange thing; that he is not God, nor is he a man (perhaps the devil himself), now Paul's saying [2 Thess. 2, 3. f.] is fulfilled, when he says: "There shall come forth a man of sins, and a child of perdition, who shall resist, and exalt himself above all that is called a god, by the working of the evil spirit" 2c. When he calls him a man of sin and a child of perdition, he does not mean his person alone, for that would be a small pity; but that his rule is nothing but sin and perdition, and that he will only rule to lead all the world to sin and hell. As can be seen from such articles, and is evident today, that nothing but sin and destruction has come into the world from the pope, and more is coming every day.

(9) They themselves, who hold the spiritual law, though in the corner, have confessed that it stinks of vain avarice and violence. This is also true; and he who does not want to lie must confess this. For if you want to know in brief what is written in spiritual law, listen. It is Summa Summarum:

The pope is a god on earth, over everything heavenly, earthly, spiritual and worldly, and everything is his own. For no one may say, "What are you doing?"

10. this is the abomination and stink, because Christ says about it Matth. 24,15: "When you see the stinking abomination, which makes all things desolate, that it stands in the holy city, of which Daniel said: He that readeth these things understandeth them well," 2c., and St. Paul [2 Thess. 2:4.]: "He shall sit in the temple of GOD (that is, in Christendom), and shall present himself as if he were a god."

(11) That no one, or few people, should have told the pope of such an abomination is not surprising, for it is proclaimed that he will burn all those who oppose him, and will have the followers of all kings and princes.

(12) If the seduction of the end Christ were so gross that everyone would know it, or so small that the kings and great men would not be the most noble in it, then

the prophets and apostles cried out and wrote about it so much and so earnestly in vain.

(13) When Christ was on earth, many people who heard his word and saw his work spoke against those who would not let him be Christ: If Christ comes, how can he do more miracles than this one? So now they also mumble. If the final Christ is already coming, what more evil can he do than the Pabst's regiment has done, and does daily? Surely it is not credible, if his regiment were of God, that he should so much corrupt and sin come out of it, and let the evil spirit rule so mightily in it. We do not believe yet, until we are lost, and all too slowly recognize the final Christ.

14. just as from the beginning of all creatures the greatest evil has always come from the best. For in the highest choir of angels, where God worked the greatest, Lucifer sinned and did great harm. In Paradise, the greatest sin and harm happened to the first, best man; after that, Genesis 6:4, the giants and tyrants grew from none but the holy children of God. And Christ, the Son of God, was not crucified except in the holy city of Jerusalem, where he was most honored and did many miracles; and by none but the princes and chief priests and most learned, most holy. And Judas also had to damage none but the apostles. Thus God has not endowed any city on earth with so many graces and saints as Rome, and has done more for her than for any other. Therefore, she, like Jerusalem, must do the greatest harm in gratitude to Him, and give the world the right, most harmful final Christ, who will do more harm than Christ did good before. And so it certainly goes, and all this must happen under the name and appearance of Christ and God, so that no one believes it until he himself comes and illuminates such darkness with the light of his future, as St. Paul says.

15 This article is enough for now. But if someone is a relative of the pope's, and if he is funny, and if he refrains from protecting and defending them, I will explain them to him more clearly.

and raise much more of the same. These should be a beginning of the seriousness; because up to now I have only joked and played with the Pabst's thing. I have started it in God's name; I hope that it is time that it also carries itself out in the same without me. Here I want to understand all the articles, which have been condemned and burned by the endchrist's messenger, now from Rome, in the last bull, as being Christian and true, and as many articles have been imposed on the pope, which are endchristian and unchristian, as many of my articles are condemned. If they may burn my articles, since there is more gospel and well-founded holy scripture in them (which I want to say and prove with truth without glory) than in all Pabst's books, I will burn their unchristian law books much more cheaply, in which there is nothing good. And even if there is something good in it, as I must confess about the decree, it is all intended to do harm and to strengthen the pope in his endchristian regiment; for this none of it is ever kept, above all other diligence, only what is evil and harmful that is in it.

(16) I leave each one his own conceit; I am most moved by the fact that the pope has never refuted with writing or reason anyone who has spoken, written, or done against him, but has always used force, banishment, kings, princes, and other followers, or suppressed, chased away, burned, or otherwise strangled with lists and false words, of which I will convince him with all history. For this reason, he has never wanted to suffer any judgment 1) or verdict, and has always proclaimed that he is above all scripture, judgment and power.

Now it is true that truth and righteousness do not shy away from judgment, that they love nothing better than light and judgment, 1) that they like to be looked at and tried. The apostles gave Apost. 4:19 to their enemies, saying, "Judge for yourselves whether it is right to be more obedient to you than to God"; so certain was the truth. But the pope wants to blind everyone's eyes, to let no one judge, but to judge everyone alone; so utterly uncertain and fearful is he of his cause, and

1) In the original: "Richt"; Latin: judicium.

Handel. And this his mourning in darkness and shunning of the light makes that, if the pope were a vain angel, I could still believe nothing of him. Everyone hates the dark business and loves the light. Amen.

In all this I offer myself [to] stand in judgment before everyone.

Samson Richt. 15, 11.:

Sicut fecerunt mihi, sic feci eis.

Section Six of Chapter Six.

How the German nobility, especially in Franconia, offered Luther protection and security.

A. From the shoe offered by the German nobility Luther.

488 Johann Aurifaber's report on how the nobility accepted Luther.

This writing is found in the Eisleben Collection, vol. I, p. 26; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 549 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 380.

When in 1520 the pope with his Romanists and bishops, and also with the universities, sat down violently against M. Luther, condemned him as a heretic, and from all quarters sent books and writings against the united man, and also the pope's legates at Cologne at the imperial diet wanted to embitter the new emperor Carol against D. Luther, and demanded that his books, which had gone out of print, be burned by their imperial majesty's edict; but their imperial majesty did not condemn the legates as heretics. Luther, and requested that his books, which had gone out of print, be burned by edict of their imperial majesty; but their imperial majesty did not answer the legates soon, but told them that he would first ask his father, Duke Friederich, Elector of Saxony, what he said about it, and inquire how things stood with D. Mart. Luther's teachings 2c., and thus D. Luther was in great fear and distress, that also the courtiers of the Elector of Saxony wanted to be angry with D. Luther, therefore, that he wrote against the note of the official, or bishop of Meissen, publicly; for Duke George of Saxony took up the same letter harshly, was very angry and raged, therefore stood completely on the fact that D. Martin Luther should have been removed from Wittenberg. Martin Luther would have had to leave Wittenberg and go into exile, was also planning to hide in the country of Bohemia:

God gave Doctor Luther comfort and courage again. For Ulrich von Hütten, a German nobleman and poet, wrote violently against the Pope and proclaimed him to be the Antichrist. So Luther now had a companion,

who would stand with him publicly against the pope and storm the antichrist empire.

God also gave Doctor Luther physical protection. For since the Pope and his followers wanted him dead, or even chased out of the German country, Ulrich von Hutten wrote to D. Luthern that Franciscus von Sickingen, also a nobleman living in the Palatinate, offered to house and shelter Doctor Luthern and to protect him against all his enemies.

Therefore Silvester von Schaumburg, a Franconian nobleman, also wrote to Luther, and reported that he and others, theirs being a hundred of the nobility, wanted to protect him against all his opponents; as the same letter follows. This made Doctor Luthern's heart grow fonder, so that he really got into the Pope's wool, and wrote a booklet to the Christian nobility of the German nation, about the Christian state's improvement, in which he treated the Pope as nothing other than the true, right Antichrist.

God thus awakened the nobility to take up Doctor Luther and his teachings, since he otherwise had no comfort or help from princes or bishops; as Franz von Sickingen put him off in a writing, even for the sake of protection.

489 Letter from Silvester von Schaumburg to Luther, in which he admonishes him not to turn to Bohemia, but, since he could no longer live safely in Saxony, to go to him, with the promise that he would raise a hundred of the nobility and, with their help, protect him until the matter was settled. Dated Münnerstadt, June 11, 1520.

This letter is found in the Eisleben Collection, vol. I, p. 26b; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 549; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 380 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 415.

To the highly respected and spiritual gentleman, Martin Luther, teacher of the Holy Scriptures, Augustinian order, at Wittenberg, my special dear gentleman and friend.

My unknown services and friendship before, esteemed, special, dear Lord and friend! I have received from many persons, who have nevertheless also taught and adhered to the learning, that your doctrine and opinion should be founded on the holy, divine Scriptures; but that you should be opposed to disfavored and envious persons, harassed with avarice, which is conducive to idolatry. And even though you refrain from and refrain from divorcing your good opinion by a common Christian calling, or otherwise by the judgment of unsuspicious, understanding, pious men, you should still expect danger to your body, and be caused to associate with foreign nations, and especially with the Bohemians, who do not esteem spiritual, self-willed constraint highly.

But I beg and admonish you in God the Lord, even though electoral, princely, or other authorities want to express themselves against you, rather and rather want to disobey your own spiritual compulsion, 1) that you will not let such deviation and apostasy grieve you, nor will you go to the Bohemians, with whom some high-minded people in times past have received noticeable reprimands and annoyance, and thus have accumulated and increased disfavor. For I, and otherwise, of my own accord, a hundred of nobility, whom I (God willing) want to muster to keep you honest, and to protect you from danger against your repugnants, as long as your good opinion would be disproved and un rebutted by common Christian calling and assembly, or by unsuspicious, reasonable jurists, 2) and you would be better informed, as you have pacified yourselves, for the previous reason of submission. All this I have not wished to leave undeclared to you, as I am willing with unknown services and friendship, to be comforted for this reason. Date Monday after Corporis Christi [June 11], Anno 1520.

Silvester von Schaumberg, 3)
to Munerstad.

1) "practice" put by us instead of: "live".

2) It seems to us that: "Refuted and refuted" should be read.

3) The spellings occur: Schaumberg, Schaumburg and Schauenburg. He was bailiff in Münnerstadt in Lower Franconia.

490: Letter from Ulrich von Hutten to Martin Luther, exhorting him to steadfastness and caution against secret persecution, and offering his faithful assistance. Dated Mainz, June 4, 1520.

This letter is found in Latin (incomplete) in the Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, toi. 485; complete in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 409. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 1325; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 444 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 304. We have retranslated according to the Erlanger Briefwechsel.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Wake up, O freedom!

Ulrich von Hütten, knight, greets Martin Luther, the theologian.

If, as I see it, an obstacle gets in the way of what you are now planning to do there with great courage, I am sorry for that, of necessity, and indeed from the bottom of my heart. We have made some progress here. May Christ help us, may Christ help us, since we are defending what he has instituted, to bring his teaching, darkened by the darkness of the papal statutes, back to light; you with great success, I to the best of my ability. Would God that either all would be so minded, or that those people would of their own free will recognize themselves and return to the right path. They say that you have been banished. How great, O Luther, how great you are, if this is true! For all the godly will say of thee [Ps. 94:21, 23: "They arm themselves against the soul of the righteous, and condemn innocent blood; but the LORD our GOD will recompense them their wrong, and will destroy them for their wickedness." This shall be our hope, this our faith. Eck returns from Rome, richly provided with benefices and money by the pope, as they say. What else? [Ps. 10, 3:] "The wicked boasts of his will of courage", may GOD guide us in his truth Ms. 25, 5.]. And therefore we hate the assembly of the wicked, and sit not with the wicked [Ps. 26, 5. 4.]. But look well about thee, and have both eyes and mind fixed on them. Thou seest, if thou wert to fall now, what a harm would come to all Christendom (publico); for, as for thee.

4) This will refer to Luther's writing "An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation" 2c. (Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 266), the production of which Luther dealt with at the time.

I know that you are so minded that you would rather die like this than live under any circumstances. I am also being pursued; I will guard myself as much as I can. 1) When they come with force, there will be forces against them, not only equal but, I hope, even superior. Would to God that they despised me! 2) Eck has described me as one who would stand with you, and in this he has not spoken the untruth. For I have always kept it with you in the things that I have understood. 3) But in the past we had no intercourse with each other. For what the same said, that we used to conspire with each other, he lied to please the Roman bishop. Oh about the impudently bad man! But one must see that he is paid what he deserves. You be firm and strong and do not waver. But what do I exhort where it is not necessary? You have me as your accomplice, whatever may happen. Therefore, from now on, you can boldly entrust all your advice to me. We want to protect the common freedom, we want to liberate the long oppressed fatherland! We have God on our side. [Rom. 8, 31. "If God is for us, who can be against us?"] Those in Cologne and Louvain have belittled you; these are those devilish, wretched associations (*conciliubula*) against the truth; but we want to break through, bravely break through with Christ's help. But it would have been more fitting for them, if a matter had arisen, to judge freely. I have reminded them of this in a certain preface 4) which you will read; Capito will send it. 5) Today I leave for Ferdinand. Everything that I can do there for our good, I will do unceasingly. 6) N. 7) asks you to come to him if you are not safe enough there. He will keep you glorious according to your dignity and bravely defend you against enemies of every kind.

1) This and the preceding sentence precedes the account of Eck in the Latin Wittenberg and German editions.

2) The two preceding sentences are only in the Erlanger.

3) In a letter to Hermann von Neuenar of April 3, 1518, Hütten had still spoken approvingly of Luther and his cause (Erl. Briefw.).

4) In the *praslato likri cks uuitats ssslssias soussrvuucka* (Erl. Briefw.) addressed to Ferdinand of Austria.

5) The following up to "In Brabant" is missing in all editions except the Erlangen one. - Capito was court preacher in Mainz at that time. - Ferdinand was in Brussels.

6) Smelters did not make a difference.

7) Franz von Sickingen.

theidigen. He has told me three or four times to write this to you. Your letters will reach me in Brabant, and write there. Farewell in Christ. In haste. Mainz, June 4, 1520.

Greetings to Melanchthon and Fach and all the good people there. Once again, farewell.

491 Two letters from Ulrich von Hütten to Melanchthon, dated January 20 and February 28, 1520, in which he asks him to report to Luther that Sickingen is willing to take his side.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Part II, p. 425.

Translated from the Latin by Joh. Frick.

Ulrich Hütten wishes Philipp Melanchthon salvation.

Perhaps you already know how Franciscus has freed Capnio 8) from the rude boys by force and at my command, which they will leave so gladly that they may also give money for it. But now this brave hero wants me to tell Luther that, if he had to suffer something for his cause and no other means were available, he would only come to him; he wanted to do what he could for him, as he also made every possible effort for Capnio. I do not do this for many urgent reasons; but I write to you with the intention that you remind him that he should honor this patron of his, who freely offers himself so graciously to him, with a letter. Be assured that he will not get through anywhere more safely. What he wrote to the monks I wish you could see. Four days ago I left him in Naustal, where he is staying at present. There, too, I want to take up the cause of Erasmus, who reports to me many distressing circumstances from his enemies; above all, we must steer Ferdinand to our side, for whom Franciscus would like to make himself deserving. Then it will not be difficult to get angry with the godless people. Franciscus is fond of Luther, partly because he seems honest to him and others, and that is precisely why he is so hated by them; partly because one of the Counts of Solms recommended him to him in writing. Just remind him in a hurry that he knows from where he has hope and where he has to save himself. Farewell. From Mainz, 20 Jan. 1520.

8) "Capnio", that is, Reuchlin.

To the highly learned Philipp Melanchthon von Breiten, his much beloved friend.

Hail! It has been a long time since I wrote this letter, but it is only now arriving because those to whom I entrusted it have not handled it carefully. What I wrote from Franciscus, that you should tell Luther, I ask that you tell him soon, so that he will know that I have not interceded in the matter through anyone. It would be too much of a stretch to state the cause. If he makes an effort, it is not necessary for him to look for other help. Here he is doing well. Here, one works so that he can insult all his enemies without fear. I have very important things to discuss with Franciscus. If you were present, I would talk about it. I hope it will not go well with the barbarians who want to throw the Roman yoke on everyone. I am now having conversations printed under the title: *Trias romana*; likewise: *Inspicientes*, in which I have very freely attacked the pope and the thieves of common goods in Germany. I have no doubt that you will like them, or at least not entirely dislike them. Above all, remember Luthern. If his cause is still doubtful, let him hasten to Franciscus without delay. On the way he could easily meet me; but I do not know whether I will be here then. For in a few days I must ride away. He will take the way via Fulda, several miles from here, and there he will find out whether I am to be found at the innkeeper of the Ursinā Hostel, zu dem Bären. If he meets me there, I will by all means present him with travel money. Be that as it may, answer me quickly, or send your letter to Fulda, or to the court in Magdeburg to Tillmann Kreych, the prince's court preacher. You will seal the letter and have it delivered to me for my own opening. Be well, February 28, in the Huttian castle of Steckelbergk.

There 1) Balthasar Fach, my old and tested friend, is staying. Greet this man kindly for my sake.

492 Franz von Sickingen's letter to Luther, in which he offers to show him support and favor according to his ability. Cologne, Nov. 3, 1520.

1) That is, in Wittenberg. There, Fach was professor of humanistic sciences. Cf. De Wette, Vol. I, p. 385.

This letter is found in the Eisleben Collection, vol. I, p. 27; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 549; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 381 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 506.

Venerable, esteemed, favorable, dear doctor, and especially good friend! My willing services, and what I am able to do dear and good, are ready for you with all diligence beforehand. I have received your previous and present last letter here in Cologne, have read the same, together with your posted apology and request 2), have also heard the request of Magister Georgen Spalatini, and have also gladly understood that your mind is directed toward displaying Christian truth and adhering to it, and am well inclined to prove to you my support and favor in such matters. I did not want to give you this answer to your letter. For with what I can show you favor, you shall find me willing. I hereby command God, who may order your affairs according to His will. Date Cologne, on the third day of November, Anno 1520.

Franciscus von Sickingen, my hand.

B. How Luther behaved against this offer.

493 Luther's sending of the above (No. 489) Schaumburg letter to Spalatin, with a request, if possible, to have it mentioned in the princely answer to Cardinal St. Georgii, so that they would see in Rome that they would not achieve anything if they took him away from Wittenberg, since there were people in the middle of Germany who wanted to protect him against the papal ban.

See Appendix, No. 62, §§ 2. 3.

Luther's report of this offer to Spalatin.

See Appendix, No. 63, § 3.

495 Another report of the same to Wenceslaus Link.

See Appendix, No. 64, § 2.

2) This is Document No. 433 in this volume.

496: Luther's Writings: An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung.

It is in the 10th part of this collection, Col. 266.

497 Luther's report of the publication of this book to Link, in which he says that this writing against the Pope exposes all the ungodly arts and violence of the papists, and will therefore cause much anger in Rome.

See Appendix, No. 64, § 3.

498 Luther's letter to Lang about the book "An den christlichen Adel" (To the Christian Nobility), in which he calls the papacy the seat of the Antichrist and the pope the man of sin and the child of perdition, and also adds that the book is not entirely disliked by the court. August 18, 1520.

This letter is found handwritten in the Ooä. Oottün. 399, toi. 129d; printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 278; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 477 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 461.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the venerable father Johann Lang, the honest theologian, the temporary 1) vicar of the Augustinians at Erfurt, his superior in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! Whether my little book, my dear father, which you call a war trumpet, is so terrible and cruel, you 2) and all others may see. I confess that it is exceedingly full of freedom and impetuosity, yet many like it, and even our court does not entirely dislike it. I cannot say anything definite about myself in these matters. Perhaps I am the forerunner of Philip, whom I will prepare the way for in spirit and in power, following the example of Elijah, by confounding Israel and the followers of Ahab. The one thing hold fast, that the publication of the same was not in my hand. For it was already printed, in 4000 copies, and was sold, and I was allowed to

1) medio. In other letters Luther calls him viearins ÄMns, also vicarirt mockiWtlnus.

2) Erlanger: ut instead of tu.

not cause so much damage to our lottery. Therefore, prayer will be needed when something is missed.

Here we are convinced that the papacy is the chair of the true and actual Antichrist, against whose deceitfulness and unworthiness, we believe, everything is permissible for the sake of the salvation of souls. 3) I, for my part, confess that I owe no other obedience to the pope than that which I owe to the true Antichrist. The rest you consider, and do not judge us hastily; there is good reason that imposes this opinion on us.

Philipp is marrying Catharina Krappe, and people are shouting that this is happening at my instigation. I do the man all possible good and do not care about the cries of all; may God turn it for the best. I heartily hate that man of sin and the child of perdition with all his kingdom, by whom 4) nothing but sin and hypocrisy is cherished and fostered. Fare well in the Lord. From Wittenberg, 1520, on the day of St. Agapiti [August 18].

Yours, Brother Martin Luther.

6. of -the bitterness of the German nobility against the Roman See, and that of Crown-berg's correspondence with Luther.

499 Ulrich von Hutten's letter to Jodocus Jonas, dated 17 Apr. 1521, concerning Jodocus' love of the Gospel, the papists' enterprises against the evangelicals, and John Crotus.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Part II, p. 445.

Translated into German by Joh. Frick.

Ulrich von Hütten, knight, wishes Jodocus Jonas good health.

In the same way, you followed the evangelical preacher, so that you were with him in the rose garden.

3) In the old "deceitfulness and unworthiness of the Antichrist," newer papists translate this passage in order to revile Luther thus: "We hold that for the sake of the salvation of souls, everything is permitted to us for the evasion and destruction of the Pabst. (Cf. Wilh. Walther, "Luther im neuesten römischen Gericht," Heft 2, p. 2 ff. 1886.)

4) Erlanger: yuock instead of: yuo.

finds? O gracious blessedness! If I loved you warmly before, my Jodoce, I love you a hundred times more because of that now. It is said that they have dealt with it, that, because Martinus is safe by an imperial escort, now you, who also have a part in the ban, are being attacked. O clever plot ! how beautifully the people consider the matter. That is why this assembly will be separated. For I have no doubt that most of the people there will talk with you. If only I could be present and make a tangle in the matter, or cause a disturbance. But it is better to be quiet. May the Lord Christ grant that it may be done, and prevent in every way that violence may not be needed, so that we may not avenge in death those whom we would rather defend in life. Write me something of what is going on, likewise what you hope and fear. But my dear Crotus has still been held back by the unfortunate authorities from putting himself in the desired danger. Oh, if you had carried him off with you, as he would undoubtedly have liked to go; but who should do him violence now? I have hardly been able to write that much, since Bucer quickly departed. Be very well. From Ebernburg, 17 Apr. 1521 in the greatest haste.

To Jodocus Jonas, his polite and learned friend.

500: Hermann Busch's curious letter to Ulrich von Hütten, dated May 5, 1521, from Worms, concerning the Papists' mockery of Hutten's threats, as well as their, and especially the Spaniards', rage against Hutten and Luther's writings at the Diet of Worms, and Aleander's favor with Carl 2c.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Part II, p. 448.

Translated into German by Johann Frick.

Ulrich von Hütten, the knight, his lover, Hermann Busch.

I wish very much that after your threats the popes would fare worse than they really do. They were terribly afraid of you at the beginning, but now they are not afraid to laugh at you and to take the opportunity to mock you in company (even our people). They go so far in their madness because you, as they speak, only bite and bark. It is easy, they say, to have as an enemy one who tries to harm only with words and not with blows. But what is the use of these constant threats, which are only

Wind go? How long is it going to go on like this? How long will it continue to pull itself through? Well, he begins to thunder once, if this ineffective cloud is to do its work. Your huts can be frightened, but no one can harm you. So, as they speak, his anger and zeal is an empty zeal, which has no emphasis. He writes to Carolum, to the princes, archbishops and to us. He is always threatening, and nevertheless, if he does not make a more important attempt than he has done so far, we are safe. I believe you Germans will have seen for yourselves whether, in the meantime, we have forgiven Hutten's small threats to our duty, or whether we have not rather pushed such threats higher. And we also let ourselves be the more sharply concerned with such things, the more he concerns us with his futile threats. We will not let ourselves be misled by his or anyone else's overcome terrors until we bring our work to completion and bring it before Leo with rejoicing and congratulations. Luther must be condemned, even if it costs a defeat of the Germans, if someone carelessly undertakes to oppose us. I die when they publicly wash and chatter so boldly in the pulpits. The other day a certain Spaniard tore up in anger the annotated bull of Leo, which he had taken from a bookseller; and this having been done, he threw it on the ground and trampled it underfoot in the midst of the muck. Moreover, on the third of May next, a court preacher of Emperor Carl, with two Spanish servants from the said court, gave about 80 copies of the *Captivitas Babylonicae* to a poor, wretched man downstairs in front of the palace. This would also have happened to the others, if the closest neighbors had not finally jumped to the bookseller's aid and forced the villain to flee with the servants to the castle. I have also seen a certain Spanish horseman with a bare sword pursuing one of our people with such fury that he fell from his horse in front of the door, which the fugitive barely reached, and would not have been able to get up if a German had not come to his aid. And even though there were more Germans around him, no one dared to touch him, not even with a finger. So I learn that we call these people lazy and despondent without reason; they are truly the most despondent of all. Aleander has interfered with Carl in such a way-

The Spaniard is so cautious that he almost never leaves his side, even if princely persons follow him. Every day one sees three or four Spaniards riding through the market on their mules, and everyone has to avoid them, or he is ridden down. Thus we are chased around the whole market; nevertheless we keep quiet about it and give in. That is all our freedom. Do you think you can help them, what are you waiting for? For Carl to leave? Waiting for that seems to many to be too slow, until those get to safety against whom one should primarily take revenge, and who most of all have offended German freedom, and who have also been most obnoxious to Luther and yourselves. I mean the apostolic nuncios, which, if you let them leave Germany unscented, most of the good hope and desire of many will fall away, my dear Hutten. Therefore, take care that they at least do not all get through without harm, so that one cannot say that these threats of yours were completely in vain. If one has to announce war to the Curtisians, as they are commonly called, one must start with them, who, as they are not Germans, are mortal enemies to them and do them all harm. I fear that if ours, who are going to Rome, are persecuted daily, this will cause more bitterness than honor, because they have gone out through no fault of their own. Therefore, I would rather that vengeance should fall on them than on our people. Be that as it may, it is to be lamented that up to now you have not cared for your most trusted friends. I am waiting here for the announcement of the Augsburg Edict against Luther and all his followers, with which the popes threaten us with great clamor, and in which the Protestant books as well as the entire Lutheran body are supposed to have been violently attacked. Farewell. Worms, May 5, from Doct. Theobald: House, in haste. Do not take offense at what I have kindly written. 1521.

Worms.

Luther's report to Spalatin that he had received letters from lodges that were full of zeal against the pope, so that he now threatened to fight papal tyranny with writing and weapons, because the pope had ordered daggers and poison on him, and also wanted to have him captured by the archbishop of Mainz and led bound to Rome.

See Appendix, No. 13, U 3. 4.

502 Luther's to Spalatin von Hutten's vehemence opened thoughts, which Luther does not approve of at all, but praises only the Word of God as the sword of the Spirit.

See Appendix, No. 65, § 2.

503 Hartmuth's Christian exhortation to the four mendicant orders, January 25, 1522.

This manuscript and the following three were printed in quarto at Wittenberg in 1522. After that in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 143b; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 63b. In these two editions it is written: "This Christian exhortation to the four mendicant orders was written by D. Martinus, of blessed memory, himself (but in such a way that one cannot easily notice it), as his own handwriting shows, for which reason he also let it go out under another name, namely Hartmut of Cronberg, though not without cause. Further in the Altenburger, Vol. II, p. 84 and in the Leipziger, Vol. XVIII, p. 215.

To the mendicant orders.

Dear Brothers! I, Hartmuth von Cronberg, offer you, the mendicant order, my friendly service, with heartfelt wish of God's grace, and bring to your attention that the evangelical truth and Christian brotherly love, which flows from it, compels me; Therefore, I cannot refrain from giving you a fraternal admonition concerning the clear, pure, evangelical doctrine, which, in these times of ours, shines with a clear, heavenly light, through the highest goodness of God, to us unworthy poor people.

(2) We are to rejoice in such evangelical teachings from the bottom of our hearts and to the highest degree, and we are also to give humble thanks to Almighty God and accept this supreme grace of ours with joy. Moreover, we should also be all the more grateful to God Almighty; item, humble ourselves all the more, because we know that we have not deserved such grace, but must confess that by despising the light burden of Christ, and by accepting the heavy, infallible burden of man, and ways that we have devised in our heads, we have acted contrary to and against the pure, truthful evangelical doctrine; because of which we are worthy of infernal and eternal death, and with our sins deserve that God should have let us die cheaply in our horrible darkness.

3 Therefore, dear brothers, let us take to heart the unspeakable grace that the kind, merciful God has given us, without all of our mis-

The Lord has given us the true way, the beautiful heavenly light, and the heavenly living bread. And in this wholesome doctrine the true way, the heavenly truth, and the shining beautiful heavenly light, and the heavenly living bread, Christ Jesus, are shown pure and clear.

Dear brethren, the doctrine preached by D. Luther is not his doctrine. Luther preached is not his teaching, but flowed from the fountain of Christ. Whoever follows this heavenly teaching does not follow Luther, but Christ. We do not believe D. Luther further and further, because as much as we find founded in the holy Gospel. The holy fathers instruct us that we should not believe or accept their teaching any further than it is founded in the holy gospel. We must confess that we have all strayed far from the true evangelical truth, blinded in our own discretion by contempt for the light burden of Christ. Because of this, God Almighty, how justly, on account of all our sins, has decreed that the devil, through his devilish spirit, has possessed us; therefore we have all erred as the blind. Neither should we be envious or angry with you because of your blindness, and because you have led us beside the true, honest evangelical way. For we have earned such leaders of the blind with our grievous sins and much anger.

(5) But you should not be impatient for us to leave the devilish way and follow the true, straight, evangelical way, which the eternal, merciful God, out of special, undeserved grace, shows us so clearly through Christian doctrine. By God's grace and help, according to St. Paul's teaching Gal. 1:8, we will not let any creature, whether it be an angel or a saint from heaven, tear us away from the true evangelical teaching, and we want to be instructed further, as far as the Christian faith is concerned, on the basis of the holy Scriptures. Christ is the true rock, 1 Cor. 10:4, on which we want to build. But how we have been Christians until now, we may take a certain test by the signs of Christian love, how far such a Christian sign has not been in any state of the world, and each one has sought his own profit and avarice. Thus true, Christian, brotherly love has grown cold in all of us. Therefore I want to admonish you in a brotherly way, that you accept the truth with us, and rejoice in this our common heavenly light, which shines so clearly for our common eternal bliss.

6. want to cast out from you, or a bridle

Put on your monastery brothers, who without any reason of the holy evangelical scripture say that Luther's teaching is heretical and against God. They also say that such teaching is seditious among the common people. But since no one among all scholars has, with some just cause, refuted Doctor Luther's teaching; indeed, even all the high schools that have written against him may have no Christian cause against and against him: thus the truth and the power of the indestructible Word of God will be recognized by all of us the more, and thus will take strong root in us, the longer the more. We will take strong hold of the living, wholesome words of Christ; we will not let ourselves be led away from them by the teachings and laws of men. We will keep in mind that every branch that does not bear fruit in Christ will be cut off and thrown into the fire [Matth. 3, 10, 7, 19].

7 Therefore I exhort you, out of Christian brotherly faithfulness and love, not to despise this most high grace, together with us, lest you and we be reproached, as Capernaum [Matth. 11, 23.] and their like, the high grace of God appeared to them, and they used it evil and wickedly; lest we be numbered among the unholy multitude, which shall be offended in Christ.

(8) I hereby entreat and admonish you not to despise this writing of mine, because such admonition comes from me, as a bad layman. For Christianity is not to be despised by Christians who profess baptism, even if this is said and pronounced by the least creature; lest it be said to us that we have despised the good counsels, because they were given to us by God through lowly persons.

The almighty God has hidden his heavenly wisdom from the wise and witty, and has revealed it to the little ones, Luc. 10, 21. Therefore even the poorest sowerd, who would speak the divine truth 1), should be accepted by us. Why then should we not accept the divine, undoubted truth revealed to us by Doctor Luther, who is full of the holy Scriptures and desires to accept no more of his teaching than that which is founded in the divine true Scriptures and confirmed by the mouth of truth, Christ Jesus? Summa, we do not want to follow the old scribes, gleees and scribes.

1) Thus the Jenaer. Wittenbergers: address.

The only thing that we can be sure of is that we will not follow the methods that Christ clearly illustrates in the holy Gospel, which are completely contrary to Him and to the truth.

10. Christ afflicts Jerusalem, saying [Matth. 23, 37.]: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you slay those who prophesy; you stone those who are sent to you. How often would I have gathered thy sons together, as the hen gathereth her little chickens under her wings, but thou wouldest not." How many manifold clear warnings we have in the holy, true Gospel Scriptures of the horrible eternal punishment of all those who do not accept Christ and the true Gospel. Truly, the Promiser, Christ, will be sure of all His promises, rewards and punishments. For even though Christ died for us, he rose again from the dead, reserving to his almighty power the judgment over us of all his pleasure. He will not fail anyone who firmly puts his trust in him. No one who is against his word can abstain from his power.

I have not omitted this reminder out of Christian love, as in brief and in summary, trusting that you will understand and accept it without any other opinion. May the good Christ help you and us, amen.

Date Saturday, Conversionis Pauli [January 25], Anno Domini 1522.

504: Hartmuth von Kronberg's letter to Pope Leo the Tenth. 1521.

This and the two following letters are found in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 247 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 217 ff. We have placed this document in the year 1521 because Leo X died on Dec. 1, 1521.

1 Pope Leo, called the Tenth. I, one of the least servants of my Lord Jesus Christ, am moved to write to you out of true Christian love, sincerely wishing you the grace and highest goodness of God. Although I have no doubt that you would consider this a foolish boldness or foolishness on my part, and especially since I have left out your usual title, in view of the fact that all kings and princes of the whole of Christendom are in your hands. kings and princes of all Christendom are subject and obedient to you, in opinion as a governor of Almighty God, and so is your ancestor and your power pervades all Christendom, and you have brought all the people of Christendom under your power and obedience, and you are respected and respected in all Christendom.

held for the head of the whole Christianity. For this reason, it is undoubtedly considered by many to be great foolishness on my part that I, as a poor, foolish man (as I also want to confess myself), dare to write to such an exalted human majesty as you are, and especially because I have left out your exalted title. But, O virtuous Leo! to this letter I am urged by true Christian and brotherly love, and that I hope you will read this my writing before and before you judge, and that you would recognize by the high grace of God that such my writing is truly done out of heartfelt Christian love. And to such I have a comforting hope, for reasons that I have understood from many who walked with you before and before you became a pope, who respected and considered you a virtuous man. Therefore, O Leo, my humble request is that you, for the sake of your innate virtue, hear me, as a servant of God, with patience, for the sake of your salvation. Know that I will be your faithful servant if you will obey our Lord Christ.

2 O Leo, your papacy truly stands on an evil, rotten foundation; the house built upon it may not stand up to the winds and downpours. For this truly stands on the most rotten, most evil foundation, the devil, who is the father of lies. Such things are truly not the word of men, but God tells us these things by His divine mouth, spoken by the prophets, Christ Himself and the apostles; as all these things are made manifest by the supreme goodness of God in these times of ours, so that we poor laymen and children may also see the same things that the disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ saw, to whom He said: "Blessed are those who see the things that you see. Luc. 10, 23.

3 O Leo! if such devilish seduction had its cause and origin only from your ancestors and you, as the popes, there would be no hope that you would obtain some grace from God, but it would be entirely to fear that you would be hardened by the wrath of God into the devil's wickedness until the end of your life.

4. but if the truth is that such devilish seduction has sprung from all men's sins, the abominable and blasphemous sin of ingratitude, that we should have the supreme grace of God, our blessedness (which is given to all of us in baptism), and our salvation (which is given to all of us in baptism).

which supreme blessedness cannot be pronounced by any man, but which grace is unitedly expressed and declared in the Word of God, and is to be understood by the grace of God by every desiring man, and is further confirmed and quite undoubtedly assured by the blood and death of Christ, our Lord God and Savior. Because such our grace and true salvation has been held in such low esteem by us, and instead of the light burdens of our Lord Christ, the heavy burdens of man have been laid upon us by the spirit of the devil, which has possessed us by the doom of God Almighty, because of our cruel sin and blasphemous ingratitude. Therefore, God has justly given us such blind shepherds as punishment. Which shepherds have not tasted God's supreme grace, nor have they prevented their sheep from tasting it, so that the sweetest love for God and our neighbor or fellow man has grown cold in us, and in its place nothing else rules in us but devilish avarice and selfishness.

5 Therefore, O Pope Leo! we do not have cause and reason for vengeance and wrath against you, because we have all been guilty of such punishment with our great sins of contempt for the light burden of Christ; but we should be more inclined towards you with mercy, and fraternally forgive you all unkind, unchristian protection, with the highest gratitude towards our most gracious and mild God; Who our gracious God, out of undeserved mercy, united by His unspeakable grace and goodness, opens our eyes in this terrible darkness of ours, and lets us see and feel our great foolishness, sin and darkness, in this time of grace, so superficially.

O Leo! You should rejoice with us from the bottom of your heart in this true heavenly light, which shines in this horrible darkness of ours. You need no doubt; if you accept this supreme grace from God with a humble spirit, you will recognize yourself as the poorest of men, and call upon God with heart and mind for his divine grace, so that you may depart from your father, the devil, whose place and rule you have possessed under your threefold crown. Consider that your life will not be long. Depart from your lord Lucifer; for his reward is eternal hellish fire, which is also his own fire.

is eternal reward, because of his hope. Our Lord Jesus Christ is so gracious that he accepts you. If you have the grace to recognize yourself in this time of grace, you will be blessed, and will despise and tear apart your devilish pomp and power, and by the grace of God become a true follower of our Lord Christ and St. Peter. You will throw the devil's stink, your devilish spiritual title, and also the hope of the outward affliction with the devilish laws of man into the desolate muck to the devil, where such things completely belong. For if thou shalt not do the same in thy life, then thou shalt be sure that thou shalt be bodily with thy majesty and all thy successors of the devil; this need not be doubted.

O Leo! do not rely on your diabolical power, which God Almighty will not impose any longer than as long as His divine will and good pleasure is. I trust in God, your diabolical power and diabolical darkness, which God has justly imposed on us because of all our sins, will and can no longer exist, because the kind, merciful God, through His faithful servant, Doctor Luther, has led so many countless people of baptized Christians to the true way of Christ, through His Christian teachings, through which a great hunger and thirst for the living Word of God has grown, which still accumulates and increases daily. We have such grace not from our own merit, but unitedly from the overflowing, supreme grace of Almighty God. Therefore, the devil has no hope that his worldly kingdom, the papacy, will last long. The truth shines out superficially; we actually recognize the wolves in sheep's clothing. They cannot bark, according to the command of the Holy Gospel; by their singing and howling we recognize that they are the real wolves, of which Christ warned us; their fruits we have well recognized by the grace of God. In their place, by the supreme grace of God, many good shepherd dogs have come and gone; these can bark rightly, which dogs faithfully guard their sheep from the devilish wolves. The truth takes over, like a horrible weapon river, which cannot be prevented.

8. I hope to God that it means the flood of sin, of which our astronomers say that in the near future there will be a gracious, miraculous flood of sin by the supreme grace of God.

The flood of sin of the blessed water of holy baptism will come upon us, so that it may overflow the whole world, so that all Gentiles, Turks, Jews, and unrighteous people, and all of us, may be drowned in the same supreme grace of baptism, and so that one sheepfold and one shepherd may become one. Oh, what a blessed, grace-filled flood of sin that will be! O Leo, you would not be less blessed than St. Peter, if by the grace of God you still have the power to become a child of God, provided that you make proper use of such grace.

O Leo! resign from your worldly rule and devilish power, hand it over to the youthful emperor Carl; submit to the office of a good shepherd, as Christ teaches you and has commanded you. Take to thee the good shepherds and shepherd dogs, and shepherd thy sheep with the help of the chief shepherd, Christ JEsu. Take to your hand the good shepherd dog, the youthful, high noble blood, our emperor Carl. He is of the right kind; admonish him and shout at him against the Turk; let him be the right leader against the Turk. Try and make peace between the Christian kings and princes through good remembrance. Hand over your wealth to the emperor; follow Christ, as St. Peter and others have done. Do not let your kingdom be of this world, John 18:36. Send out some true bishops to the Turks who preach the word of God, and that such bishops be ready to suffer persecution and death for the sake of the true faith. It is not for you to conquer in any other way than with the mouth and the word of God; for this you do not need to have any treasure or dominion, as all this is clearly spoken and commanded by the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ.

(10) Truly, if you attack the matter according to Christ's commandment and commandment, it is entirely to be hoped that the true Christian faith will increase greatly and wonderfully through the power of the true, living Word of God. Truly, the Turks are also human beings, they also have hearts of flesh, the grace of God is not denied to them by God. They may also understand the truth by the grace of God, if the word of God is preached to them correctly, they also find reasonable creatures of God and men, they belong to the sheepfold of Christ. If you accept the office of a right shepherd, and if you ask them rightly through right and pious bishops, whom you must take and find from among the good shepherds, who have the living

Word of God loud and pure by the grace of God will well say and preach.

11 O Leo! if the Turks are thoroughly reported, that you, because of and in the name of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, do not seek their gold and riches and your own benefit, but unitedly their eternal blessedness, with attainment of the eternal heavenly goods, and that CHRIST, our Lord, has earned for us all such to take freely, and if we hear the words of Christ, which are full of grace and comforting promise of God, and unitedly believe the same words, we are assured of the eternal heavenly inheritance, of eternal life. Truly, the living word and promise of the true God will surely work in the Turks by the grace of God, if they are told of the strong foundation of our Christian faith. Have no doubt, the Word of God will have its ancient effect.

(12) O Leo, forsake all stinginess, despise all earthly goods, as St. Peter did; let the grace of God, as Christ commanded, be taken freely by every man who desires it; let heavenly goods be your treasure, and do not shut up the same, for the same heavenly treasure may not fail. For as much more of it is given and taken, so much more abundantly does such heavenly treasure of grace flow forth. Truly, the Lord Christ wants his treasure to be distributed abundantly, superfluously, and out of pure grace. He desires and wants nothing else than a true believing heart in Christ, which is his divinely true, living word, the holy gospel.

(13) O Leo, let this be your only concern, that this supreme grace and heavenly treasure be proclaimed throughout the world, and how such heavenly treasure may be so easily obtained and retained by the grace of God through the light and sweet burden of Christ. Be diligent that such things be proclaimed throughout the world.

14 Abstain from useless worries; hand over your rule and temporal wealth to the youthful Emperor Carl, and let him repel the Turks. Do not doubt that the emperor will be strong enough to resist the Turks; and even if he does not hold more than his excellent, male warriors of the Roman and Hispanic empires, he will still be able to resist the Turks sufficiently with the help of God. For it does not depend on the great multitude of the people, but on the Most High, on the grace of God Almighty. Therefore, O Leo, place your concern on the heavenly, living, loud word

God, that this may be preached and proclaimed in all the world. Admonish all people to the most sweet and supreme love for God and their neighbor, in which two pieces the fulfillment of all commandments and the whole foundation of our faith are found, on which it is your duty to place all your care.

There is no doubt that through the word of God, and no other, true faith in Christ can be attained. And even if the emperor and we Christians had slain the Turks half to death, this will not be profitable for the faith of Christ, if the same is not preached purely and loudly, as Christ commanded. For if such preaching were not done better than the Roman papal see has hitherto provided for preaching the word of God, it is much sooner and more certain that many of the Christians will become Turks than that the Turks may come to the true faith of Christ. For no one can attain or have the true faith in Christ, except through the pure, living Word of GOD in the holy Gospel; Christ's office was to preach this. He also commanded the apostles and their descendants that they should have no other ministry than to preach his word. And do not doubt that the emperor will also do him justice, by the grace of God. Therefore, we are all to be highly exhorted to call upon God and ask for His divine grace and mercy, so that through His divine grace, through you, also the emperor, kings and princes, and through all of us, He may create and work that His divine will, praise and honor be for the benefit and comfort of all people whom God has chosen for Him; to this end, God help us, amen.

505 Hartmuth of Kronberg's letter to the inhabitants of Kronverg. 1522. 1)

See No. 504.

1) To all and every inhabitant of Cronenberg, 2) old and young, I wish Hartmuth von Cronenberg the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the knowledge of our salvation. And after the merciful, almighty God has saved us in these times of ours, in our darkness, so

by his divine grace, by his heavenly light, the pure word of God, which is Christ himself. Such truly heavenly light has darkened the laws of men and the discretion of men, and led us into a dark fog through their human doctrine and laws, by which we have been prevented for many hundred years from coming to the true knowledge of our one Lord Jesus Christ. He is the only true light, the only way, the truth and the life; he is the only word, the true bread of heaven, in which all our salvation is found; everyone who believes the word (that is, in the promise of Christ) is blessed.

2. According to all this, since we find that we, as the erring ones, are stuck deep and far in the dark fog, and thereby prevented from coming to the unified light of Christ, therefore, out of the highest duty of Christian and brotherly love, and also especially because of this, because I have a special duty to care for you, and more than for others, I have taken upon myself to point out a short and certain way, by which we may, through the help and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, come out of the dark fog of our ghastly darknesses.

3. Accordingly, our need requires that we confess our sin with a certain mind and heart, and humbly call upon our Savior Christ, that He may show His heavenly, causeless grace to us unworthy of His creatures, and for the sake of His name and glory, remove us from the cruel darkness, and to guide us by his divine grace into his strong, easy, certain and most loving way, and to keep us there forever, so that we may become, be and remain true children of God and joint heirs of our Father's kingdom in heaven.

(4) Dear brothers and sisters, let us take rightly to mind and heart the most gracious brotherhood which we have obtained in baptism. If we would have the grace to bring such brotherhood worthiness into our minds, we would be blessed.

(5) Truly, all the nobility, power and wealth of the whole world cannot be compared to this heavenly brotherhood. For what is the use of temporal wealth, of the most powerful and blissful dominion over all temporal emperors and kingdoms, if it is not established in this heavenly Christian brotherhood? On the other hand, what hinders one from poverty, sickness, or all the contempt of the world, if he is fortified in this heavenly brotherhood?

1) This time is based on the words of Luther at the beginning of No. 507.

2) Kronberg is located in the Duchy of Nassau, on the slopes of the Taunus.

He is a brother and joint heir of the Most High. The Lord of heaven and earth has spurned the riches of this world. He has assured us that everyone who will firmly place his trust and faith in Christ has the power to be a child of God and a joint heir of His eternal judgment. But what man would believe such great, wonderful grace, clearly expressed in the Gospel, if it were not pronounced and promised by the Son of God Himself? Who, because of divine mercy, descended from heaven and became man, for the sake that He might bear and bear our sins, and thereby make us His brothers and fellow heirs of His heavenly kingdom.

I pray to Almighty God to give us grace, so that we may be thoroughly instructed in our highest grace, acquired through Christ, and then, no doubt, the one gracious brotherhood given to us in baptism will be accepted by all of us with all joy and highest dignity, and will be increased and preserved in brotherly love. Therefore, there will be no need to look for other, man-made brotherhoods that have to be bought for money, which are nothing but a seduction.

In order to understand how easily we can come out of our dark mists and devilish darkness through the help of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is irrefutably true that we have a sure and certain path before us, which is indicated to us by God Himself. We want to let the holy fathers and men's writings with the church rituals be as good as they can be, but we cannot deny that we have put too much trust in such things, also in the dear saints' invocations, pilgrimages, and other such things, and have thereby been led into the dark fog. And because we have no commandment from God concerning such things, nor any promise or promise of Christ concerning these works, we should not and will not take these outward works so harshly to heart, as if they belonged to our salvation. To this end, God instructs us through the prophets, through Christ Himself, and through the apostles, that we should not do anything contrary to the word of God, nor should we do what seems good to us or what seems good to men, but what Christ says and instructs us to do, that we should do. Therefore we may tolerate the ceremonies or church ceremonies, as far as they happen, and let them remain,

so long (until) we are reported better, but we are not to build anything on it.

8. but to hear the strong foundation on which we may build after all our need, that neither men, nor devils, nor all the floods of sin may not overthrow us, that the words of the strong God, his divine commandments, doctrine, promise and addition, spoken and confirmed by Christ the Lord, are true. "Heaven and earth will pass away, but my words must remain forever", Luc. 21, 33. No one can make us blessed, but the eternal faith in Christ and his word, as this is expressed in many ways in the holy Gospel. No one can know God except through the word of God; only this cancels sin, only the word of God and the teachings of Christ are confirmed by God: "He who believes in the Son", that is the word, "has eternal life", Jn. 3, 16. Only the word of God gives the spirit and quenches the thirst of the soul, Jn. 4, 14. 4, 14. Christ says: "Whosoever shall drink of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall become in him a well of springing water, or fountain into everlasting life." Christ says, "He that heareth my sayings, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation," or into judgment, "but is already passed from death unto life," or passed, John 5:24. 5, 24. Christ says: "I am the bread of life, he who comes to me will never hunger, and he who believes in me will never thirst", Joh. 6, 35. The whole gospel is full of divine grace, promise and teaching. The apostolic sermons and teachings are based entirely on the holy gospel and on Christ; in which alone every Christian, when he hears it, can sufficiently understand what he should do and not do. Summa Summarum, all salvation, all grace and eternal life are united in our Savior Christ. He who builds on the one rock, Christ, on his word and promise, stands firmer than heaven and earth. But he who builds on the laws of men and on their own judgment will have built on sand and ice, and may not stand before the winds and the floods. The evangelist John testifies of the most holy John the Baptist that he was nothing more than a witness of light; the holy Baptist points and points us to the one Christ, the little lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world, saying: He is the one of whom I said, John 1:29.

(9) St. John and all evangelical teachers may point us no further than to the Word, to Christ. No one can enter except through the one gate, Christ Jesus. Therefore, our great need requires that we do not rely on the laws of men. Christ and the holy apostles instruct us to be obedient to the worldly authorities in those things that are not contrary to the Christian faith. In addition, Christ has given us a clear warning against false shepherds, so that we may easily understand and see that the papal rule, as it has been used for many hundreds of years, is the most unchristian on earth. For it is irrefutably true that such a papal kingdom is all worldly and earthly, quite contrary to the life and words of Christ; therefore the same may truly be said, in virtue of the words of Christ, to be a kingdom and regiment of the devil. The greatest wickedness of the devilish seductions of the papal regime may not be sufficiently expressed by man; their fruits have been revealed everywhere by the grace of God.

But to hear the most harmful wolves, which the Lord Christ has shown us in sheep's clothing: they have seduced us all together in a most spiritual appearance, preaching and confirming the papal Antichrist regiment as Christian in all churches, as in a spiritual appearance. This seduction is so glaring, in a good form of sheep's clothing, preached in all Christendom, that it has not been possible to recognize such, but only from the clear warning of God through the prophets, through Christ Himself and the apostles. He who has eyes and ears, let him see and hear; the warning is so clearly written (of) the abominable seduction of the false wolves and shepherds, that we may grasp such things. But the devil has had us so hard in his power, and as to worry that we are not yet completely rid of him. Therefore we have been blind with our seeing eyes. And to this day, the devil takes it upon himself to snatch from us the heavenly light that God gave us by grace, and to lead us into our old darkness. This is what the devil does and works through his devilish shepherds and wolves in sheep's clothing. The ravening wolves were completely unknown to us because of their assumed clothes and their spiritual appearance, and because of our blindness. Praise and thanks be to God that through His grace He made us know their devilish fruit. God alone, through His divine Word and through His

Divine, gracious and truthful promise will help us, not by our merit, but unitedly and alone, so that his divine mercy, the power and glory of his divine word will be revealed. Unified by the divine Word, the seduction of Antichrist (which the devil has sown among us all) must be eradicated. God grant His grace that this may be done through an evangelical, youthful way, so that we may all confess our sin and error ourselves and renounce it, all through Christian and evangelical teaching and instruction, so that true, divine, brotherly love may grow in us, from which the false shepherds, the false apostles, and the hooded wolves are far and away in their mummeries. If they want to test themselves, they will find that real, true, Christian signs of true love are not at all with and among them. For if they had loved Christ, they would not have led us so far away from Christ to the laws of men, which are quite far from the way of Christ. The Lord testifies to us: "He who is of Christ hears his voice and follows it," John 10:27. But the wolves in sheep's clothing point to the doctrines and ways of men that lead far away from the true gospel way.

Therefore, dear brothers and sisters, who want to accept the unity of the heavenly brotherhood of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, do not be afraid of this gracious disagreement or discord, which has arisen for the sake of our Christian faith. Let us seek out the true epistles sent to us from heaven, assured and confirmed by the mouth of truth, Christ Jesus, sealed by the blood and death of our Lord and God. If, by the grace of God, we take such a letter into our hands, we must have no doubt that we will find everything in it that is useful and necessary for us, so that we will not miss the heavenly, united, eternal brotherhood, but will be assured and certain of it without any doubt.

Our faith and assurance is easily understood and heard from the Gospel by any desiring reader or listener. The sum and fulfillment of our Christian faith, of all the commandments of our Lord, and by this we become completely pious and blessed, that is, that we should love God with all our strength of mind, body and soul, and our neighbor as ourselves, therein stands the whole sum of evangelical doctrine and commandments. Matth.

22, 37. We may not have such Christian and brotherly love in full by our own strength; only through the grace and proclamation of the Word of God may we attain it, through a firm faith and trust in Christ, and does not require any doubt. Anyone who calls upon God with firm trust and faith, and asks in childlike fear, the heavenly Father will give it to him and will not deny it, as it is so clearly promised to us in many ways in the holy Gospel by the true God. Therefore, St. Paul warns us strongly that we should not believe, that we should call upon the saints and angels and ask them to help us to salvation. For this reason, the Almighty God has promised us so many answers and graces, so that we may have certain hope that God will hear us if we ask with firm trust and childlike fear. And even if one has done the greatest, most shameful wickedness and sins of the world, if he has remorse and sorrow for his sin, and asks with firm trust in God, as in his Father, with a true, good heart, he can have no doubt that he will be heard by God and that his request will be granted, with the assurance that God will give him what he asks for, or something better, according to his soul's salvation. Just as a wise, faithful, kind father does not give his child poison if the child asks for it, but gives him what he knows to be useful and necessary to him, and sometimes, if it is necessary, a good rod. Just as a son is understanding, and knows that he has a wise, faithful father, so the same son is at peace in all things of his father, both in the punishment and in the clemency or kindness of the father. For the son believes that his father knows and is faithful to his child; therefore the understanding son patiently endures all the punishment he forfeits. Why then should we not trust our heavenly Father and his unchanging truth, who promises us freely that we should reckon our sin and wickedness, and he will forget them and remember them no more against us? But we must take care that we also forgive our brother, as we ask in the Lord's Prayer. No one may be afraid of the heavenly Father because of his great sins, as far as he may have the grace to ask for forgiveness with firm trust in God. We have a clear reason for this in the Gospel, Luc. 15, 11. ff, about the prodigal son, and in many other places. God has no pleasure in our seeking pilgrimages and visiting the saints.

We are not to call God because of our sins, but rather, like the prodigal son, we are to go to God immediately and confess our sins to Him. We shall not delay or delay in this; we shall first reconcile ourselves to God, and then work good works toward God and our neighbor through love.

Therefore, let us call and pray to God our Father with such confidence without ceasing. And that we may first of all attain faith and trust in Christ, let us be diligent and earnest, so that we may be fed daily with the bread of heaven, the clear word of God, the clear gospel doctrine. In this same bread of heaven we are unitedly promised and assured of salvation by the almighty Promiser Christ. The holy gospel and the evangelical doctrine, expressed by the holy apostles, instruct us so clearly about everything that serves Christian brotherly love, how each one should conduct himself in his state at all times. From this sufficiently and thoroughly to understand, where we would hear and perceive such with diligence, we will thereby attain blessedness on earth and, after our death, in the heavenly kingdom eternally.

14. want to hear and perceive the most certain way to salvation and the kingdom of god; this is the only, highest, and most certain good work that we can do on earth, that we trust in god and believe according to the words of our lord Jesus Christ. And in that one piece or work Christ has promised us all blessedness. And every person who comes to understand this by the grace of God is truly a child and co-heir with God, and is made righteous by the grace of God. But no one can have such confidence or faith, except through the clear and unambiguous words of Christ in the holy Gospel. For no one can believe the words he does not hear.

(15) Therefore, let us call upon the heavenly, gracious Father to give us grace to hear and hear the word of salvation fruitfully. Against such we want to hear and understand the greatest and most horrible sin on earth, and the greatest dishonor we can do to God Almighty, that is, not trusting or believing in God, letting ourselves be led astray from His ways and words. And all those who despise the gospel (in which the promise of God is understood) or do not listen diligently are guilty of such a cruel sin. But because our salvation stands alone and united in the word of God, that is, in Christ Himself, who is the life-giver of all things, we must not be led astray.

The bread that came down from heaven, John 6:51, as he himself testifies. It is necessary and useful for us to be admonished to direct ourselves to the same, and to take the certain, easy and most lovely evangelical way of our Lord and God before us and to remain on it, and to leave the hard and difficult way of men for themselves in its value, and to put no trust in the ways of men. We want to stay on Christ and his words, so that we can safely and surely walk the next and safest road to heaven, to which our Father, who is in heaven, must draw us, and in whom we therefore want to trust. May the good Christ help us, amen.

506 Hartmuth's letter from Kronberg to Jakob Kobel, town clerk at Oppenheim.

March 6, 1522.

See No. 504.

1. To the respectable, honorable and wise Jakob Kobel, town clerk of Oppenheim, my but good friend, I offer my friendly service to Harmuth von Croneberg, and hereby send you a simple written evangelical exhortation, which I have given to the common people of our Lord Jesus Christ at Cronenberg; Considering that I, in particular, as a co-supervisor of the mentioned village, am obliged, to the best of my ability, to point them to the obedient faith and trust of our Lord Christ in this most gracious time. And even though I realize that I, as a poor, incomprehensible person, cannot produce as much fruit from my writings and admonitions as I would like to do out of the compulsion of true brotherly love, I have not refrained from doing so, regardless of how it is counted to me by everyone. I should be content that God knows my heart and opinion. Moreover, I have no doubt that I have thereby gained the disfavor of many people, whom I would gladly serve with all my ability, for their and all our highest need and benefit. Christian brotherly love teaches us to care for every brother. Why should I keep silent about my brother's illness, since we have a heavenly, almighty, certain physician, the Lord Christ Jesus, who is so willing to heal my illness and that of everyone else? Alone and united

All our strength and health is in confessing our great sickness; and therefore we may well say: O good God! how long will we remain blind, foolish and obstinate? Do we still not want to learn to recognize our unfaithful father, the devil? We have good knowledge of his reward, which he gives us. His reward is eternal hellish fire. If God wanted my admonition to help some, I would admonish all people to confess their sickness with me to the Almighty Physician, who is willing and ready to help us out of all bonds and snares of the devil. The almighty, merciful God has unitedly sent us the heavenly evangelical light out of His grace in these times of ours, by which many people's hearts have been enlightened, by which all the devil's wickedness has been exposed, so that every person may grasp and see it. And we, who should have been the instruments of God, have become the instruments of the devil, which I recognize in part. O a wonderful thing it is! Because we had so great a warning before us, of our enemy the devil's cunning, which we know he, the devil, had used against the human race in so many ways so deceitfully, also the clear warnings by the almighty, kind God, spoken by the prophets, by Christ himself, and the apostles. Such warnings are so clear that no one would want to write them more clearly about the things that have happened. Over all these things the thousand-favored one, our enemy, the devil, has so masterfully crept into us, worked in and through us according to his pleasure. Thereby such a glittering, devil-spiritual seduction of Antichrist was sown among us all, in such a spiritual, glittering appearance, that also, according to the words of God, the elect would have been seduced, if God had wanted to impose it, Matth. 24, 24. But because such deception is revealed in this time of grace, and everyone has the power to tear himself from the devil's bonds, by recognizing our grievous sins, with humble appeal to and trust in the one and only Physician Christ Jesus, and in His divine grace and mercy.

For by the wisdom and ways of men we have come into the strong bonds of the devil. But by all men's wisdom and might we cannot help ourselves out. For if such things were subdued by our wisdom and power, it is certain that the devil, by his cunning, by his hopefulness, and by the way in which we are led, will not be able to help us out.

would still further seduce us by avarice. In this way, it would bring us into a more horrible prison and darkness than we have been, so it is highly necessary for us to be careful of the most cunning enemy of all, the devil. Therefore, we should put our trust in our faithful Lord Christ in this matter, and act according to his command in a youthful, humble way, according to the words and teachings of the holy Gospel. And if we will do this with earnestness and diligence, we may easily overcome our most terrible enemy, the devil, and bring him to all shame through our Lord Jesus Christ. And I have a certain hope of this, since the devil's power and might are nothing else against us, but only deceit and lies, by which he has deceived us until now. But since the Almighty God, through His divine, truthful Word, exposes the devil's wickedness more and more clearly every day, we may well protect ourselves from the devil's lies and wickedness with the help of God, so that neither the devil nor the people who longer desire to follow him, the devil, may harm us. The honor, the glory and the unspeakable grace of God, and His almighty strength and power must be revealed. There we will see the great strength and power of the eternal, heavenly truth, how powerfully the lie must be suppressed by the truth through the powerful, truthful word of God, so that we may fruitfully accept the same and use it in all submission and humility; may the merciful God help us, amen. Hereby commanding you to God. Date on the first Thursday in Lent [March 6]. Anno Domini 2c. 1522.

507 A Missive, Comforting to All Those Who Suffer Persecution Because of the Word of God, by D. Mart. Luther to the honorable Hartmuth von Kronberg written. Mid-March 1522.

This writing was published soon after Luther's return from the Wartburg in Wittenberg in quarto under the title we placed above it. This edition also contains the "Answer of Hartmuth of Cronberg. In the collections: in the Wittenberg (1553), vol. VI, p. 378b; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 78; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 116; in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 226; in the Erlangen, vol. 53, p. 119 and by De Wette, vol. II, p. 161. Obsopoeus included it, translated into Latin, in his Mart. bilitb. Lpp. karrau.; from this it passed into the Latin Wittenberg edition (1558), torn. VII, fol. 485b and in Aurifaber, vol. II, fol. 100.

They will cast you out of the assembly because of my name [John 16:2]. He who perseveres to the end will be blessed.

[Matth. 24, 13.] 1)

JEsus.

1. favor and peace from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be wished to you, favorable Lord and good friend in Christ. I have read and experienced with great joy two of your writings, one addressed to the Imperial Majesty, 2) the other to the mendicant orders, 3) and I thank my God for the favor and gift given to you in the knowledge of Christian truth, as well as the desire and active love for the same. In addition, one senses that your words spring from the heart and fervor, and prove that the word of Christ does not, as in many, hover only on the tongue and in the ears, but dwells earnestly and thoroughly in the heart, so that its nature attracts you, and thus makes you even more joyful and unashamed 4) to praise and confess it, not only with the mouth, but also with deed and scripture, before and against all the world, before such high and wise spirits. But how great and abundant such a gift is, no one can sufficiently move, except he who has the Spirit, who tells us what is given to us, and teaches us to respect spiritual things for spiritual things, as Paul says 1 Cor. 2:12. For it does not go to the heart of animal men.

(2) Therefore I have not failed to visit you in spirit with this writing, and to make known my joy to you. For this I can boast without all lies, that I am not so much offended nor grieved that the pope condemns and persecutes me with all the world, but I am almost strengthened and rejoiced when I hear that a man sows and praises the tender truth. But how much more does it comfort me that I have experienced, and experience daily, that in you and your like they so warmly er-

1) In the original edition, these sayings are on the title page.

2) "Hartm. von Kronberg zween Briefe, einer an R. K. Maj., der ander an Franz von Sickingen" 2c. 1521 in quarto.

3) No. 503 in this volume.

4) "unschuchter" - who does not let himself be shooed, bold. The Jenaer reads: "unschüchter".

and freely confessed, which God also comforts me with by grace, so that my faith will be the stronger, and I will not have vain sorrow when He lets me see that His word does not go out in vain, as He says in Isaiah 55:11. Again, that all the world opposes it, as He also says in Matthew 24:9: "You must be hateful to all men 1) for My name's sake." So that the way of the divine word is that it has been received most warmly by the few, and most horribly persecuted by the many. Wolves and bears and lions do not pursue it, but men, and "all men," says Christ. What wonder then if the world be full of men, that is, persecutors of Christ? What is the world but full of men! But the Word makes gods out of men, as the 82nd Psalm, v. 6, says: "I have said that ye are gods, and all are the children of the Most High." Which Christ Himself interprets Joh. 10,35. and says: "The Scriptures call the gods, to whom the word of God has happened." And Joh. 1,12: "He gave them power to become children of God, who believe in his name." So it remains: what is man, that pursues God's word and God's children.

(3) But the noble word naturally brings with it a hot hunger and an insatiable thirst, so that we cannot be satisfied, even though many thousands of people believe in it, but would gladly that no man should be in want. Such thirst does not rest and does not rest, and drives us to speak, as David says in Ps. 116:10: "I have believed, therefore I speak. And "we have (says St. Paul 2 Cor. 4, 13.) the same spirit of faith, therefore we also speak," until we press and live everyone in us, and make a cake with us, where it would be possible. But the thirst not only makes a great mistake with his speaking, but is also drenched with gall and vinegar, as Christ was on the cross, Joh. 19, 28. Such thirst had St. Paul Apost. 26, 29, as he desired that everyone would be as he was, except his bonds. Rom. 9, 3. he desires from Christ

1) De Wette: "ugly". The original, the Mitten, berger and the Jenaer have our reading.

to be banished for the sake of his brothers, the Jews.

4 Behold, such thirst for brotherly blessedness have ye now also received, for a sure token of a fundamental good faith. What, then, is inferior, but that you must wait for gall and vinegar, that is, blasphemy, shame and persecution, for the sake of your thirsty speech? There is no other way, where Christ is, there must be Judas, Pilate, Herod, Caiphas, Annas, and also his cross; or is not the right Christ.

(5) Therefore we do not grieve because of our affliction, but because of the affliction of those who persecute us, since we have enough for ourselves, and are sure that they will not harm us, but the more they rage, the more they 2) must destroy themselves and promote us, as St. Paul says Phil. 1, 28. For who can afflict us, if we have such a Lord, who has death and the life of all adversaries in his hand? [Rom. 14, 9.] and speaks so comfortingly into our hearts, Joh. 16, 33.: "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." They threaten us with death. If they were as wise as they are foolish, they should threaten us with life. It is a mocking, shameful threat that Christ and his Christians are threatened with death, when they are the masters and victors of death. It is as if I wanted to frighten a man by bridling his horse and making him ride on it.

006 But they believe not that Christ is risen from the dead, and is the Lord of life and death; he is with them still in the grave, even in hell. But we know, defy, and rejoice that he is risen, and that death is no more, but an end of sin, and of himself. For the life in this flesh still clings to and in sins, and cannot be without sin because of the flesh. Therefore, the Spirit that began in us cries out: Come, death and the last day, and put an end to sin and death, amen, as St. Paul writes Rom. 7, 18. 19. and Cap. 8, 22. 23.

7. such joy and gladness in Christo

2) The words: "the more they" are not in the Wittenberg and De Wette, but in the Jena.

do not recognize the wretched enemies, and are angry with us for telling them about it and offering it to them, wanting to kill us for the sake of life. Oh God! Christ's almighty resurrection is too much of a greater defiance than that he should be made timid and cowardly by their instant violence of brazen and paper tyranny. One of them is mainly the pale waster N., 1) defies heaven with her high belly, and has renounced the gospel; also has it in mind that he wants to eat Christ like a wolf eats a mosquito; also makes himself believe that he has not bitten a little scratch into his left spur, and rages along before all the others. I have prayed for him with all my heart, and have almost taken pity on his horrible run-up, but I worry that he has long deserved his sentence.

8) I pray that you will commend him and yours to the Lord, just as we are obligated to be favorable to the adversaries from the heart, even if they do not want to 2) suffer that they are favored, whether he might be saved from the mouth of the dragon at some time or other, and give a Paulum for a Saulum. For we are not helped by the destruction of such wretched people. I would have admonished you to do the same to him, but I would not have let the sanctuary be thrown to the dogs, nor the pearls to the swine, Matt. 7:6, for there is no hearing nor hesitation, for I know nothing but prayer to do for him. He corrupts many souls, and gathers him treasure for the day of wrath, which is great, Rom. 2, 5. But I put this in your spirit. We want to live, whether they kill us or do us all harm.

(9) But something even harsher has recently happened to our faith. Satan, who always mingles with the children of God [Job 1:6], played a fine game for us, especially for me, at Wittenberg, and once atoned for the adversaries' lust for us, and shut us up.

far open to blaspheme the gospel. All my enemies, together with all the devils, how close they have come to me (many times), they have not yet touched me, as I am now touched by ours, and must confess that the smoke bites me badly in the eyes, and almost kills me in the heart. Here I (thought the devil) want to take Luther's heart and weaken his stiff spirit; he will neither understand nor overcome this grip.

(10) I wonder if this will not be done to punish some of my most noble patrons and me. My patrons because, although they believe that Christ has risen, they are still groping with Magdalene in the garden after him, and he has not yet ascended to the Father (John 20:17). But for me, that I might serve good friends at Worms, lest I should be seen to be too stiff-necked, I subdued my spirit, and did not make my confession harder and stricter before the tyrants; though the unbelieving heathen have since time arrogantly reproached me in answering. They judge as pagans (as they are) should judge, who have never felt either spirit or faith. My same humility and reverence has repaid me many times over.

(11) But be it as it may, whether it be sin or well done, therefore undaunted and undaunted. For as we do not despair of our good deeds, so we do not despair of our sins. But we thank God that our faith is higher than our good deeds and sins. For the Father of all mercies has given us to believe, not in a wooden Christ, but in a living Christ, who is the Lord over sin and innocence, who can also raise us up and keep us, even if we fall into a thousand and a thousand sins every hour; there is no doubt in my mind. And if Satan tempts us still higher and worse, let him not tire us before, but let him attack such a one, that he may tear Christ down from the right hand of God. Because Christ remains seated above, we also want to remain lords and rulers over sin, death, the devil and all things, so that nothing can be done about it.

12. we know that he who raised him from the dead is strong and faithful enough [Apost. 5,

1) Duke George of Saxony. The latter had also referred it to himself. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 490. - In the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 49, the incorrect proof is: "Walch, IX, 169."

2) "also" is missing in the Wittenberg and De Wette, but is in the Jena.

30, 31] and has set at his right hand to be a Lord over all things, without doubt also over sin, death, devil, hell, but keep silent about the papist swine bladders with their three rustling peas. They shall not take away our defiance; but as long as defiance remains with us, let us cheerfully despise them, and see if they will devour this Christ as easily as they think, and put another in his place, of whom the Father knows not. Therefore, I hope that this Christ will not only set us right, but also turn it to our advantage, according to the abundant riches of his wisdom and goodness, especially if you also ask for help and trust.

(13) Our thing is not yet so far fallen as it was in the days of Christ, when Peter himself denied him, and all the disciples fled from him, and Judas betrayed him, and caught him (Marc. 14:44, 52, 68 ff.). Even if it falls so far, it shall not perish, and our Christ shall not decay. But I know, and am sure, that these things, and whatsoever else may come to pass, are for this purpose, that a common trial and test may be established, whereby the strong may be tried, the weak strengthened, the tried praised, and the false believers exposed; but the enemies, and they that are not worthy to know and to hold it for the word of God, shall be vexed and hardened, as they have deserved.

14. For you know that the sin at Worms, where the divine truth was so childishly spurned, so publicly, wantonly, knowingly condemned without being heard, is certainly a sin of the entire common German nation, because leaders did this and no one persuaded them; so that they are guilty beyond measure before God, that he would completely stop the precious word, or would cause such an uproar that no man would believe it to be God's word, and thus, according to their merit, they would also have to blaspheme and persecute, like devil's doctrine, which they have previously denied and condemned out of loud, free will.

15 Yes, alas, my dear Hartmuth, such merit has the German nation loaded upon itself to serve the pope (at the unfortunate Reichstag); and those who now rage and are obdurate

have been guilty of this at that time, when they were driving the little wheel, and had the dice in their hands, and made themselves believe that they were scolding, 1) and that Christ did not see them. O terrible and serious judge, how secret or even horrible are your judgments! How certain and safe is Pharaoh at all times before the Red Sea drowns him, and does not see that his very safety is the right, serious wrath of God against him. O, how grievous is God of the reproach of His precious word, that He has tasted even His dearest child's blood; and men sit and defile 2) and smile when they condemn and persecute it.

(16) So we see that it also happens to the Jews, who, since they condemned God's Son willfully, are given into such a deeply hardened mind that they blaspheme him most surely and boldly and cannot stop, and fulfill the Scripture [Ps. 109:17]: 3) "He did not want benediction, therefore it should come far enough from him. This is what happened to our papists: at Worms they also wanted to hate and blaspheme Christ; now it is given to them that they cannot stop hating and blaspheming, that no plea or admonition helps, but only gets worse. Right is your judgment, heavenly Father. That is, I mean, to have the right St. Vitus dance. God is my witness that I have a fear and worry in my heart, where the last day does not undertake the game, God will cancel his word, and send such blindness to the German nation, and thus harden it, since it is horrible for me to think of.

(17) O Lord, our heavenly Father, let us fall into all sin, if ever we sin; but keep us from hardening, and keep us in him, and in him whom thou hast set a Lord above sin and innocence, that we deny him not, neither let him depart out of our sight; and all sin and death shall be ours,

1) "To scold" here is as much as to joke, to play games.

2) In the Wittenberg "schützen" instead of "schmutzen" in the other editions. The latter will probably be as much as "smirk". In Latin: pro delectatione linUkNUt Niollitor 86 6urnnt68.

3) In the original edition, which Kronberg organized, instead of this citation is: "Schrift, ire. c. viij." The ,Erlanger Briefwechsel Bd. III, p. 309, raises the question: "what does this mean?" It seems to us that the answer to this question is this: Jeremiah Cap. 8.

all hell will do nothing. Ah! what should do us any harm?

(18) But we should thank God with all our heart that he still allows himself to be remembered, as if he did not yet want to cancel the holy word, so that he has given you and others much more of an unruly spirit and love for it. For this is a testimony that they believe not for the sake of men, but for the sake of the word itself. Many are they who believe for my sake; but those alone are the righteous who abide in it, even though they heard that I myself (since God is for) denied and renounced it. These are they who ask nothing of it, how evil, abominable, shameful they hear from me or from ours. For they do not believe in Luther, but in Christ himself. The word has them, and they have the word; they let Luther go, be he a jack or holy. God can speak through Balaam as well as Jesaïam, through Caiphah as well as through Petrum, even through a donkey. I also keep it with them. For I do not know Luther myself, nor do I want to know him; I do not preach anything about him, but about Christ. The devil may take him, if he can; but let Christ remain in peace, and we will remain well.

19 Let us therefore take heed that we be grateful to God, the Father of all mercy and comfort; and let us henceforth establish ourselves, that our faith be not in words, but in power. For St. Paul says in 1 Cor. 4:20: "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." It is not enough for us to be able to speak and write finely about it, but life and deed must bear witness to the truth, that we extend our love and charity to friend and foe.

(20) Let us pray, then, first of all, that God may give us and ours more and more strength, and make His dear child Jesus great in our hearts from day to day, so that we may praise, extol, and confess Him with all thirst and joy before the hardened and blinded shepherds of this unrighteous and stiff-necked sect of the papists; and then help to bear such guilt of the common German nation, and pray that God will not look upon the wickedness of the wicked multitude, nor

Let the poor souls be repaid for their wickedness, and do not again withdraw the salvific word, so long suppressed, and do not let the final Christian be imprisoned again, but that at least, as the king Ezekiel asked, peace and truth be in the distant future. Truly, such a request and concern is necessary.

(21) For I fear that the German nation is doing too much, that it will happen to us in the end, just as it is written in the last part of 2 Kings that they killed the prophets until they handed them over to God, and there was no more help. So, unfortunately, I fear that he will also give the German nation its reward in the end. At Costnitz, it first condemned the Gospel, and innocent blood was shed on John Hus and Jerome; then at Worms and Heidelberg on Dramsdorf 1) and many more; item, at Mainz and Cologne; the entire Rhine River is bloody, and does not yet want to be cleansed of the bloodshed, but celebrates the murderers of Christ, the heretics, without ceasing, until God bursts in, and there is no more help. They tempt God too often. Now it is once again condemned to Worms against me; and even if they have not shed my blood, they have not lacked their full will, and still murder me without ceasing in their hearts. You wretched nation! Must you, above all others of the final Christ, be the master of the rod and the executioner of God's saints and prophets?

Behold, how I have run out and overflowed with words. This is what the faith of Christ does, which has been made more difficult 2) in rejoicing over your faith and joyful confession. John must therefore leap in the mortal coil when Christ comes to him, as you see that he has come to me through your Scriptures. Would to God that he would also come to you through this writing of mine, and make not only your John, but also Elizabeth, and the whole house joyful and full of the Spirit, and stay not only three months, but forever. God, the Father of all mercies, grant this, amen.

23 I have nothing special to say about myself

1) Thus the German editions. In the original: "Dranßdorff"; in Latin: OransäorKo.

2) "erschwenken" -to pour out abundantly. This word is missing in Dietz.

new newspaper, because that I have now made my way to Wittenberg, 1) whether I could let the devil see something again by the grace of Christ. How long I will stay there, I do not know. I have also resolved to translate the Biblia. This was necessary for me; otherwise I would have died in the error of thinking that I was learned. Such work should be done by those who let themselves think that they are learned. I have attributed to Franzen von Sickingen the booklet on confession, which I hope you will receive, since I was unable to send it. Now there is a piece from the Postill about the Evangelia and Epistles; when it is finished, I hope a Christian will find in it what he needs to know. Greet all our friends in the faith, Mr. Franzen and Mr. Ulrichen von Hütten, and whoever else you are. May God's favor be with you, Amen.

Martinus Luther, D.

508 Hartmuth of Kronberg's Response to Luther's Missive. April 14, 1522.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1553), vol. VI, p. 381 b; in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 230; and in the Erlangen Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 335.

I wish you, my brother in Christ the Lord, the peace and strength of God, our Savior, from the bottom of my heart. Dearest brother, although I should write to you as I see fit, Father, for the sake of your fatherly proof to all the world, and especially to us poor Germans, whom you have fed with the clear, pure Word of God, and led and guided to the knowledge of our salvation. Therefore, if we had the power to call a father on earth), we would consider you to be a father. But since the Lord Christ declares that we should not call ourselves a father or a master on earth, but rely on our one and only Father who is in heaven, we must also confess him as our one and only Father. The same kind our heavenly Father, certainly by superfluous grace through you, as through his favoured Father, has given us the same Father.

The Father, the Almighty Father, be praised and glorified. To Him, the Almighty Father, be praise and glory.

Accordingly, I consider and respect you as my most beloved brother, for you have highly demonstrated the true brotherly love, in which all commandments are fulfilled, with the works towards all, and especially towards the German nation, and have thereby without a doubt accomplished the will of the heavenly Father, of which you are justly pleased. Therefore you should know that I, by the grace of God, enjoy your and your like brotherhood, which is spurned by the world, more than all bodily brotherhood or all temporal goods. In the help of God, I would rather be spurned and ostracized by the world, with you and others, for the sake of the Almighty Lord and His truth, and suffer what pleases the Almighty Lord, than be excluded from the true Christian brotherhood and from Christ.

3. I am certain that my nobility and wealth, even if I am born of the noblest imperial birth in the world, even if I am lord of all the kingdoms and riches of the whole world, all this is to be counted as a shadow and a nullity compared to the true nobility and wealth of the very least Christian who believes in the Lord Christ and trusts in God with all his heart.

The Almighty God, who made man of the earth, who also gave emperors, kings, princes and lords worldly honor and glory before other men, the same Almighty Lord has done a much greater thing for us by almighty power, by virtue of divine pure gentleness, in that he has given all men who hear and accept his word power to become children of God. To retain such supreme grace, we do not need temporal nobility or wealth, but only that we believe.

5 For it is irrefutably true that all men who hear such a gracious promise and firmly believe Christ are truly noble and rich, because they are assured of the eternal heavenly kingdom. For by united faith in Christ we become truly noble and rich, in an indestructible, heavenly, eternal way, for which reason we are to despise the temporal, earthly, perishable honor and riches that lead us so far away from the true heavenly. In this Christ is a perfect example for us, who spurned all the riches and dominion of the world and wanted none of them.

1) This passage gives clues to the timing of this letter: about mid-March 1522.

2) So the Wittenbergers. Erlanger: to be called.

3) "some" is missing in the Erlanger.

(6) May the kind, merciful God give His grace to our superiors and to all of us, so that we may confess God rightly and also learn to know ourselves, so that we may cast out our pride and avarice from us by the grace of God, since we find that we are so completely unable to do anything good if we do not have the grace of God. For if such things are not confessed and attained with true humility, there is no hope but that all who persist in cruel hope will fall horribly, like the devil Lucifer and his company. May God grant us His grace for the sake of His mercy, that we may awaken from the sleep and prison of sins, and come by the help of God in this time of grace, to suffer and work what God wills.

Dearest brother, after I had written this opinion to you and wanted to decide further 1), I first received your writing, which was sent to me by Hansen von Berlipshen, my good friend and brother. And although I know myself to be still far from true perfect piety, I have nevertheless received such writing with a grateful mind towards God and you, as an admonition from the good God, in whom I will place my thorough trust. For although I am full of infirmities and sins, I am not alarmed or afraid because of them; I am content that I am heartily sorry for such infirmities of mine. But I will pray to the good God daily, and trust in Him that He, through His divine mercy, will take away such of my infirmities and the lack of my faith from me, according to His divine will, whichever time pleases Him; 2) which time I will await with patience and good hope. God help me soon, so that I may grow in perfect love towards God and my neighbor, in which I am still greatly lacking. I will confess this to you, as to my brother, with free confession. Hereupon I ask and desire from you, my brother, of whom I believe to be a special servant of God, an absolution for all my committed sins, be they mortal or daily, as God knows them to be guilty of me; for I am sorry for my sins from the bottom of my heart.

Christian doctor and brother, I hear your great pain and cross, because of the fierce love you have for God and your neighbor. For I thoroughly note your great painful contemplation of the misery, 3) wretchedness, and horrible fall of the whole German nation. And you also have such 4) great and high cause, as you have partly reported in your writing. In addition, every common man may well sense your great diligence and earnestness in your (thus manifold) Christian teachings and exhortations, thus bringing divine truth to light with so much great effort and work, and bringing the truth into so many people's hearts through God's help and grace.

(9) Truly, the translation of the Bible will not be and will not be without a great, miraculous effect of God's grace. Truly, it is a great, frightening thing and a heartache to all devout Christians, because of the carelessness of the clear, inexpressible treasure of grace, the clear, heavenly word of God, so abundantly given and assured, which is the highest and most honest thing we may have in heaven and on earth. It is no wonder that a true Christian's body trembles when he considers the misery of how Germany must fall if the merciful God does not enlighten us with grace so that we may confess Him. For if this does not happen by the grace of God, I consider it a terrible and certain punishment in the future, and a miserable fall of the German nation; for we may not lack the clear warnings of God.

God has revealed His divine word and the irrefutable truth to us Germans before other nations. The art of printing, from which the whole world may derive comfort and bliss, was first invented in the German land. We cannot deny that we have the heavenly Scriptures and truth in good, clear German, from which the poorest of the poor can hear and understand his salvation as well as the richest of the rich. We have a certain heavenly teacher that we may not lack, that is the Holy Spirit, who is promised to all of us in common. Whoever calls upon God with confidence for this teacher with a good right heart will certainly have the heavenly teacher. This teacher

1) In the Wittenberg: "bevliessen" - continue.

2) The words: "which time pleases him" are missing in the Erlanger.

3) Erlanger: "miserable".

4) Erlanger: "such". Since the readings of the Erlanger seem to be almost everywhere worse than those of the Wittenberger, we refrain from further notation of the variants.

is able, where he wants, to teach more principles of the Christian faith in one hour than if one had spent ten years at the school in Paris. Anyone who, by the grace of God, desires this teacher from the heart, will certainly have him. Heaven and earth must break before some rightly asking person can be denied this heavenly schoolmaster. It is the promise of the almighty, true, mild God; the mercy and grace of the Lord is great.

11. I would like to speak and speak to the German country: O Germany, rejoice in your heavenly Lord's visitation; accept with humble thanksgiving the heavenly light, the divine truth and the highest welfare; make use of the supreme clemency of God, who by mercy will forgive you your great sin, regardless of your great contempt; do not burden yourself further, but throw off from you the heavy yoke of the devil, and take upon you the sweet yoke of Christ; as he himself has said: "For my yoke is sweet, and my burden is altogether light." And make thee no ado in such things. But where thou shalt further despise thy visitation, the devil shall possess us all the more, and shall harden us in our wickednesses. Truly, all who willfully despise such a gracious visitation will have a severe judgment from God. Sidon and Tyre will find more favor with God than these; their punishment on the Day of Judgment will be more severe than that of Sodom and Gomorrah; they will have much less excuse before God than Lucifer and his company.

Therefore, let us call out heartily: O merciful, mild God, we confess that we are greatly in debt and have sinned, and that we cannot help ourselves by our strength, art and reason, for in You alone, O Lord God, stands our only hope; But help us by thy grace to confess thee the only helper, and that we put no trust in ourselves or our works, but first make us righteous in a strong faith and trust in thee and thy divine promises alone, that thy divine, supreme name, grace and mercy may be magnified, praised and glorified in all the earth. Help us to confess that all your grace and gifts are pure mercy. Thou bearest our sin, undeserved by us, which thou shouldst justly punish with eternal hellish chastisement, and givest us eternal life in addition. So it has pleased your almighty

We are pleased that you have shown us, your poor, unworthy human creatures, and have demonstrated the virtue of the nature of your divine majesty, the high grace and mercy that you have shown to us, the most unworthy sinners, so that the highest good of your divine majesty may be revealed to us poor sinners, so that we may use this highest grace according to your divine praise and the salvation of our souls forever. This, dearest brother, we ask God to help us with strong trust; likewise, we also want to call heartily to God.

(13) O heavenly Father, because you are eternal and almighty God, the power of all your creatures is not so mighty that they can force or move you to do something by themselves. Therefore, all human request and effect would be in vain, if you yourself had not moved in your infinite goodness and mercy, and had thereby provided, and so much gracious promise had done. Forasmuch then as thine eternal, only begotten, beloved Son, JESUS CHRIST, whom thou hast heard us call, hath commanded that we should ask, and promised, if we ask, that we shall receive; and whatsoever we ask of thee, his heavenly Father, in his name, that thou wilt give us: so we draw from such thy given grace a boldness to ask thee, and a strong confidence of thy granting; and on such ground we beseech thee, O heavenly Father, in the name of JESU Christ, in which name all knees are bent, heavenly and earthly, as Paul teaches, that thou wouldst keep thy instrument, our brother Martinum Luther, in thy divine spirit, that the end of his work may work and exalt thy divine glory. And thou, O God, lead him also not into temptation of lifting up, or rising up in the spirit, but deliver him from evil, Amen.

14 And this you, heavenly Father, will not deny us. For if we ask for such a promise and promise, and ask for nothing else, but finally for the increase of your praise, as you know, explorer of the heart, then you will, in praise of yourself, also from your merciful promise, be done for our comfort, and then from your truth, which you yourself are, which does not let you lie, you may not withdraw your grant from us. O heavenly Father, your will be done now and forever, Amen. Date on Monday after the holy Palm Day [April 14], Anno Domini 1522.

509 Hartmuth von Kronberg's appointment.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1583), vol. VI, p. 383 d.

Hartmuth von Cronberg.

1. a distinction of several main articles, drawn from the order of the Almighty King, comforting and acceptable to all emperors, kings, princes and lords of the whole world, and to all warriors on horseback and on foot, and frightening to all hardened enemies of the divine Word of God.

2 Item, especially so 1 the heavenly king promises his war people the service not for a time of months or years, but freely forever.

3. item, the remuneration of the heavenly king is eternal life, and that everyone who surrenders to the service of God shall be accepted as a son in the heavenly, eternal kingdom, so that he may freely use the highest, heavenly treasure, which cannot be dissipated, as his inheritance.

4. item, the wives and children of the soldiers shall all have perfect wages, so that every one, 2) young or old, healthy or sick, rich or poor, who enters into the service of the Lord, shall have his wages so great and certain, at the same time according to the higher faith of each, and trusting in the Lord of his true, undoubted promises.

(5) There shall be no distinction of wages between men of war, whether they be of horse or foot, among emperors, princes, lords, and among the most despised of the poor; for whosoever believeth or trusteth hath; and whosoever believeth not shall have nothing of the heavenly wages, whether he be lord or servant.

(6) For everyone who enters into the service of the Lord with firm faith and trust, his wages will come immediately, and he will be assured of eternal riches, both temporal and eternal.

Item 7: The heavenly captain also wants to stand for every one's harm for time and eternity, to all those who believe and trust in him; and whoever is deficient in faith and trust, he may ask God for it with earnestness and diligence, and faith and trust will be given him according to all his need.

(8) This heavenly King, by his almighty power, will a hundredfold restore to every man all that he loses for his own sake, who believes and trusts in him and perseveres in faith.

Item 9: All Turks, Gentiles, Jews, heretics, and all apostate Christians are required into the service and order of this Lord. Whoever, by the grace of God, will believe and trust in this almighty, true Lord, may enter the service of the Lord and be assured of the eternal kingdom. Whoever will do this, may not regret it. For all the power and wealth of the Turkish emperor, and even if he would bring the whole world under his power and obedience, that God would prevent according to his will, all this is to be counted as small and void, and everything as a shadow, compared to the least, poorest man's salary, who believes and trusts in God.

10. item, the Almighty God promises grace and strength to all and any of His believers against all their enemies, and they will succumb and prevail against the world and the devil, and overcome cruel death by the power of God, without any worry.

11. All men, be they emperors, kings, princes or lords, poor or rich, who will despise the most high and almighty Lord and his words and truth, and will despise such grace, which he alone and unitedly has given us out of his pure clemency and mercy for nothing, and will persevere in their own way out of their own will, they shall know that the Almighty Lord will execute his cruel wrath and justice on them, on their bodies and goods, and will condemn and sentence their souls to eternal hellish punishment; From this all human power and wealth of the whole wide world will protect none.

List of a letter of articles that must be firmly kept by the common Christian warrior house. And whoever would not keep such a letter of articles, he may freely provide that he is to be discarded by the supreme heavenly Lord and Captain.

Item 12: Whoever has surrendered himself to the service of the heavenly, almighty Lord, be he emperor, king, prince, lord or servant, let him forgive all his brothers and comrades-in-arms, as we ask in the Lord's Prayer, so that we may the more strongly resist all God's enemies with a united mind and heart.

1) Wittenberger: "speaks".

2) Wittenberger: "any".

(13) Let every man direct all his works to the love of God and of his neighbor, that these works may be done in every way with the intention of helping and serving his neighbor. For through love of one's neighbor all God's commandments are fulfilled, as St. Paul teaches.

(14) Let every man hear the commandment of God, which is wholly founded on the two articles next mentioned, and beware of all mutinies that may be preached contrary to and contrary to the two articles aforesaid. For when the hooded wolves come to us in sheep's clothing, which the Lord Christ himself has pictured for us, they do not enter through the door, but go into the sheepfold as thieves and murderers, only to slaughter and destroy the sheep. Which thieving wolves proclaim and preach to us the laws and doctrines of men instead of the word of God. They have taken our daily bread, the Word of God, the heavenly food, from us, and have ordained in its place other things that carry money for them, of which we have no commandment or promise from God, thereby miserably murdering many thousands of souls. These are the devilish fruits, in which one may recognize them. St. Paul [1 Tim. 4:1 ff.] has also clearly portrayed these same deceivers in their special clothing and their own sects, and said that they will teach us the difference of food and of days; they will also have an assumed false chastity, and other such things contrary to God's commandment and contrary to the love of one's neighbor. Therefore, let every man beware of these same glittering deceivers, as of the worst enemies of Christ and of all His Christian people, lest he be cut off from the heavenly people by the chief captain.

Resolution of this appointment.

(15) That every man may be absolutely sure and certain of all things which are contained in these articles of the order, which have been foretold: Know ye that these things are confirmed and ratified by the word of God, and by the death of Christ, sealed with his blood. Heaven and earth will pass away, but the words of the Lord must remain forever. Let every man be hereby exhorted, that he be not put off reading or hearing the true, whole order of Christ the Lord, even the holy gospel, through and through. In the same, let each one read these excerpted articles, and much more.

He will be able to bring himself more clearly into his full understanding by the grace of God. Also, how he should conduct himself in all ways against friends and enemies, actually find report, and thereby truly achieve eternal victory; all through the help of the supreme heavenly captain, who wants to help and overcome the same on every servant's call, in all action and distress, against all enemies; no one should have any doubt about this.

510 Hartmuth von Kronberg's warning to the inhabitants of the city of Frankfurt against the false prophets and wolves, which he had publicly posted on the most prominent gate there. March 16, 1522.

From Ritter's "Evang. Denkmal der Stadt Frankfurt am Main," p. 47.

To all and any 1) and prudent and wise, dignified and highly learned as well as strict, hereditary and hereditary mayor, council and court and all inhabitants of the laudable city of Franckfurt, I offer Hartmudt von Cronberg my willing, friendly service, and what I am well able and willing to do for you, my true brothers in Christ the Lord, to know that out of earnest and brotherly love I am compelled to make an effort to shelter you and provide for you from the ravening wolves, of which the Lord Christ warned us at the second day, and the Lord Christ tells us plainly how to recognize the same wolves, and John at the tenth day, how to guard ourselves against the dens who do not enter through the door through Christ, but go up as thieves and murderers, and their styme is not at all the styme of the Lord Christ, but from the devil, then their voice and lere coming with the styme of the holy gospel. They do not seek to woo the sheep with the pure Word of God, but they seek their own profit according to the devil's will, they esteem the poor people against God and His holy gospel, they sell the poor people against God and His holy gospel, they sell the poor people against God and His holy gospel. They sell the holy divine sacraments according to their will. They sell the burial of the dead at the very highest. I have heard from some of your pious citizens how your priest, because of his exuberant, devilish zeal, will not allow you to bury your dead otherwise.

1) In the original: "iyycklichen"; towards the end of this writing we encounter the form: "igcklicher".

The same is true for many devilish practices, which are bought with butter, and when a child's body dies, the dead body must be blessed, and other devilish, unchristian things must be taken into account. Christ speaks to John on the tenth: I am the door, if anyone enters through me, he will be preserved or saved, and will enter and go out and find salvation. A thief does not come, but only to steal and slaughter or kill, I have come so that they may have eternal life and have it in abundance. O Christian brothers! O heavenly citizens! It is high time that we recognize such thieves and murderers, whom the Lord Christ has made known to us in the sheep-pleasers and in their fruits, but these are their devilish fruits, in which they are known to mislead us, not at all according to the Gospel, namely, when they teach us that the poor should give allmussen to the righteous priests and monks, when they teach us to build churches, to make beautiful images, great bells, beautiful paintings, make delicious tabernacles, offer masses, vigils and brotherhoods in their monasteries, and all such unglamorous services that they provide, which are of no use to the poorest, and which are of no use to God, you should know that, Whichever pastor and preacher persists in such opinions and emptiness is truly a ravening wolf, thief and murderer, for which Christ has warned us, the pre-meditated valsche lere is the fruit, whereby one recognizes them certainly and eygentlich. Your pastor of St. Bartholomew 1) has let it be known that it is not known that I, concerning the Christian faith, am screaming; and has therefore a useless concern; Then I know myself free of the grace of God, that my writings have their foundation in the holy Gospel, therefore I do not shrink from them as from the truth, but I am certain that his teachings and actions are contrary to God and his divine cause and Gospel, I will freely confess this to him, and as long as he persists in his error and the same misconduct, a decent Christian may hold him responsible, and protect himself from his and his little sin as from thieving and murderous crimes. I do not wish to behave in this way, so that I may prove my true brotherly love for you with these works. Given under my seal on the Sunday of *Reminiscere* [March 16] XXII.

511 Hartmuth von Kronberg's letter to Peter Meyer, pastor of St. Bartholomew's in Frankfurt, in which he sharply rebukes him for oppressing Luther's teaching and elevating the papal regiment so high, and also demands that he state his reasons for doing so in the reply to his letter. 9 June 1522.

The following four writings were published together under the title: "Schriften von Junker Hartmuth von Cronenberg wider D. Peter Meyer, Pfarrherr zu Frankfurt, sein verblendet, verstockt und unchristlich Lehr betreffend, samt zweyer Gegen-Antworten desselben Pfarrherr 1522. See von der Hardt uut. Uütüsr., Theil II, p. 100. They are found in Ritter's "Evang. Denkmal der Stadt Frankfurt am Main", p.81ff.

1. to you, the parish priest of St. Bartholomew in Franckfurt, I send my greetings to Hartmut von Cronbergck, and I invite you to hear how I have reported and explored, to what extent we have suppressed the true Christian sinner Dr. Martin Luther's sins on all the grounds of the Holy Scriptures. The truthful Christian Luther's sins are unreservedly suppressed. Against the princely authority and regiment, we must raise so high that we consider all those heretics who follow the Christian Doctor Martino or his evangelical teachings, and do not want to consider them Christians, but those who are obedient to the prince and his commandment and live, to which our word and public sermon give irrefutable testimony.

Now that I am heartily desirous that the Almighty God is my witness, that I would gladly be a true Christian, and that I may suffer brotherly and Christian reassurance from anyone, of whatever standing he may be, and that I may gladly and expeditiously receive it from the least of these. Because you are a pastor of your great, noble city of Franckfurt, and in my opinion, you have proven the great dishonor of the Gospel and the clear Word by your false, devilish and humanly conceived teachings, which you unashamedly preach in public and thereby lead the entire people of the public city of Franckfurt onto the wrong path.

3. we also do not want to allow a proper evangelical preacher to preach with your permission, and especially on the day of Pentecost we do not want to allow a Christian preacher, whom I sent to Franckfurt, to preach; but because you as a pastor of the city of Franckfurt have the cause and reason for your opinion and public preaching to say, as St. Peter preached, I request and demand of you out of Christian guilt and guilt that you do not allow a Christian preacher to preach on the day of Pentecost.

1) D. Peter Meyer, as can be seen from the following writings.

It is my duty to point out to me, with evangelical reason and holy divine scripture, on what grounds we should believe or obey the papal rule, since it is clear and evident how the papal rule is not entirely consistent with the gospel, but entirely contrary to it, otherwise I cannot reckon it out, whereas Doctor Luther's teachings and sermon on Christ are entirely consistent, so clear that even children may see and grasp them. But nevertheless I may ask that you teach me better, so that I may find the right door, which Christ John teaches in the tenth chapter. But if you do not know these things, I warn you more carefully that you come to God from your error with us, and confess as your great need requires, because you do not know how long you have time, for truly I warn you, if you fail, you will not be at your best with all those whom you fear.

4. But if you know better, I will gladly listen to your words and teachings in a virtuous way, if you know nothing against it other than human papal authority and the Holy Scriptures, then you will have a bad foundation, the Almighty Creator, who made us from nothing in the first place, in the same almighty God's power we still stand between all times, we want to take the manifold warnings of God through the prophets, through Christ himself and the apostles, because if you shepherds do not soon confess yourselves against God, then your fall with all those whom you fear would be more terrible than the fall of the devil. Read the chapter of Ezekiel in the third and fourth and thirtieth and fifth and twentieth chapters, Matthew in the third and twentieth and many other places. I hereby wish you, out of brotherly duty, the grace of God, that you may use this writing of mine to the best of your ability, together with your written reply, to guide me in this and to know how to keep me to my evangelical duty. Given under my seal on the Holy Monday of Pentecost [June 9] Anno in the fifteenth hundred and two and twentieth.

512 Doctor Meyer's answer to the above letter from von Kronberg, the content of which is that he has never been a hindrance to the word of God, but rather a help to it, and that he does not hope that anyone can say that he would have been able to keep the Gospel alive in the thirteen years that he has been in Frankfurt.

If anyone had preached too much or too little of the gospel, he should be brought before his judge, and he would give an answer. June 11, 1522.

See No. 511.

My willing service beforehand, mercy, dear Juncker. Your letter to me on the third day of Pentecost, I have read and well understood, answering to the article that I have mocked a Protestant preacher sent by you on the day of Pentecost, that he is not allowed to preach, I say that I am being wronged, No one has been to me, nor has anyone asked me for it, and I have asked a whole chapter on this day, whether there is anything asked of you, and they have replied to you in your faith and in your oath, no, there is nothing obtained from you, and so on, If you want to accuse me of the one who has brought such matters to my attention, I will speak to you so that you may learn that I am being wronged, and I have never been the one who has hindered God's word, but have always promoted it with words and examples, but that you write to me about my sermons, I have preached publicly before the whole world, and now in my thirteenth year in Frankfurt, and I hope to preach the truth and the holy gospel, which two or three thousand people have heard from me, and I freely confess my preaching before the whole world; But if anyone should think that I have done too much or too little, I have a proper judge, and I may be appealed to, and I will answer. With this good will I am pleased to prove to you. Date on Wednesdays after Pentecost [June 11] Anno XXII.

willing
Petrus Meyer, the H. Schriff D. and pastor at
Franckfurt.

513: Herr Hartmuth von Kronberg's other and even sharper letter to Doctor Meyer. June 14, 1522.

See No. 511.

1. recognizing the mercy and grace of God, I, Hartmudt von Cronbergk, wish you, the parish priest of Sant Bartholomeus zw Franck-

1) The previous letter is dated "Whitsun Monday", therefore there is a mistake here.

ford. My evangelical and fraternal duty compels me to write to you further on our scripture. The date is Pentecost Wednesday.

First of all, I have the preacher, whom I [sent] to Franckfurt, one sufficient, then it stands with it, as it is well, then nothing is in it. But that you have neglected to answer me, for what reason you have so highly exalted the papal regiment and the commandment and rule of man, and thus to suppress and flatter the irrefutable truth of God. Which may be publicly produced on you, by many people from Frankfurt and elsewhere, who have heard our sermon, therefore I have no sufficiency.

3) Also that you write how you have preached the holy gospel three and a half years between Franckfurt, whereupon I say that you have not preached the holy gospel, inasmuch as Christ commanded it, especially only in your own faith and faithfulness, where it is folkloric. 1) Blessedness and salvation.

4. for this reason, our faith, and that we call you a doctor of the holy creatures, is in accordance with the Holy Gospel and the Holy Scriptures, and is unjustly weak.

5. we may not say with any reason in the Scriptures that the Almighty GOD has given you or anyone else authority to mix the human laws, even the human dreams and good deeds, with the clear Gospel, or to preach them alongside, and to present or compare them with the Gospel.

6. Considering yourselves, if you give a servant an order to execute an advertisement according to the content of a clear instruction, and the same servant would say the word of the order or instruction, but for his own benefit he makes an addition to his master's order and commandment completely contrary, and makes as a whole a reworthy pretence at his master's command against his duty, which he would owe, on all doubt you will not be so grossly reasonable that you will put up with such an evil action from your servant, the servant will not be able to tell you with truth that he has punished his command.

7. in the same way, how can you excuse your evil deeds, which you have publicly committed against God's commandment and his holy gospel until now?

8. we have not all sheared the sheep against God's commandment and wickedly.

But also, which is much greater and heavier, the holy will of Christ has been trampled underfoot.

9 O what great soul-murder have you done in the three and a half years. Consider how severely justice judges a real murderer, therefore considering how much more horrible and unholy are the murders of you and yours, which do not go through the right door, but stand hyneyn as thief and murderer, allyn that you slaughter and kill. I praise God, the All-Mighty, who wants to deliver us from our own and your murderous violence through the knowledge of the good and blessed will of Christ, which we poor and wretched people have no need to practice according to our will by the grace of God, as much as we wish, from which we have learned to recognize our thieving and murderous ways (which Sant Paul also calls the devilish way), which is completely contrary to the way of Christ and sounds like a wolf compared to the way of an honest, right-going herdsman.

10. in your scriptures I have heard how you are to preach the sermon in your old way, and if this is displeasing to anyone, he may take you before your preferred judge for this 2c. 2c. Therefore, I say, we have a clear command from God, if you will confess your error and accept the grace of God, which appears to all of us, and praise you with us to the infinite mercy of God, to which I fraternally invite you, I will gladly accept you for a brother and prove fraternal loyalty.

11. But if you do not do this, I warn you and give you to understand that your opinion and will can not or may not take place, but that your action would be so glorified in the day that all people between Franckfurt may know and hold for true reason, that you are such a valiant advocate, as mentioned above, and that it is in all good conscience to act against you by deed, as much as it is possible to act against a ruthless wolf, a mysterious thief and murderer by words and deeds.

(12) And if you and the others shall plead that such things have been taken or acted against you unjustly, then the said judges shall not only be afraid to give speech and answer before your ordinary judge, but they shall also plead their case before an honorable council and the whole city of Frankfort.

1) This is supposed to mean well: for the blessedness of the people 2c.

The reason for this will be the indestructible Word of God, which is so strong that it will overthrow all eternal foundations, which you may build on the sand.

13 Therefore, I request and ask you once again, as stated in my last letter, to answer me in writing, for I am concerned that if you do not take the right path before the start of the punishment, you will neither be advised nor helped.

14 The Almighty God, who by His grace will take us all out of the devil's spell and rope. Date under my seal on Saturday after Pentecost [June 44] Anno Domini 2c. 2c. in the two and twentieth.

514 D. Meyer's complaint and appeal against the Lord of Kronberg to E. E. Rath zu Frankfurt. June 17, 1522.

See No. 511.

1. Dear Sirs, My devout prayer to God and willing unthreatening service of all fortune beforehand, I do not doubt that your will may have heard, as Harpmann von Cronbergk recently told me, I may not know how, on the basis of the information I have received, Harpmann of Cronbergk has recently sent me a clumsy letter, his status and nature completely unmeasured, to which I have answered him again with a kind, gentle and brief reply. W. knew [from] the copies enclosed here, and thereupon also promised me in my reply that he should, as an understanding, noble, though ungelled, when nobility joins me in my chastisement, have sufficed with a proper reply, and have left me more uncouraged.

2. in addition to the above, he has again sent another even more extensive and serious prayerful letter, the contents of which E. W. I am in no doubt that I have preached here in Franckfurth, and that I will not let anyone else hear the Christian and Protestant emptiness with other worthy learners here, and so that I will be able to read and understand these things, that I would have been presented with this letter by Juncker Harpmann, or, if he did not want to do so, that he would have sued me in the places where this had happened, but he could not have given me a fair trial.

I must therefore expect my damage, and if I will give myself my given emptiness and sermon right before all mercy, I will bear no complaint at all.

Therefore I ask E. Weyshardt as my favorable lord, that they will protect and shield me as their priest and clergyman from violence by law and the law of the land and order favorable and give the unseemly, mighty, faithful, 1) take, so Juncker Harpmann von Cronbergk last seyns Schreibens anhencket, no city, so I rightly Billichkeidt before God and all the world may suffer, that gepürdt me all my poor assets around E. Weißheit eternally and benevolently, please give me your undelivered comforting answer. Datum uff Dienstag nach Trinitatis [17. June] anno XXII.

willing

Petrus Meyer, parish priest.

515 Ulrich von Hütten's complaint about D. Meyer, in a special letter to the council of the city of Frankfurt. April 1, 1522.

From Ritter's "Evang. Denkmal der Stadt Frankfurt am Main", p. 51.

My sincere greetings and all that I am able to do beforehand, dear, prudent and wise, favorable dear friends. From my childhood days on, and especially since then, I have, through the practice of fortune and misfortune, come to know worldly things, I have, as is generally known, also appeared out of my books and histories, which are publicly read, and have, as much as possible, stopped the confusion that has existed for many years between some of the Holy See's cities and some of the common nobility, and that the two orders, in which the greater power of the German nation lies, would come to an understanding and friendship among each other, therefore I respect this time, when I am forced out of necessary causes, I therefore consider that at this time, since I am forced to do so for necessary reasons, I do not need you for my particularly good reasons, and for which I have taken all good precautions to complain of my concerns, especially for the transcription and preface, in which I excuse myself to you, since I have such a good opinion of myself. I hope you know my mind and heart towards you, etc. And this is the matter, Doctor Peter Meyer, pastor of St. Bartholomew with you.

1) "trewen" probably as much as: threatening.

and preacher, has been around for a long time. ongefierlich zehen Jar her (ich schweye was er in dem gegen meyne guten Günder und Fründe, zuvor an den hemen und hochgelärten Doctor Johannsen Reuchlin an 1) alle Ursach und Verschuldung, uß unchristlichen Haß, tyrannischer Weyß geredt und gehandelt) auch gegen meyner Person, who he would have gone idle, carried a greedy, natterisch and over-grimmist mind and opinion, then often in his speeches behind me, with honest viller people, clear of Im heard, also sth. by In itself with our eyes is discovered. Although it is painful for any human being, and even for an innocent creature (as we can see in the minutest of them), to have his injuries, and it was within my power to reckon with him, I was nevertheless, but not in 1) pain, that the same thing had happened to me, and that I had further encouragement, which I had in all rights to In, Doctor Peter, when I also offered him to his sent to me at Franckfurth, on the day of the council, until this day, and what he thus offered against me would probably have been shaped by me into a perpetual bequest, half of my person, if only a few days ago he had again torn open and renewed the wounds that had healed themselves in my heart and were already covered with a rumor. By making the pious Christian and religious priest, Mr. Othen Brünfeltz, my servant, as the same at Steynnheim, preach the holy gospel and irrevocable word of God out of duty and by virtue of his office, by means of a dense false lie-afflicted accusation, hateful and unpleasant to the princes of the priests and the priests of the church, to such an extent that the pious, innocent man has been threatened with his life and limb by such accusations, as I myself know better than I can write to you, that if he had not been warned by good reasons, he would have been bound and smothered in cruel imprisonment, or even death. When I now see that with him, Doctor Peter, there is forbearance of his wicked deeds and crimes against me and mine, he has also poured into us his imprisoned goods, which he has poured into us on two of the enemies of the human race, from day to day, and all his new actions surpass the older ones in wickedness, but I recognize that I have changed to such an extent that I should have remained unharmed and unenvied by him, so after a long and (I estimate) over-

I have been forced by my lack of patience to put myself in opposition to him, and for this reason, as my especially good friend and friend, my earnest and imploring request is made to you, I beg you to take care of the said Doctor Peters, against me and against others who have been mistreated for a reason, and also that he, by his unchristian, unchristian, and gifted preaching, awakens much strife and discord in our city, which then, where it does not occur through wise people, leads to great trouble and much discontent, He was never to be counted on to reach any end from place to place where he walked, where he could remain peacefully and without arousing civil and internal turmoil and unrest. In as a wolf left in among the sheep, as a heymic giff and penultimate pestilence out of our city, which may not be longer in his beywesen on harm, do and separate, then you can think that would happen to me leydt from a iden the vorter [forer] mere with this of the devil apostles Teyl or had in common, although I would then like to hold you to all love and friendship, something too good in this, it is nevertheless to be considered that even if I stand quietly, it is possible that Doctor Peter, if he thus remained with you, would inflict eternal harm or disaster (which God forbid). I did not want to hold this against you in my good opinion. I am heartily willing to prove my love, friendship and service to you. Date Wartenburg, Tuesday after Lätare [April 1], in the year after Crists Geput, 2c. XXII.

516 A letter of requisition from Churmainz to the council of Frankfurt to deliver Hartmann Jbach, their preacher and strong supporter of Luther and his teachings. March 11, 1522.

From Ritter's "Evang. Denkmal der Stadt Frankfurt am Main," p. 41.

Lorentz Truchßes von Bommersfelden
DhomDechant, governor, and Dietherich Zobel
Dhom-Schul-Meister and Vicarius in
Spiritualibus zu Mayntz.

Our greetings and kind service before, dear and careful, dear and especially good friends, it has come to our attention how one, called Hartman Mach, is to be the priest, shortly last day, out of favor and order of some of the ewren, who had abstained from the pious, between Sanck Katherinen zw Franckforth did some sermon with you, in which he against ours

1) an -without.

Lord Jesus Christ Here, who has chosen to keep peace and love above all other things, also Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Our most gracious Lord's outgoing penal mandates, which you are undoubtedly aware of and have good knowledge of, have made themselves subject to Doctor Luther's damned emptiness, and have decided to do something more evil and to arouse more Christian love, disquiet and revolt, that we, in consideration of the royal outgoing mandates, do not allow, and much less favor, you in Franckfort as a royal city. We have therefore, in the absence of the King, decided to allow us to do so. Therefore, in the absence of our most gracious Lord, our kind and friendly prayer to you is that you, in consideration of our Christian faith, which is not based on any man's synn or reason, but is built on a hard foundation from the word of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and is indestructible. We also accept the outgoing penal, reported Hartman Mach, because he is to be a spiritual person, from His Majesty the Emperor, to send us down to Meintz instead of and on account of our most gracious Lord, as your right ordinary archbishop, whom we also hereby demand from you, to be warned. We hereby demand that you send him down to Meintz to be warned, to continue his proceedings against him for the sake of his knowledge, and to keep to it, as we have then understood in the same case against those who have attempted to awaken the evil against you, and have done on your behalf, and are obliged and obliged to do in the future, that we want to provide ourselves amicably between you, and to freely complain and settle. But if this does not happen, and the said Hartmann, of his preaching and courageous will, would be allowed by you, either jointly or separately, we hereby protest that we will bring this to your attention and report it adequately, also bring it to the place where it belongs to him, and in all ways know the culprit to you. Given in Meintz on Tuesday after Invocavit [March 11] &c. XXII.

517: Some neighboring noblemen, as Marx Lösch von Möhlheim, Georg von Stockheim and Emmerich von Reifenstein, all of them good friends of the Lord of Kronberg, letter of March 13, 1522, under the seal of Kronberg, in which they complain to the council of Frankfurt about the actions against Hartmann Jbach and demand that he be allowed to preach without hindrance. March 13, 1522.

From Ritter's "Evang. Denkmal der Stadt Frankfurt am Main," p. 45.

Our willing and kind service beforehand, honorable, wise, dear lord and friends, we are concerned how the servants of our Lord Jesus Christ, the alleged clergymen in our city of Franckfurth, are resisting to print the pure word of God holy! They are preventing the first evangelical preacher, Mr. Hartmann Mach, from preaching, and are handing out some commandment letters through or from clergymen to mentors, which is the highest wickedness and dishonor against God the Almighty, which they would like to do, who is merciful and gracious, who became man for the sake of the salvation of the poor people, of all the human race, who suffered death for us, and who left his divine word for us in the end, so that all who hear such words are assured of eternal life, if they wish; Such a true divine word does not resist the ravening wolves, the devilish clergy of Franckenfort, to snatch from eternal pious people in Franckenfort, therefore the Lord Christ has well told us that we shall recognize such ravening wolves in the created clauses of or by their fruits. After all this, our true and sincere love for the gospel carries us, therefore we are of the will and mind, with the help of God, to act against the true and wicked enemies of the word of God, as we know ourselves in the faith of the gospel, and as long as they do not turn away from their wicked advocacies; and we want to ask you, as the authorities of the city of Franckfurt, for your help. We ask you, as the authorities of the city of Franckfurth, that you instruct your supposed clergymen and enable them to renounce their un-Christian, devilish interventions and leave room and place for the Christian, evangelical preachers of Mr. Hartmann Jbachen to preach and tell the Lutheran-Gospel truth to our pious people, whom God has redeemed with His own blood, and where the devilish and obdurate clergymen want to persist in their interventions: So we recognize ourselves guilty out of evangelical duty and school, that we must act against them, as against the very worst enemies of the living Lutheran Word of God; and to such we are moved most of all by our love for you and your pious people, therefore we desire and ask of you to know that we and our helper will act out of a guilty evangelical duty against the aforementioned devilish clergyman, in fact against your life and goods, as against the worst enemies of Christ and His Divine Word, for which we therefore commit ourselves to you, the eternal and relatives of Christ.

shall see. Then our opinion stands against you and the eternal pious people no other than to act comfortingly and evangelically, so that [they] may be fed with the living proof, which is God Himself, with us, to the praise of our God and to the comfort of all pious Christians. Then we do not hope that God will let us become so foolish,

that we should have his word, which he himself is, underprinted, therefore ask you, as of srommen Christians, a good Beßhriebene answer by gegenwertigen, to judge us according to it. Date Dornstagnach Inuocauit [March 13] under the seal of the Honorable Vestryman Hartman von Cronberg, Lack halber des ernen, XXII.

The seventh chapter.

From Luther's standing before the emperor at the Diet of Worms, his Declaration of Eight, and Patmos, to his return to Wittenberg.

First Section.

The Emperor's correspondence with Chursachsen about bringing Luther to the Diet in Worms.

A. How Chursachsen had the imperial ministers request the emperor not to do anything against Luther before he was heard, and what the ministers did and answered the Elector.

518. Duke William of Croy, Marquis of Arschott, and Count Henry of Nassau, two of the most trusted ministers of Emperor Carl the Fifth, joint letter to Chursachsen, in which they report how they presented the Elector's request to the Emperor's Majesty, who, like them, found it advisable that the Elector himself bring Luther to Worms, promising to make every effort with the Emperor that the matter be settled peacefully. Date Oppenheim, Nov. 27, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden" (Useful Documents), where this letter is found in Vol. II, p. 190 ff. in both Latin and German, according to Spalatin's translation.

After Spalatin's German translation.

Most Serene Prince, Most Gracious Lord. We have received a letter from Your Most Serene Sovereignty, which it has given to us concerning Doctor Martin Luther's affairs. All of which.

before Your Most Serene Sovereignty [request] 1) to Your Imperial and Christian Majesty, Our Most Gracious Lord, [we] have indicated with lead. Now His Majesty has decided something on it, as it will be noted from your letter in the length. And our intention is that Your Most Serene Sovereignty, in all its goodness and Christianity, according to the holy faith, will in all its ways be anxious to bring the same Luther with it to the Imperial Diet in Worms. When the time 2) comes, this matter must be settled by several good means and completely eliminated. To this end we pledge our support and lead to the Imperial Majesty, before we consider that this E. C. G.'s desire. But after E. C. G.'s departure nothing new has come, and all things stand in the state in which they left them in their departure. Only that we have heard that the Most Serene King of France has sent to His Majesty the King. Majesty, which Ew. G. we do not want to have behave, which we humbly respect. Given at Oppenheyn on the 27th day of November in the year Domini XV C XX.

Your Serene Highnesses most devoted servants William of Croy and Henry of Nassau.

1) Added by us after the Latin.

2) That is, because at that time.

519 Chursachsen's letter to Arschott and Nassau, to the effect that the same letter has arrived, but not the imperial one, of which they have given notice; whereby the Elector complains at the same time that Luther's books have been burned, and asks Arschott and Nassau to excuse it in the best possible way to the Imperial Majesty if Luther has done something similar against the papists. Dat. Alstädt, 14 Dec. 1520.

This letter is found in Latin in Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden," vol. II, p. 193.

Translated from Latin.

Good luck! Gentlemen, special friend. Yours in reply to our previous letter in the matter of D. Mart. Luther on 17. 1) Nov. We have well received your reply, and gladly see that you, as you report, have carefully presented the matter to the Roman Emperor's Majesty, our most gracious Lord; but since you add what the Emperor's Majesty has decided in this matter, we would recognize from their letter at length, and see what you also consider good that it should be done by us in this matter: On the other hand, we would like you to know that we have received your ratification kindly and graciously; however, we cannot leave it undisturbed that, besides yours, no letter from the Imperial Majesty 2) has come to our hands, so we cannot judge at all of the content of such an imperial letter; but only ask that you take up D. Martin's cause in such a way that force is not needed against his manifold protestations and petitions. For, as they say, after my departure from Cologne, his books were burned in Cologne, as well as in Mainz and other places, which I was least concerned about, partly because Doctor Martinus has protested so often and is still protesting and asking to do everything that he can and must do with God and without detriment to the Christian name, and partly because we ourselves have asked that Doctor Martinus should neither be condemned unheard, nor should his books be burned. If, now, Doctor Martinus, moved by such an undertaking of his adversaries, does the same with

1) Should, according to the immediately preceding letter of the 27. Nov. (Walch.)

2) This is letter No. 520, the delivery of which, as can be seen from this, has been delayed. On December 20, the Elector replied to it, No. 521.

I hope that His Imperial Majesty will graciously overlook it, and I ask that you interpret this for the best and humbly commend this man and his cause to His Imperial Majesty. By the way, we would have liked to write you something new; only, nothing is known to us at present except that recently people on horseback and on foot invaded Prussia, and are now fleeing and going home scattered. However, we do not know how the deal went and what outcome it had. Above this, an important uprising occurred in Bavaria, so that the citizens fell from the cities, attacked several castles, conquered them and razed them to the ground. As we have heard, this turmoil has also been settled these days. What end this will have is up to God. We have informed you of all this in our favor, and at the same time we ask that you humbly and sincerely commend us to Your Imperial Majesty. Date Alstädt, the 14th Dec. Anno Domini 1520.

B. Of the Emperor's own handwritten letter to Chursachsen, in which he demands that Luthern be brought to Worms with him, and what Chursachsen has argued against this, and has also written to the imperial ministers.

520 Letter of Emperor Carl V to Chursachsen, in which he requests with great diligence that the Elector take Luther with him to Worms, so that he may have him interrogated there by learned and understanding men; however, Luther should not write anything further against the Pope. Date Oppenheim, Nov. 28, 1520.

This letter is found in Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden," Vol. I, p. 482.

Karl von Gotes genaden Erwelter Römischer Kayser zu allen zeiten Merer des Reichs 2c.

Highborn dear grandfather and prince. We have been requested several times by the Papal Holiness of the Supreme Council with a high veto, that we, for the prevention of widespread disobedience of Doctor Martin's Lutter Books, as then in our Lower Burgundy

3) in Losieis; or perhaps it should indicate Bohemia. (Walch.) This conjecture has something for itself, but then it would have to be written in Rojeis.

The people of the Holy Roman Empire wanted to have them burned here and everywhere else in the Holy Roman Empire. Now the highborn our dear uncle Wilhelm Margrave of Assot and the wellborn our dear faithful Hainrich, Count of Nassau, our governor in Holannnd, have announced to us that your dear friend should be to us that we let nothing happen or be taken against the accused Lütter, who had been interrogated before, and because we want to stop this matter, we request your love with a high lead, that you bring the above-mentioned lutter with you to the next Imperial Diet in Wormbs, so that we may have him there thoroughly interrogated by learned and highly competent persons, and that no injustice or anything contrary to the law may be done to him. However, you should seriously order the infamous Lutter to prevent any further unpleasantness, so that he may not in the meantime write or issue anything against the Holy See or the See of Rome in any way whatsoever. And your love also pleases us to recognize the same in mercy, given at Oppenheim on the xxvijth day of Novemb. Anno Dni 2c. in the xxth our realm of the Roman in the other, and of the other realms in the fifth.

Carolus.

Ad Mandatum Cesaree et Catholice Majestatis.

Sannert.

To the Highborn Fridrichen, Duke of Saxony 2c, of the Holy Roman Empire, our dear Oheim and Churfürsten.

521: The Elector of Saxony's answer to the Emperor, in which he gives very important reasons why it would not be a good idea to bring Luther with him to Worms. Date Alstädt, December 20, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 484; also found in Spalatin's Annals, p. 22.

Most Gracious Sir, Your Imperial Majesty's letter, dated at Oppenheim on the eighth and twentieth day of November, I have received here at Alstedt with gracious affection, and have received it in submission. Mayt. indicate in such a letter that the Papal Heilik. Bottschafft Bey E. Kays. Mayt. several times sought with great diligence, Doctor Martinus Luther's books, as in your Mayt. Niederburgun

The High and Well-Behorned Gentlemen, Wilhelm Marggrave zu Arschott 1) and Count Heinrich von Nassau, have reported my request to the E. K. Mt. and because your Majesty would like this matter to cause a lot of trouble and confusion, he would like to put an end to it, so your Lord Mayt. graciously asks me to bring the aforementioned Luther with me to the future Reychtag in Worms. They want to have him sufficiently interrogated by learned and highly competent persons, and they want to make sure that no injustice or anything right is done to him, but I am to make sure that Luther does not, in the meantime, in order to avoid any further proceedings, again shout anything of importance or to the chair of Roma. On this I give your Ke. Mayt. I humbly acknowledge that I have never presumed to represent or be responsible for Doctor Martinus' writing or preaching, nor have I yet done so, but have left him to his own responsibility and submission, as I then have done to others, who have not yet heard him. I have also repeatedly written to others who have come to me on account of my Heyligk. and given them notice of it, but that I have asked the Margrave and the von Nassau to ask the Kr. I have therefore ordered that the truth and whether Luther is mistaken in his writing may be brought to light, then the same Luther has always offered to come forward with sufficient assurance, and to be interrogated by equal, honorable, and unpardonable judges, and where he has overcome with the Holy Scriptures, to be subjected to a submissive examination; As he has then had his request printed in the Lenge, this and nothing else has moved me to petition your Majesty. Mayt. through the petitioners, and also hoped that the matter would then be given peace and order by those who have recovered it, especially because Bebstl. Heyt. The authorities, among others, have let themselves be heard against me, to propose means in the matter, on which I should act, that I also offer to do on the proposal, so the Bescheen. However, I have been told that Luther's books, unhidden and unconquered with the Holy Scriptures, are to be burned at Koln, Mainz and elsewhere, which I had not foreseen, but rather hoped that, if Luther did not want to be regarded, he would be spared. Because then such about me

1) In Cyyrian: "Arsthott".

Please and be the first to ask for this. Heyt. pottschaftt erbierten bescheen, weil ich aus eure Mayt. schreib nit vermerken kann, dass solche verbrennen von eure Mayt. zulassen sei, und Luther vielleicht dargegen auch etwas, bevor dann dies eure Kays. Mayt's letter to me. So it will be difficult for me, as your majesty will only have to consider, to bring Luther with me to the Reichstag, for which reason I also cause to report all this to your majesty, and ask your majesty to keep the whole matter in mind. K. M. with all humility, that E. K. M. would kindly refrain from charging me to bring Doctor Luther with me to Wormbs, and that I refrain from doing so for the reasons stated, not to be displeased, then your Majesty, I am otherwise willing to show all humility, and whether or not it would reach your Kays. Mat. about it, that I should perhaps act something differently in this matter, then as mentioned above, or again the holy Christian faith. I also sincerely ask that this not be granted, since such, whether God wills it, shall never be my will, mind and opinion, but hope that God Almighty will grant me grace that I may, according to my ability, and as much as is in me, faithfully promote that which may suffice to strengthen and strengthen the holy Christian faith, all of which E. Ke. Mat. did not want to restrain me, and only ask your Ke. Mas. want to note all of this from me, which I am obliged to do for the sake of Ke. Mat. I am entirely willing to do so, and command your Majesty to keep me in subjection. Mayt, me in submissiveness as the obedient, Dat. Alstet on the XXth day of December, anno MDXX.

522 Chursachsen's other letter to Arschott and Nassau, in which the arrival of the imperial letter and the contents of the prince's answer to the emperor are also communicated to them and Luther's cause is again recommended. Date Alstädt, December 20, 1520.

This 'letter' is found in Latin in Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden", Vol. II, p. 195, with the heading "Chursachsen an eben dieselbe" (Arschott und Nassau); in German in Spalatin's Annalen, p. 18, with the remark placed above it that the Elector furthermore "dem Herr von Schiefers, Obristen kayr. Mat. Cemrer". - Schiefer may well have been the carrier of this letter to Arschott and Nassau.

After I have written to you again in response to your scream, which you did to me in the matter concerning D. M. Luther, I have written to you again that there is no writing from King Mat. my most noble Lord, such as

your letter was to be sent to you: As I do not want to keep you now, that a royal letter has come to me here at this time, and has been answered, the date is at Oppenheim on the 28th day of February, which I have received with great honor. Therein mayor. Mayt. state, that the official Heyt. The authorities have often sought Luther's book, as it was published in the Mayan Niederburgundian hereditary lands. The court has also sought to have Luther's books, as they were in the Holy Roman Empire of Lower Burgundy, burned there and elsewhere, and it is assumed what form my request will take in the Holy Roman Empire against Luther. Mayt. against Luther not to allow anything to be fartunemenn or furgeweldigen, furgetragenn. Thereupon mayor. Mayt. requested me to bring the named Luther with me to the Reichstag in Wormbs 2c. How you then know the contents of such a letter. To which kayr. Mayt. I hereby answer, and request my opportunity and plea in the matter, as you also will not behave. And that you will respect my request in this matter, against royal mayor. Mayt. so faithfully, I thank you very much; which I also deserve. And even though I have never taken responsibility for Luther's matters, nor have I yet done so; I nevertheless hoped, especially because the magistrate's office in Cologne has let itself be heard against me by others, to find a remedy in the matter. I should also, if the proposal is made by me, offer to do so, and my request should be granted, that the truth, and whether Luther is mistaken in his case, should come to the day of the meeting, Luther was also not tried, especially because he always offered to come before the merciful and dignified judges 2c. I am, however, informed that Luther's books are in the hands of the royal court before I departed. Before I departed", they were supposed to have been lost in Colnn, Meintz and at other ends, and to have been lost with the Holy Scriptures. Because such things have come to pass, that I am nevertheless at the oppressive request, which has been made to kaye. Mayt. I have received from my side, and on the request of the authorities I have not provided, but rather hoped, where Luther did not want to be considered, that I would be spared. Mayt. schreyben ich nit vermerckenn mag, das solch verbrennen von ihrer Mayt. zulassenn war: So Luther may now have taken action against it again, before the royal decree. Mayt. schreybenn Ihme 1) to come, by which all the thing in weyterung gefurth,

1) According to Latin, instead of: "Ihme" is to lefen: mir.

Then you, the sapientes, have to consider that it would be difficult for me, because such a thing would be furious, to bring Luther with me to the Diet; therefore I have caused you to report all this to your Majesty and to ask your Majesty to spare me at this time. Mayt. to report all this beforehand, and to ask your Mayt. expressly to spare me this time, to charge me to bring Luther with me to Wormbs, and therefore kindly ask you to excuse me, for the reasons I have reported, expressly to your Majesty. Mayt. to the best of my ability, not to take this from me alone. And you should not have any doubts, I will, if God wills, keep myself in this and other matters as a Christian prince is entitled to. And if anyone wants to impose on me, I ask to be excused. Then my will, mind and will is to promote faithfully, according to my ability, that which may reach to the strengthening and strengthening of the holy, Christian faith. I do not wish to hold you to this, and I ask your majesty. Mayt. to give me the utmost care 2c. Date Alstet on the 20th day of Dec. 1520.

C. How the emperor changed his mind and indicated to Chursachsen that Luther should stay at Hanse, and what Chursachsen answered to that.

523 Emperor Carl V wrote to Chursachsen that the Elector should leave Luther at home if he did not want to recant before his departure; but if he did recant, he should not take him further than Frankfurt or its environs, because the Pope had already banned all those who traded or walked with Luther. Dat. Worms, Dec. 17, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 489.

Karl von Gots Gnaden Revered Roman Emperor, at all times Merer of the Empire.
Highborn dear grandfather and prince. When we recently wrote to you from Oppenheim, how our holy father Babst, by the same message to us, requested to have Martin Luther's books burned everywhere in the holy realm, as then Lolchs had happened in our Lower Burgundian lands, and in such the Wolgeborn Heinrich, Count zw Nassaw, our council,

We have talked with you about your love, how it should be ordered that nothing be done with the said Luther until he is interrogated. Thereupon we begged you to bring the same Luther with you to the riches day, since we want to order learned and high-souled people to hear the same Luther, and then to act according to fairness, so that this matter may be settled, but that he neither write nor let anything go out against the papal sanctity in the meantime. And because we now have a credible report that the same Luther has fallen into the Babst's highest ban and is also coming to the places and ends where he is coming, or is, that there the papal interdict has been made, that all who deal or walk with him are to have fallen into the obscene ban, so that we move that Luther should come here with your love, 1) it may come out of this . . . to the holy realm and the same end, to noticeable miss with foreign nations but may come to pass for this..; And so that this may be prevented, we therefore appeal to your love with an earnest plea that you notify and hold out to the reported Luther that he should revoke all that he has written against the Papal Holiness and the See of Rome, as well as against the laws of the Conciliates, now and in the future, revoke it, and refuse to recognize the reverend sanctity and the Council of Rome, that you then take it with you, but do not bring it here to Wormbs, but leave it at Franckfurt an Mayn, or in another place there, and expect it to be paid for there. But if he refuses to do so and will not do so, then let us stay at home until we have spoken and acted verbally with your love. We shall not do this to your love. And your love does our Christian judgment. Given in our and the holy. Imperial City of Wormbs on the seventeenth day of the month of December in the twentieth year of Christ. Anno Chr. in the twentieth year of our kingdom, of the Roman Empire in the north, and of all others in the fifth year.

Carolus.

Ad mandatum Caesarfeae et
Catholicae Mtis proprium Sannert mp.

1) The meaning of the following is given by Köstlin, "Martin Luther" (3), Vol. I, p. 417 as follows: from this, a noticeable reproach would arise for the empire among other nations. - The sentence could be completed like this: it could [cause] harm to the holy rerche and the same states, but [lead to] a noticeable reproach among foreign nations, which, as you may judge, is to be expected in all ways 2c.

524 Prince Frederick's answer to the above imperial letter, in which he reports that he is already halfway to Worms and will soon speak verbally with the emperor. Date Spangenberg, Dec. 28, 1520.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 491.

Such E. Käy. May, dated the seventieth day of December, and delivered to me on the xxviith day of the same month, I have received with grace and accepted in subjection, and thereupon give your Kay. May. thereupon to acknowledge in submission that at the request of E. Kays. May. I have raised myself in marriage and have now traveled almost half the way to Worms, for which reason such a letter from E. Kays. May's letter did not affect me anheym, so E. Kays. May. I also indicated in my letter that it would please me to bring Luther with me to the Diet, for which reason I also caused E. Kay. May. before [about the] opportunity of the search by my letter undertheniglich to report, which my letter E. Kay. May. my hope has numals come, and because E. Kay. Mas. ge

I have only reported to myself, among others, to let Luthern be married, and that E. Kay. May himself will speak and act verbally with me on the matter. So I live in the submissive hope that E. Kay. May. will have noted my reply and statement with respect. That Your Royal Highness, to whom I am subject, did not want to leave it unopened, and I ask you to understand from me that for the sake of Your Royal Highness, I am obliged to inform Your Royal Highness of this. May. I am entirely willing to deserve. Date zw Spangenberg am 28. Tagk decembr.

Orü. 1520.

E. Kay. May. submissive, obedient Frederick.

Luther's report of all these things to Staupitz and Link: the emperor had summoned him to Worms in a letter to the Elector of Saxony, but the latter had rejected it, and the emperor himself had immediately revoked the previous one in another letter.

See Annex, No. 20, § 5 and No. 66, § 2.

Chapter Seven, Section Two.

How the pope sought to thwart the emperor's sincere intention in Luther's cause by repeatedly banning him, but how the papal envoys at Worms sought to thwart the emperor's sincere intention in Luther's cause.

A. The new papal bull of condemnation against Luther, which confirms the previous one.

526 Pope Leo's X. Bull of Condemnation and Banishment, under the title: *Damnatio et excommunicatio Martini Lutherei, haeretici et eius sequacium*. Dated Rome, Jan. 4, 1521.

This bull is found in cherubim duliar. magn..., torn. I, x>. 618 and in Lünig's "pie. eeel., xars II, p. 376. It arrived in Worms at Aleander on February 10, 1521 (Köstlin, "Martin Luther" [3], vol. I, p. 422).

Leo Bischof, servant of the servants of God, in perpetual memory.

1. it befits the roman pope who, by the power given to him by god, has become the house of

(To restrain the ungodly undertakings of the perverse, who, with a malicious intention, have taken such a course that, ignoring the fear of God, and disregarding the canonical conclusions and apostolic commands, they are not afraid to invent new and false doctrines, and to cause an annoying division in the Church of God, or to encourage, cling to, and assist the scurrilous spirits who strive to tear the unstitched skirt of our Savior and the unity of the right faith) against such and their followers, so that the little ship of Peter does not seem to be left without a governor and helmsman, to use it seriously, and by sharpening the punishments and by other means to dispose of it in such a way (that such despisers, who have been given over to a wrong mind

and that their followers do not deceive the poor people by false poems and the same cunning plots and plunge them into the same error and ruin and, as it were, infect them with a plague), also to the greater shame of the damned, to show and publicly announce to all believers in Christ what terrible ban and punishments they are subject to; so that, when they have been thus denounced and made known, they may go into themselves ashamed and contrite, and completely abstain from the forbidden intercourse and fellowship, as well as obedience, of such banished and accursed people, thus escaping divine vengeance and not falling into the same condemnation with them.

2. we have also already otherwise, since some false believers who seek only the glory of the world 2c.

Here, the other narrative is omitted because it is the whole bull (No. 444) indented above.

3. Since, however, as we have heard (although after the posting and publication of the letter), after the expiration of the deadline or deadlines which we have set in this letter (of which we hereby expressly inform and announce to all believers in Christ that they have now expired and run out; some of whom, having followed the errors of the said Martini, when they heard of the same letter and of our orders and warnings, were smitten with the spirit of correction, confessed their errors, abjured heresy into our hands, converted to the true Catholic faith, obtained the grace of pardon according to the power granted to the same nuncios concerning this matter, and the books and writings of the said Martini were publicly burned in certain cities and towns of reported Germany, in obedience to our orders, (which we state with great sorrow and consternation of our hearts), that Martinus himself, as a man "given over" in a wrong mind, not only did not want to recant his errors within the aforementioned period, nor to notify us of such recantation, nor to come to us, but as a rock of offense, still worse than before, he did not refrain from writing and preaching against us and this Holy See and the Catholic faith, and from inciting others to do so; because of which not only he has become a public heretic, but also others of great renown and dignity (who forget their own blessedness, and publicly and manifestly follow this harmful heresy of Martin, and unashamedly encourage, counsel and help him before everyone's eyes, and thereby strengthen Martin in his disobedience and obduracy), as well as others who hinder the promulgation of the said letter, the

The apostle says: "But a heretic man, when he is remembered once and again, avoid, and know that such a man, who sins in this way, is a sinner, because his own judgment condemns him.

(4) So we want such to be joined with Martino and other banished and cursed heretics, and as they follow in sinning said Martini's stubbornness, so they also become liable to the name and punishment that they are called Lutheran and are condemned as such, because their deeds are so denounceable and obvious, and they persist in such a way that there is no need for further proof, warning or demand from them. Which we hereby expressly resolve and declare. And our request is that Martinus and others who follow the same Martino (who remains obdurate in his wicked and damned purpose); likewise those who protect him by war power, cherish him, and by their own or other power in some way dare to support him, and to do and give him advice, help, and assistance in some way, have borne, and still bear, no misgivings (all of whose names, surnames, and status, however high and respectable they may be, are herewith expressly as good as named, just as if the name itself were there, or as it would like to be expressed quite circumstantially at the announcement of this letter), are held to be banished and accursed people, guilty of eternal curses and interdicts, and they and their descendants are considered to have forfeited all honor, dignity and goods, and to be incapable of it, to have forfeited their fortune, and to have been guilty of the vice of offended majesty and other judgments, banishments and punishments, which the canons also impose on heretics, and which are contained in the said letter.

5. We also wish that the cities, provinces, burghs and towns, and all the places in which they may be at the time or to which they may turn, and the principal and cathedral churches, monasteries and other sacred and consecrated places located there, as well as the exempt and the non-exempt, whatever they may be called, 1) be under the ecclesiastical interdict (or common ban); in such a way that, as long as this lasts, no pretext of any apostolic pardon (except in cases which the right to

1) HiEounHUL I read for HuoeuQHUL, which cannot go on intrsräleto here. (Walch.)

and in the same only with closed doors and with the exclusion of those who are under the interdict and ban) masses or other religious services are held. Which we declare by virtue of this apostolic letter, and declare them banished, accursed, guilty of the interdict, forfeited and incapable, and thus command and order that they be proclaimed as such everywhere, declared, and carefully fled and avoided by all believers in Christ.

6. And that such a great contempt of Martini against God and His Church, and his followers and adherents and other disobedient quite desperate boldness in all things be made rightly known, so that the mangy cattle do not infect the herd and thereby the pure part also falls into ruin: We hereby command, in virtue of holy obedience and under the penalties of the pronounced decree of excommunication, all and every patriarch and prelate of the collegiate churches, chapters, ecclesiastical persons and monks, of all, also of the mendicant orders, whether liberated or not, in all places, that they and all of theirs, if and after they are requested by virtue of this, within three days (one of which we appoint as the first, the following as the second, and the third as the last and final deadline or date and provisional canonical warning) the same Martinum and other exiles, Cursed, declared heretics, condemned and thrown under the interdict, deprived of honor and goods and declared incapable, and those named in the execution of the present letter, in their churches on Sundays and feast days (when the people gather more for worship) with the flag of the cross, They shall publicly display and announce the ringing of the bells, the lighting and extinguishing of the lights, and the throwing of the lights to the ground, and other ceremonies customary in such acts, and shall also order others to make them known, and all believers in Christ to avoid them with the utmost diligence.

7. We also command, to the greater shame of the said Martini and other heretics reported above, their followers, adherents and patrons, by virtue of holy obedience, all and every patriarch, archbishop, bishop and other church prelates, that, as they are set, according to St. Jerome, to resist the schisms, are set to resist the divisions, so now, when necessity demands it, because of their supporting office, make themselves a wall for the Christian people, and not be silent like dumb dogs that cannot bark, but shout unceasingly, raise their voice, and spread the word of God and

preach and preach the truth of the Catholic faith against the above-mentioned damned and heretical articles.

(8) Likewise, to all and every ruler of parish churches and rulers of all monastic orders, including the beggars, whether they are already specially 1) liberated or not, likewise, in virtue of holy obedience, that as they are ordered by God to be clouds, so they also cause the spiritual rain to trickle down among the people of God, and to preach joyfully against the articles condemned, according to their bearing office. For it is written that complete love casts out fear.

9. Let you yourselves, and each one of you, willingly and devoutly take upon yourselves the burden of such a meritorious work, and be so diligent in its completion, and so zealous and diligent in word and deed, that from your labor, by divine grace, the fruits we hope for may spring forth, and through our care you will not only be worthy to receive the crown of honor that is due to those who fight in good causes, 2) but you will also earn rich praise from us and from the chair because of your praiseworthy diligence.

10. But since it might be difficult to bring this present proclamation and declaration letter to Martinmas and other such banished and declared heretical people person and presence by hand, because their patrons are too powerful: We wish that the posting and announcement of this letter at the doors of two cathedral or main churches, or only one cathedral and the other of a main church, which are in the said Germany, be arranged by one of our nuncios located there, binding and wearing them in the same way, as well as denouncing and accusing Martinum and others thus condemned and declared guilty in all respects and throughout, as if it had been personally delivered and handed over to them and to each of them in particular.

11) And because it might be difficult to bring the present letters to all the places where their announcement might be necessary, we want and order by the above-mentioned authority that their copy, which is printed with the seal of an ecclesiastical prelate or of one of our above-mentioned nuncios and signed by a public notary, is to be followed.

1) so I read pecutiariiter for xveuniam (Walch).

2) morsa-mini oonssHui.

tario is signed by their own hand, shall be held in all places in the same way as this our main letter (first hand) would be held if it had been shown to them or handed to them.

(12) To which all other apostolic commands, laws and regulations, and everything else that we have already indicated and mentioned in the above-mentioned letter 1), as such things that do not stand in the way of this, should by no means be an obstacle; it may also have whatever name it wants.

Therefore, no one should dare to break this note of our present ordinance, declaration, commandment, decree, will and conclusion in the least, or to pass it over out of impudent boldness. But whoever dares to do such a thing, know that he will surely fall into the disfavor of Almighty God and His holy apostles Peter and Paul.

14. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the Incarnation of our Savior one thousand five hundred and one and twenty (1521), the 4th of January, but of our Papacy in the eighth year.

B. What the Papal Nuncio Aleander zu Wams has done against Luther from the Imperial Diet.

Luther's report to Wenceslaus Link before his journey to Worms, about which, as he had heard from Spalatin's notification, the papal legate Aleander had let himself be heard. End of January or beginning of February 1521.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 8; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 555 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 79. We have retranslated according to the latter.

Newly translated from the Latin.

JEsus.

Hail! Our prior [Helt] complains about you, venerable father. On one and the same day our steward 2) and subprior are taken from us, so that he alone must bear our burden, which is now greater than before; but in this matter I give way to the concern of both. May the Lord guide us all.

1) No. 444 in this volume.

2) Matthius Gruneus. Cf. Appendix to this volume, No. 36, § 2.

The provost Henning has died. 3) Emser rages against me in Leipzig. Otherwise, there is nothing new with us, for I believe that Hutten's letters, which have been published about this matter, are with you. However, we expect news from Worms every day. The papists do not wish my arrival there, but that I simply be condemned and brought to ruin.

Spalatin writes that Aleander dared to say: 4) Even if you Germans, who pay the Roman pope the least money of all, should shake off the yoke of Roman servitude, we will see to it that you kill each other and perish in your blood. He brings this news. I have always said and written that this abomination against us is cherished and cultivated by the Romans. Now see how the pope feeds the sheep of Christ! Farewell. Wittenberg, 1521.

Your
Martin Luther.

528: Excerpt from the long speech delivered by the papal nuncio Aleander at the public convention of the imperial estates in Worms, in which he presents the papal bull against Luther in the original, violently disparages Luther, and urges the burning of Luther's books throughout Germany; at the same time, he asks the emperor to leave this heresy matter entirely to the pope, as it is disgraceful for him.

February 13, 1521.

On Ash Wednesday, February 13, 1521, the papal nuncio Aleander held a three-hour Latin speech against Luther before the assembled Diet of Worms, in which he read out many passages from Luther's writings to confirm his statements. In the Weimar archives, in the manuscript of the chancellor D. Brück, there is a summa of this speech in German, which has been printed in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 30 ff. From this Seckendorf made an excerpt, which he translated into Latin, nist. I^{Autk.}, Ud. I, p. 149. Frick has now retranslated this excerpt into German in the German Seckendorf, p. 331 ff, and Walch has included it in his edition. Since now the material,

3) On January 16, Luther reports in a letter to Spalatin that D. Henning Göde was hopelessly ill, and on January 21 he mentioned in a letter to Spalatin that he had died. After that our time determination.

4) These words of Aleander are also testified several other times.

which is found in Seckendorf, is sufficient for our purpose, we refrain from the complete reproduction of the text according to Förstemann, and limit ourselves to the correction of what is given in Walch's old edition according to Seckendorf.

Aleander showed the authentic copy of the papal bull against Luther, because, according to his pretence, he had recently heard in Antwerp that it was said that the bull was false, although the bishop of Liège, a highly learned and experienced man in these matters, had exequired it in his diocese. He told how he and his college at Cologne had received an audience with Elector Frederick barely after an eight-day delay, and had received no answer in accordance with his request; but he [Aleander] had said that they wanted to do what the bull demanded, and had received from the archbishop in Cologne that Luther's books were burned. Now, however, a new blasphemy is going around that this has happened against the emperor's knowledge and will, and Luther writes: the papal legates have brought about such a burning of books through money. But he referred to the imperial majesty and its chancellor, whether the orders had been given with their knowledge, or whether they had been bought for many thousands of ducats. He then asked to hear some of Luther's articles, which certainly deserve that 100,000 heretics be burned for them; as the articles in which Hus, even Wiclef, is defended, since he blasphemously pretended that the body of Christ is not truly and essentially present in Holy Communion, and that no Christian is bound to obey the authorities. This is also what Luther teaches in his book on the freedom of a Christian. He also denied purgatory and thus argued against hell, since purgatory had been established in the Concilio of Florence in the presence of Emperor John Paleologus of Constantinople, and at the same time it had been recognized that the pope was the head of the entire Christian church. As proof of this, he pulled out the bull of this Concilii, posed as if he had only now found it, and laid it before the Emperor, which the Archbishop of Mainz then picked up, and showed it with great pomp to that of Cologne and Trier. He [Aleander] added that although some Greek bishops had quarreled with the Roman see, all of Greece had always recognized the pope as the head. Luther had further sinned, as in denial of the purgatory against the subterranean spirits, so also against the heavenly angels, writing: Even if an angel from heaven teaches something different,

as he said and wrote, he did not want to believe it. This was a great presumption, because it was not proper for him to speak what Paul had spoken. He sinned against the entire clergy, since he assumed all Christians to be priests in the book of the Babylonian prison. This book had been reprinted in Strasbourg and two dogs biting each other had been printed at the end of the book, as a sign of how the priests were biting the laity. He also rejected all monastic orders and all ceremonies. That is why *Hercules gallicus* 1) or *Lucianus* was printed and read in Wittenberg; as he ridiculed all pagan ceremonies, so the Christian ceremonies were also to be despised. Luther had advised in a letter that one should wash one's hands in the blood of the priests. He sinned against the saints, especially against St. Dionysius, whose books *de caelesti Hierarchia* he despised in his book about the Babylonian prison. He sins against the secular judges, because he says that no one can be punished with death penalty without mortal sin, which is most audacious. He sins against the Concilia, especially the one at Constance, which he calls a devil's cesspool. He [Aleander] has bitten off the articles of free will and indulgences with short words. He is surprised that there are people who pretend that he [Luther] preaches the evangelical truth according to the Holy Scriptures, interpreting them differently than the Fathers and the Church. Others say that Luther is a pious man from whom one has nothing evil to fear. Now he does not want to punish his life, but people are deceived by the devil under the appearance of goodness, and St. Jerome said that heretics are the greatest hypocrites. If he were pious, he would not desire to be more prudent than the fathers and the church. To the objection that Luther's books should not be burned because Origen's books were also kept, who had been noticeably wrong in many things because there was much good in them, he replied that it had always been customary to burn the books of heretics; Origen had not been a heretic, but at the time when he had lived there had been no one to instruct him. He then contradicted those who wanted to claim that Luther had to be heard first and given safe conduct. For Luther would not let anyone, not even an angel from heaven, instruct him; he had been cited by the pope, even with the promise of a safe conduct.

1) We are talking about the book: D Luciano Hercules Oallicus etc.. ^VitteruderMe. Octav, s. a.

but did not appear, he did not want to suffer the Pope's decision, but appealed to a council. He could not stand a council's decision either, but despised it. Accordingly, he asks Imperial Majesty to reject the insult done to their forefathers. This matter, concerning the faith, does not belong to them. The heretic Eutyches had been referred to the pope by the Emperor Constantine. It was not the duty of the laity to judge this matter, and the clergy themselves were not allowed to engage in disputation with heretics without papal permission, which is why St. Jerome refused to engage with John Hierosolymitanus. Thus Luther did not want to accept Pabst's judgment. Therefore, one must strive to prevent heresy from spreading, so that Jews, Turks and pagans do not speak: The Christians disputing their faith, namely the Germans, who are considered pious before others. He therefore asks for a public edict, by which he would be commanded to burn his books, and furthermore not to publish or sell them; if not, then the emperor and the bishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Liège would suffer disgrace because they had these books burned, if the same did not happen in all of Germany. Finally, he also complains that Luther has mistaken him for a Jew: "Dear God," he said, "how many righteous people are here who know me and my family, as I can boast in truth that my forefathers were Margraves of Isterstein in Istria; but that my parents fell into poverty is due to fate. For the sake of my family, I have legitimized myself by becoming a canon of Liège, which would not have happened if I did not come from a high and respectable family; but if I were a baptized Jew, I would not be rejected because Christ and the apostles themselves were Jews.

529 The princely learned councils have raised concerns about the bull of Eugenius IV, which the papal legate Aleander referred to in his speech and from which he wanted to assert the pope's supremacy. February 14, 1522.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 478.

Wyr hear, the bebstischen have yesterday 1) the Bullum Eugenii quarti den stenden des heiligen

1) This results in the determination of the time.

Reichsfürgetragen the hope to raise vil against Doctor Martinus.

How good or static and credible, however, berürte Bull sey, is to be noted.

First, from the fact that they went out in the Concilio in Florence against the Concilium in Bassel.

On the other hand, that such a thing happened in a time of a year, because it was still a 2) Babest, named Felix, who was born at the Duke of Sophoy.

Thirdly, that at the time of the establishment of such bulls the Roman King Albrecht was not present and did not give his consent to the German nation.

Fourth, that no German archbishop or bishop has been present and much less approved.

Fifth, that the seal of the emperor of Constantinople has been either lost or perhaps lost in time.

Sixthly, the bull calls the named Emperor of Constantinople the Roman Emperor, which is what the officials in the chapter venerabilem doctorem refer to as the transfer of the Roman Empire from the Churches, that is, from Constantinople, to the Germans in the person of Emperor Carol.

In the seventh place, this bullet is finished with plain, naked and ungreen words, saying that the Babest is a head of the whole Christendom, on all scriptural evidence and proofs of God's and man's scripture and literature.

Eighthly, we hear that the beasts have found the supposed bulls here at Wurmb, and it is well stated that they have not painted any of the Babest.

What has the Babest to command the emperors, royal princes, 2c., as he has understood himself ethically a hundred years, yes to depose them, and to disown their regalia, 3) if Christ, our Lord, has said that the Babest wants to be the governor, Regnum Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo. 4)

God grant His grace to the Turkish nation to direct itself in such a way that it becomes free and rid of annals, palliative money, reserves, pensions, lehenkeffen and other Roman practices, to make Christian good order and policey, and God wills that Ro. Kl. Mayst. I myself would be enlightened and well, so that these things would be taken into other ways for the benefit of our Christianity.

You Germans are white and cautious, and now your virtue and prudence are to appear at the

2) "am" put by us instead of "am", which is without doubt a misprint. Felix V was the counterpope of Eugenius.

3) Maybe: vernainen?

4) In Cyprian: moão instead of: mnão.

The highest need, therefore, God the Almighty give his grace.

It is an eternal scandal for all the German nation, indeed for the whole of Christendom, if such a person is to be persecuted unheard and unconvincingly for his manifold Christian superfluous requests.

Luther's report of March 6, 1521, to Lang: Aleander was working at Worms with all his might to get an imperial edict issued against him, but had not yet achieved anything.

See Appendix, No. 67 in the Postscript.

Luther's report to Staupitz on February 9, 1521, about the many evil but futile attempts the papists had made against him at Worms.

See Appendix, No. 21, § 1.

C. The first part of the book is a description of the vain plans to settle the religious riots in Worms, even before Luther's arrival in Worms.

532 An anonymous proposal to Prince Frederick that the emperor, along with the kings of England and Hungary, should elect arbiters over Luther's books, and that both the pope and Luther should be satisfied with what the judges would pronounce.

This writing is in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), torn. II, toi. 118 A part of it, §§ 12-15, is found in German according to Spalatin's manuscript in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 67.

Translated into German.

The Council of one who heartily wished to help both the Roman Pontiff's Highness and the tranquility of all Christendom.

(1) It behooves a Christian to be heartily attached to Christ's governor and to maintain his prestige as much as possible. Again, it is also due to the pope's godliness to hold nothing of what is his so dear that he does not prefer the honor of Christ, his prince and sovereign, to it. And those who hold the pope's honor and prestige in such high esteem must do so with prudence and

Do it with prudence. This happens when one defends it with such reasons that even righteous and pious men can approve. For otherwise no one does more harm to papal sovereignty than he who seeks to protect and preserve it with no other defense than terror and human rewards. Now that one is well disposed against the Christian religion, he also heartily regrets that this noise has been caused by some who have embittered Luther to write out some things more vehemently and freely; and who have stirred up the otherwise gentle heart of the pope to deal with Luther more severely than is perhaps good for the peace and tranquility of Christendom.

2) What Luther writes is now set aside; however, we are reminded to consider not only what is appropriate for Luther, but what serves the peace of the church; for one spares the guilty often and obviously, so that no greater noise arises.

First of all, it is sufficiently evident that the matter arose from an evil beginning, namely, from hatred of scholarship, which is now flourishing again in Germany, and from enmity against the languages, which are now reemerging everywhere, by whose splendor, as they think, their reputation is coming down, since they have hitherto been regarded as learned people without them. Some have done everything to suppress them, and in this they are of a completely different kind than the Roman pope, who has the greatest respect for such studies.

4 After that, as far as Luther is concerned, this misfortune is largely to be attributed to those who preached and wrote such things about indulgences and the power of the Roman pope that no godly and learned man could hear; so that, as far as the beginning of this evil is concerned, one might well think of Luther that he was moved by honest impulse and zeal for the Christian religion.

(5) That he began to write a bit more heatedly afterwards is at least reduced by those who do not otherwise excuse it by saying that he was not induced to do so without cause by some people's irritations and vituperations. They had not even read his books, and yet they proclaimed him to the people as a heretic, antichrist, and a spirit of the rotten. Before the papal sovereignty publicly intervened, no one listened to the man, no one referred to him, although he always offered himself for all disputation, as he still does; he was only always condemned. For the Prieria's answer is found even by the

not good that the bull against Luther have acted.

When Eck's disputation was left to the judgment of the Parisian school, those at Cologne and Louvain, who were not charged with anything, came first and only condemned. And since they did it by agreement among themselves, they still do not agree in the articles, and indeed in the most noble ones. Next, the persons through whom the matter has passed are of such a kind that they may reasonably be thought suspect, because their cause was involved. For neither their doctrine nor their life is such that one may turn much to their judgment, especially in so important a matter. The best and most pious people are not satisfied with the way Luther was treated, even if he had written nothing but heretical things. And one is therefore not immediately attached to Luther if one does not approve of the origin and the way of proceeding, just as little as one approves of a murderer who says that he should not be executed until he has been properly convicted and sentenced.

(7) The bull issued against Luther too severely displeases even those who seek to preserve the Roman Pontiff's reputation, because it tastes more of the fierce hatred of some monks than of the sedan chair of him who is the most gentle of Christ's governors, and has nothing at all of the nature of him who has otherwise been so mild and kind. Therefore, it is strongly suspected that there are people who misuse his benevolence and his litter for their own desires. But the more everyone reveres the Roman Pontiff's reputation, the more it is to be seen that nothing comes from him that, according to the judgment of pious people, does not seem to befit him; no prince, be he as great as he likes, has to throw this judgment to the wind.

Moreover, the wider this matter extends and the more dangerous it is, the more diligently one should have seen to it that one did not bluster into the day. Everyone is well aware that the Christian way of life has, through gradual decay, departed very much from the true evangelical teachings of Christ, to such an extent that everyone admits that there is a need for a public and special improvement of the laws and customs. Just as this is not to be attacked thoughtlessly, so one must not bark into the day against those who, out of good instinct, remember one thing and another, even if it seems that they act too freely in this.

9 And if it were true that Luther had been completely wrong, it would have been theological kindness to give the people the following information

and if he had been transferred and still did not want to improve, then to deal with him first, as with a corrupt limb. Those who give such advice do not keep it with Luther, but with the theological order and the papal prestige. For in this way Luther could have been completely subdued if he had first been removed from the minds of the people and then from the book halls. Now it is possible to get him out of the book halls to some extent by burning the books, but in the meantime his opinions remain stuck in the minds of many, since one sees that they are not refuted. The good minds of the laymen also have their judgment, which comes mainly from nature, even among the scholars. There are so many learned and also pious people, some of whom are quite honest-minded and hold firmly to the evangelical truth, and yet have found nothing offensive in Luther's writings. Such people want to be taught, but do not want to and should not be coerced. Donkeys can only be coerced, and tyrants know nothing but coercion. 1) Theologians should, at the very least, instruct and teach with all gentleness, but not go about with invective, parties and conspiracies.

(10) And here we must not only consider what Luther deserves, of which I am not judging anything in advance, but only what is most conducive to the peace of Christendom in the present danger. We see that Luther is everywhere regarded as a righteous man, and is thus firmly established in the hearts of the people, especially of the Germans; although in other nations, too, everyone who judges honestly, that is, is removed from everything that can corrupt a man's judgment, is least displeased with Luther. Everyone confesses that he has improved from his books, although perhaps one and the other can be justly left out. We know how the Germans are minded. We see that the Bohemians have been obdurate for so many years, and that the neighboring countries are not very far removed from such a mob. We hear daily the serious complaints of many who say that they could no longer bear the yoke of the Roman see, which they attribute perhaps not so much to the pope as to those who abuse the pope's power for their tyranny.

(11) Now, if it is all done in a violent and hostile way, anyone who is wise will easily see what a noise it will make.

1) Jos. Hall refers to this saying as that of Erasmus, thus he would be the author of this thought. (Walch.)

since we often see that in the world from a small beginning the most harmful disagreements have arisen. It also seems that the world, tired of the 1) old and too sophisticated theology, has a thirst for the sweet springs of the evangelical doctrine, and it can be seen that it will break in by force if the door is not opened, so that if one is not completely satisfied with Luther, one must at least put the sophisticated theology on a new and better foot.

12. Since the matter has had an evil origin, and it seems to have been provided for on both sides; first, on the side of those who have stirred up Luther's spirit with their ungodly irritations, and then soon embittered him more and more with hostile and grim cries; especially since it seems that they are seeking their own self-interest with this, since, on the other hand, such suspicion does not cling at all to Luther, who is content with his bad condition: it is clear that nothing would be more useful than for this matter to be settled and compared by people who are completely free of all suspicion. It is true that the decision on matters of faith belongs primarily to the Roman Pontiff, and he is not to be deprived of this right; however, for the sake of the common good, he will willingly entrust this matter to other righteously learned and honest pious men, on whom no suspicion can fall, either that they want to court the Roman Pontiff against the evangelical truth out of fear or hope, or that they hold the opposite view out of human partiality. Such arbitrators can be suggested by three kings who are also free of all suspicion, each from his own nation, namely the Emperor Carl, the King of England, and the King of Hungary. What they will say, after a diligent perusal of Luther's writings and a present interrogation of him, can be the end of the matter.

13 And if Luther is then rightly instructed, he may heartily recognize his error, and henceforth let his books go forth purely from such error anew, lest for the sake of a few errors the whole benefit of the evangelical harvest be put to shame. For many find it quite unjust and useless if, for the sake of a few human errors, even the things that are good and right should be condemned; but-

This is because even in Augustine's books one can find and read the answers of heretics full of impiety and blasphemy, written down by the notaries.

If Luther then still wanted to insist on what the arbiters would condemn, then one must of course resort to the most extreme means. Then no one will stand by Luther who has been overcome. And on the other hand, where he mends his ways, everything in Christendom will proceed with calmness in silence. And this will not detract at all from papal power or prestige, but will raise the suspicion of those who would perhaps pay less attention to the pope's judgment because he would seem to be pushing his own cause because of indulgences and his supreme sovereignty. On the contrary, his godliness will be praised by all that, for the sake of the truth of the Gospel and the peace of Christendom, he preferred to yield a little of his right.

(15) If anyone is not satisfied with this advice, the first thing to do is to refer the matter to the next council. Which, for many reasons, seems to be required by the fundamentally corrupt state of Christianity in many respects. For it does not seem appropriate or advisable that such an important matter should be taken up in such a way amidst the noise and unrest of the princely world affairs, and that it should be treated superficially, especially since everything looks quite dangerous, both among the Germans and the Spaniards, so that it does not seem advisable to give rise to new noise. First of all, it is right that at the new coronation of the emperor 2) everything should be cheerful and lively, and that it should not be marred and disturbed by such hateful things.

16 With this advice I did not want to anticipate anyone. For I have only opened my thoughts, which I consider most useful, out of an honest heart, especially since I have been requested to do so by the highest princes, both secular and ecclesiastical.

I wish that the evangelical truth may prevail and everything may be for the glory of Jesus Christ! Amen.

2) Carl V was crowned emperor at Aachen on October 22, 1520. According to this, this writing would have to be set before this time; however, Spalatin's manuscript offers instead: "Nor is it proper in any way that the imperial regiment of imperial majesty should be burdened with such a hasty beginning and be made unhappy. Incidentally, Spalatin's handwriting does not bear a date either. Förstemann has placed above it: "at the beginning of April 1521".

533. advice given by the Dominican prior in Augsburg, Johann Faber, to the Elector of Saxony at the Diet of Worms.

This writing is found according to Spalatin's manuscript in Försteinann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 66. Seckendorf, nist. lib. I, p. 145, has translated it into Latin and Frick has retranslated it into German in the German Seckendorf, p. 323. We give it after Förstemann.

To My Most Gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c.

The Pope, the Roman Emperor, the kings of France, Hispania, England, Portugal, Hungary and Poland shall each appoint four excellent, highly learned men, and each prince of the Holy Roman Empire one. And what they speak and do of Doctor Martinu's writings shall be strong.

This trial was held against Arius, Sabellius, Nestorius 2c. and others; neither the pope nor anyone else was believed alone.

But the Roman emperors sometimes alone, sometimes together with the pope, called for the concilia together, and in the concilia it was always decided what was true or what was false, as the four first concilia indicate.

The named 1) have also not been cited and summoned to Rome, nor have they been condemned or sentenced to Rome, but in the concilia, as may now also happen.

The time and place shall be appointed as it is deemed best and most convenient by the Roman Emperor's Majesty and the Electors, so that it may be carried out without difficulty, with good security and with everyone's opportunity.

Perhaps it would be good to allow at least half a year for respite, or longer, so that learned men can examine all things well and completely, and nothing is done thoughtlessly. For this will be the cause of many things in common Christianity.

For we know what dangers there are on both sides: The rebellion of the Holy Roman Empire, perhaps through the cunning of the French; the danger to the clergy and the common people; the rejoicing of the enemies of the Roman Empire; the inducement to disobedience; the danger to some princes and perhaps also to the imperial majesty; the annoyance of the common people; the future of the French.

1) Seckendorf: Those accused of doctrinal error.

2) Thus Seckendorf.

Tyranny and rage, and the prohibition of publicly proclaiming and preaching the truth.

If it were now decreed that Doctor Martinus be heard at the appropriate time and place, perhaps all things would be arranged well and with God. And that this may happen, I ask God and will ask God forever.

The pope and his people should have patience this time, because there is danger.

In this no harm comes to the pope, but for the sake of the common peace of Christendom, because it cannot be ordered and decreed any better now.

However, the Imperial Majesty shall issue a mandate throughout the entire empire to both parties to refrain from disputing and writing until the matter is finally settled. 3)

534 Another objection raised shortly before this Imperial Diet and given to the Elector of Mainz, dated Nov. 2, 1520.

From Seckendorf's nist. lib. I, p. 145 k. In the Weimar Archives, Reg. <4, no. 43. Spalatin is said to have brought this concern from the Imperial Diet at Worms (Seckendorf I. c.); but our writing seems rather to be a letter from Faber about the advice he gave orally to the Elector of Mainz in Cologne.

This doctrine seems to be hard and difficult, because it has the reputation of bringing about great change in many things. If those in Rome, and those whom this teaching particularly attacks, do not change or improve themselves and their lives, not only will they not silence Brother Martin, but stone and wood will cry out. I do not like the way of proceeding against Martinus as a banished man, because it does not satisfy learned people, and the people are neither calmed nor satisfied by it. I would prefer that the pope and the imperial majesty appoint learned, God-fearing and impartial men, whose pronouncement both parties must accept, so that the matter would be handled with modesty on both sides. This is what seems good to me in regard to the teachings of Brother Martin, which I have given to the reverend Archbishop of Mainz in Cologne as an answer, when his reverends wished to know my opinion. Anno 1520, Nov. 2, Br. Joh. Faber, 4) ppa. manu subs.

3) Thus supplemented by Seckendorf.

4) At Seckendorf: Fabi.

Section Three of Chapter Seven.

How the cunning plots of the papists harmed them themselves, since the imperial order issued by them to hand over Luther's books to the authorities in all places and to force him to recant, not only caused the imperial estates to force the emperor to summon Luther personally to Worms and to interrogate him, but also caused a large number of complaints against the Roman See to be brought before the emperor.

A. About the written recantation of the Emperor by Chursachsen, which was proposed to Luther by the Papists, and how steadfastly Luther declares himself against it.

535 Luther's answer and explanation to Spalatin, who reported to Luther about the imperial order, titled March 19, 1521, that if he were to come to Worms only for the recantation, he would not want to appear, since he could also recant at Wittenberg if it were only a matter of that. But if the emperor wanted to demand that he be killed, he would appear, because he did not think to flee and leave the word in danger.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 313 5; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 574 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 113. In German translation in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 1035 (incomplete); in the Jenaer (1564), vol. I, p. 435; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 711 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 569. We have retranslated according to destlanger Briefwechsel, which provides the original.

Newly translated from the Latin.

His friend in the Lord, George Spalatin, the disciple of Christ, the pious and learned man.

JEsus.

Hail! I have received the articles I am to revoke, 1) dear Spalatin, and the instructions about the things I am to do. Do not doubt that I am not revoking anything.

1) These articles, which are all taken from Luther's "Babylonian Captivity" (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 4ff.) and "Grund und Ursach aller Artikel" 2c. (in this volume no. 448) are found in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", Latin p. 44, German p. 46, but with several very gross errors. We note here

after I see that they are not based on any other evidence than that I have written against the custom and usage of the church (which they invent). I will answer the Emperor Carl that if I have been summoned solely for the sake of recantation, I will not come, since it would be the same as if I had already come there and returned here. For I could also revoke here, if only I had to revoke.

By the way, if he would call me to be killed, and because of this answer consider me an enemy of the kingdom, I will offer to come. For I will not flee, if Christ is gracious to me, nor forsake the word in the midst of the battle. But I am quite sure that those bloodthirsty people will not rest until they have killed me. But I would wish that no one but the papists would be guilty of my blood, if only it were in my power. We have become pagans again, as we were before Christ: so even this exceedingly cunning Antichrist holds the kingdoms, the world, captive in his hand. May the will of the Lord be done. You advise, if you can, that they do not take part in the wicked assembly of the wicked. M. Jodocus Mörlin 2) says, he

only a few: In the text p.44a, line 3 is to be read instead of Xs tanāsm: n6Mt. p. 445, line 2 v. u. is to be read instead of ynickyniä extrennirm 68t, 6^nu5u 6886: [niä^niä 6M8moäi 68t, r6sicÜ6N<la, 6886. p. 45 u, Z. 15 v. o. is to be read instead of ix>8i onUiOot: nnienic^no. P. 45 u, line 23 v. o. is to be read instead of in 66t6ri8: 6l6rioo8. P. 46, line 18 in the text is to be read instead of "vnguttich": ungodly. P.465, line 10 v.u. is to be read instead of "with": nit.

2) Ift. Jodocus Mörlin von Feldkirchen was professor of metaphysics in Wittenberg. After the death of D. Henning Göde, he was given the

has given three guilders to all D. Hieronymus [Schurf] for writing fees, and he will also pay the other if it is necessary, if he only knew how much is still to be added, although he is penniless and even poor.

We have often dealt with the Hebrew lection, and according to our judgment, Aurogallus is sent to this professorship, whom you can propose to the most noble prince. There is nothing else with us. By the way, the Magnificat 1) is under press, I do not know when it will be completed. Fare well in the Lord, and greet those who are to be greeted. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Judica [March 19] 1521, the day on which I received your last letter.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

But I have not yet seen the Emperor's order 2).

536 Luther's letter to Elector Frederick of Saxony concerning the revocation of several articles. On or after January 19, 1519.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 1020; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 432 b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 651; in the Leipzig edition, vol. X VII, p. 568; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 61 and in De Wette, vol. I, p. 575. That Luther sent this letter at the same time as the previous one has been generally assumed so far, therefore both De Wette and the Erlangen edition have the time determination: "probably from March 19, 1521". Also in the Wittenberg and Jena editions, our writing is placed in the year 1521 with the heading: "Antwort D. Mart. Luther to Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony's writing (which does not exist, nor has it been possible to obtain it), in which S. C. F. G. requests that he revoke some articles by imperial majesty's order." But our writing does not belong to the Diet of Worms, but to the negotiations with Miltitz, and refers to

The parish of Westhausen, which had been terminated, was awarded to him. The official costs were significant and already on January 29, 1521, Luther had asked Spalatin to work toward a reduction of the same. The money matter in this letter will probably still refer to it.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. VII, 1272. Although it is accompanied by a note to Duke John Frederick dated March 10, 1521, it could not have gone out until the second half of August. Compare note 1. above.

2) This is the sequestration mandate of March 10, which commanded that all of Luther's writings, because condemned by the papal bull, be handed over to the authorities. Printed in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 61. It was posted on the church doors in Worms on March 26; publicly proclaimed on March 27.

the objection raised by Miltitz for the Elector, No. 277, and is to be assigned to January 1519. Luther answers here point by point to the same. It would be superfluous to provide evidence for this, since a mere inspection is completely convincing. -We had written down the foregoing when we saw from the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 368 f., that we had been anticipated by Brieger in the correct determination of the time.

Jesus.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Sir! In order to serve E. C. F. G. humbly, I open my opinion and discretion on the articles and means indicated to me by E. C. F. G. to put down the difficult bargain between me and the Papal Indulgence.

2. first, I am willing to honor the Roman church in all humility, and prefer nothing to it, neither in heaven nor on earth, but only God Himself and His word; therefore I will gladly do a retraction, in which pieces my error is shown. For to revoke all pieces straight away may not be done.

3 Secondly, I would not only suffer, but also wish that I could never preach or teach. For in this I have neither desire nor love, neither good nor honor. For I also know well that God's word is not acceptable on earth. But I am still subject to God's commandments and will.

Thirdly, to have an unsuspicious judge in the matter is all my desire, and for me; for this I also call the most reverend in God 2c. Archbishop of Trier or Salzburg, or the noble Lord Philip 2c., Bishop of Freisingen and Naumburg. 3)

(5) Fourthly, I have long since been moved by the fact that nine cardinals with all their followers have not been able to prevail in the time of Pope Julii, and that emperors and kings have been humiliated many times; yet I have been strengthened again by the fact that I firmly believe that the Roman Church would not and would not suffer the clumsy and harmful sermons indicated by my disputation on indulgences, nor would it tolerate or handle them, nor would it allow the poor people of Christ to be seduced by the pretense of indulgences.

3) Compare No. 284, Jan. 19, 1519.

(6) It is also a bad miracle whether in our times one or two are suppressed in these last evil times, since we find that in the time of Arii the heretic, when the holy church was still new and pure, all bishops were driven out of their churches, and the heretics, with followers of the whole empire throughout the world, persecuted the one holy Athanasium. If God decrees such things in the Church at the same blessed time, it is no great wonder to me if I, a poor man, have to succumb. But the truth has remained there and will remain forever.

Fifth, the new decree on the matter of indulgences, 1) now issued in Rome, is almost strange to my eyes. First, that it imposes nothing new. Second, that it tells the old almost darkly and more incomprehensibly 2) than it has been told before in other decretal documents. Third, that it does not revoke the other papal laws on which I have based myself, and thus leaves the matter hanging in contradiction. Fourthly, and most importantly, it does not introduce, as all other laws do, any words of Scripture, teachers, or laws, or causes, but only establishes mere words, in which I am not heard at all, and nothing at all is taught in response to my letters and requests.

(8) And because the church is bound to give cause for her doctrine, as St. Peter [1 Ep. 3:15] teaches; and forbids divers things, that they should not be accepted, except they be tried, as St. Paul [1 Thess. 5:21] saith, I cannot acknowledge such decrees as a righteous and sufficient doctrine of the holy church, and must more obey God's commandments and prohibitions. Yet I do not want to reject them; but neither do I want to worship them.

9 I also fear, G. H., that because in our times the Scriptures and old teachers are coming forth again, and now one begins to ask in all the world, not what, but why this or that was said, whether I have already said such mere

If I took up my words and recanted, it would not only be untrustworthy, but also considered a mockery and a public dishonor of the Roman church. For what she says and does without reason will not be overtaken by my recantation.

I may tell E. F. G. on my conscience that I, all honor unregarded, would gladly recant, if only I would hear the cause of my error or its truth. Without which, if I ever have to recant, I will do it with words and say that I believe otherwise in my heart. But that will be a bad honor for them. Date in Wittenberg, Anno 1521.

3)

E. C. F. G.

menial servant

D. Martin Luther.

Luther's report to Wenceslaus Link, as the Elector wrote to him, that he, Luther, could well realize that the papists have not yet reached the place where they would like to be.

See Appendix, No. 60, § 2.

B. The Council of Estates on how to proceed with Luther.

538. advice, 4) how and what form to proceed with Luther. About March 2, 1521.

This document is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 1026; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 432; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 615 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 567. It is a piece of a deliberation of the estates, which they handed over to the emperor. It is found in its entirety in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 57.

1. doctor Luther, on sufficient escort back and forth to his custody, heard by some scholars and those who understand the matter, who are to be ordered to do so, that they, the estates, understand, are to be asked, but that they are not to dispute with him in any way: whether he of the outgoing writings and articles against our holy Christian faith, which we and our forefathers have up to now held

1) No. 234 in this volume, from Nov. 9, 1518. On January 13, 1519, Luther, as he writes to Scheurl, had not yet seen the new Decretale, so this letter is later.

2) In the editions: "incomprehensible"; only the Jena one has our reading.

3) It seems that instead of XIX XXI has been set.

4) The Jena edition adds: "as can be seen".

confess and insist on it, or not?

(2) And if he revokes them, he shall be heard on other points and matters, and equity shall be decreed therein.

3. If, however, he were to answer and persist in all or some articles which are contrary to the Christian Church and our holy faith, and which we and our fathers and forefathers have hitherto believed and held: then all princes, princes, and other estates of the holy realm, next to and by the Roman imperial majesty, want to remain and adhere to their fathers' and forefathers' faith and articles of the Christian faith, without further dispute, 1) and to help apply the same faith, and then your imperial majesty shall therefore duly and urgently issue orders, mandates, and commands everywhere in the holy realm.

6. what complaints the imperial estates have lodged against the Roman See of Imperial Majesty.

539 The complaints of the Roman Empire and especially of the German nation, which were brought before the Emperor by princes and estates at the Diet of Worms in 1521.

At the time when these complaints were submitted, this paper was published in quarto under the following title, without any indication of time and place. It can be found in Kapp's "Nachlese", Theil III, p. 240. - Compare No. 722 with this publication.

The Complaints of the Holy. The complaints of the Holy Roman Empire and especially of the whole German nation, from the See of Rome and its attached royal power, at Worms on the day of the Council of the 1521st year, Roman Catholicism. May. by the princes, princes and sovereigns of the kingdom.

I>aA. Register of the contents of this püechAia none vnd beginning.

The Artikel so that the Bapst Germany beschwürt.

Bi Wie Weltliche sachen inn erster Rechtfertigung gen Romgezogen werden.

From the Conservators and Pontifical Judges

Bi

1) Sodie Wittenberger und dieJenaer . Förstemann: "anzaigen".

Of Papal Delegates and Commissaries. B ii Of diminution of the justice of *Juris patronatus*. Bii

From clergymen so to Rome, and dying on the way. Bii

How the spiritual dignitaries moved to Rome. Bii

How to Rome unsalaried persons are awarded benefices. Biii

Alte *Priiilegia* bey Krefften bleyben lassen. Biii Of annals, and their daily growth. Biii Of the new inventions and offices at Rome.

Biii

Of Commenden and Incorporation of the Prelature.

Biiii

Of the Regia of the Papal Cantzleyen. Biiii

Of servation pectorali, mentali, recourses, incorporation, vnion and concordata. Biii

Teutsch Pfründen zuuerleychen den Teutschen allain, die dann Residiern sollen. B iii

The sale of sinecures for future occupation. Biii

Of the stifts so soldered to the nobility allain. Ci Aiib Of the Babst's prevention in the election of the Prelature.

C i

Of dispensation and absolution of the pope. C i Of the challenges of the Curtisan. Ci

How vnter the seem familiarium vil pfründ angetast werden. Ci

Of indulgence and indulgence. C ii

Concerning the stationers. C ii

Of dispensation of incompatibilia and others.

Cii

That the Teutonic Order has been deprived of its hewser in Apulia and Sicilia. Cii

Also in Wälschen landen an ötlichen locaten entwört. Cii

How to obtain an ötlich Prelatur out of the bishop's court constraint. Ciii

How to make almost necessary the reform. Ciii

Complaints from the Archbishops, Bishops and Prelates from the Conseruators and Papal Judges. Ciii

How Divine Laymen are used as true persons of Gaystlicher Freyhait. C iii

When the suspected gays are caught in mischief, how they seek escape. Ciii

How the secular lygende guetter inn der gaystlichen hend kommen. Ciii

How ötlich gaistlichen layen güetter vnpillich an sich ziehen. Ciiii

How2) the bound zeyt erdacht, dem Praütigam Geldt absetzen. Ciii

2) In the old edition "Who". But in the text is our reading.

Aiii a How the bishop's secular office is to be taken over by the bishops. D i	How the evil spirit keeps itself completely safe in tabernacles, quarrels, and quarrels. Eii
Of Unskilled Officers and Judges D i	Of the evil play of the gaystliche with their servants. Eii
How the juden wucherdurchgaistlichegericht bekröfftiget wirt. Di	How to use the churchyard in the time and place of need. A
How they do not hold nor handle their royal reformation of the court. Di	How the Eastern gospels keep an unfair economy, and take scholars 2). Eiii
How sy mer gelts dann gaistliche puß dem sunder auflegen. Di	Of ordens-personen als Münch- und dergleichen Bettel-orden. Eiii
How to give new toes. D ii	How they induce the sick to deprive their rightful heirs of property. Eiii
How the benefices are forfeited to the unskilful, and how much is taken from them. D ii	Anna How the begging authorities are pressing a lot of money to Rome, and how the monasteries are complaining. Eiii
From stationers. Dii	The aim of the project is to reduce the number of monasteries in the region. Eiiii
How the gaystlichen Bann vmb vast gering sachen gebraucht wird. The	A piece of advice and a good look. Eiiii
Of interest demand of the hewser, so auf den Kirchhöffen steen. The	The first part of the book is devoted to the history of the church and its history. Eiiii
From the heavy absences of the parishes and other benefices. Diii	How the Layen vnpillig an gaistlich gericht gezogen werden. Eiiii
From coming or Einuerleybungen of the monasteries and other benefices. D iii	How to cause the secular ones to demand their subjects from the religious court. Eiiii
Of the interdict of the priesthood, and of the rejection of divine service. Diii	From vnphillich cost of the secular, which are drawn to the gaystlich court. Fi
The new endowed benefices are described in the following. Diii	How the poor people are dragged to court by the clerical servants. Fi
Von vnnotturfftigen Confirmation der Pfründen und others. Diii	How to take disgraceful cases to court. Fi
As they are from opffer der newen walfarten auch tail begeren. Diiii	How to bring secular matters from the Gothic court to the royal court. Fi
Of the costs, so one weights the churchyard. Diiii	How the various läyen, as willed persons, have practiced gaystlicher freyhait. Fii
Of subsidies and other burdens imposed on the monks. Diiii	How they do not handle or keep their reformation of the court. Fii
Aiiib How they demand money from monastery priests. Diiii	How often from vngründts Leymütz 3) because of erbare frawen beschwürt werden. Fii
How they have collected too many begging terms and sentences. Diiii	How the ecclesiastical judges seek a vnphillich interest from vermainten eesachen. Fii
How the monasteries of the Eastern kingdom give the nobility food for the night. Diiii	How they may take matters before secular judges for themselves alone. Fii
How to weyhet too much, and often unlearned priests. Egg	Aiiib How the judges of the courts do not want to deal with special lay matters. Fiii
How they make reformation and statutes of their liking, and yet do not keep them. A	How secular matters, as for lack of secular assistance, are brought before the court of justice. Fiii
Of the Sinodo, which is to be kept sacrilegiously. Eii	
How the common people are burdened with blessings 1) and spiritual devices. Eii	
How the common people are burdened with blessings 1) and spiritual tools. E ii	
How the priests demand money from their parishioners for deduction. Eii	
How you have to buy the churchyard for dead people. Eii	

1) In our template: "begenckunsten".

2) As can be seen from the following text, "scholder" or "schulder" is a profit or levy from the game of dice, cards and the like.

3) That is, Leumunds.

How they intend to use the alleged misconduct of the secular courts. F iii How to punish women who perpetrate deadly fruit. Fiii

As for the rediscoveries made by the evil hands, they must also be removed by the official. Fiiiiii

How to tolerate the usurer for money's sake. Fiiiiii

How to punish death-beaters or other sinners twofold. Fiii

How the spiritual judges formally inquire, and investigate the sins. Fiiiiii

How the Judges cause the Layen to unpillary costs. G i

As many others, so in the spots, where the braced are, in the pann erclert. G i

How the sender rulers demand interest from the hewers. G i

How to require weeks of gelt from the handwercksleütten. Gii

From vnpiilliches Arrestiern der Gaistlichen Richter. Gii

How the poor can be persuaded to enter into a contract through the right to court costs, 1) and vilerlay. Gii How to use a freeman advocate or procurator in the courts of law. Gii

Bia How the sacraments are held before the poor for almost no reason. G iii How the missions are formally used. Giii A number of complaints by the German nation to the magistrate of Rome in merlay matters. G iii

The nomination, designation, and subrogation are to be discussed. To

From the papal graces that sy Aratlas
sxxsetatinasgratias ex- pectatiuas call. Hiiii

From the Vrlauben and Licentien. Ji

Bib Articul damit bāpstliche Hayligkait Teutschland beschwerdt.

After the Roman Kays. May 2c. and other acts of the princes, rulers, and common sovereigns of the kingdom, whether or not, and what complaints by papal sovereigns and other sovereigns of the German nation are to be made, with the advice of the sovereigns and the good intentions of their kings. May. to be humbly accepted. His Her some in the eyl aufgeschriben, wre w danach volgt. First of all, concerning your papal mayoralty.

How worldly matters are drawn to Rome in the first instance.

Item. Our most holy father, the bishop, has the duty to call and summon several persons to Rome for the purpose of inheritance, pledges, and other such secular matters, so that they do not serve to diminish and violate the secular sovereignty. Therefore request Ewer Käys. May. May, ask the princes, lords and sovereigns of the kingdom to graciously help and obtain that no one, be he royal or secular, be cited to Rome for royal or secular matters in the first instance, but for his bishop or archbishop, or if he is secular, and the matter is secular, for his prince, lordship, or ordinary judge, where the defendant was seated, or otherwise the matter belongs to him.

From the Conservators vnnd Papal Judges.

Item. The ecclesiastical princes and prelates also receive from the papal authorities some biia asept or ecclesiastical prelates, their prelates and fifths, as judges of all their matters, of which they complain before them. Such judges they call Con- seruatores. Before them, they take secular persons, noble and noble, in all secular, forbidden matters, in which they have never been denied justice before the ordinary judges, and who therefore do not want to answer them, they banish, as there were many examples to be told. As a result, all secular persons, sovereigns and matters have been summoned to court, which would be of the highest party to them, so that then Kays. May. and other secular sovereigns in their secular courts is abortive and improper, and also openly contrary to the law of the land, which nevertheless clearly expresses that one should let the other be tried before his ordinary judge and court.

Of Papal Delegates, and Commissaries.

Item. The Papal Holiness also gives to the sovereigns, at their request, judicial delegates and commissaries, sovereign judges in the German lands, the power, whatever they may or may not want, to take up secular matters before the same judges and to banish them for this purpose, all for the purpose of aborting and impairing secular jurisdiction and sovereignty.

1) "solves" - cost; in our template: "solves"; immediately following "mye" - trouble.

From schmölerung of justice *Juris patroriatu*s.

Item. If, by reason of death, benefices which are the patronage of a princely or lay jurisdiction are terminated, the Papal Palace shall reserve the right to derogate from the same, and thereupon shall confer the benefices on the curtisans, or on any other person at his pleasure, so that the princely and secular judges shall be deprived of their right of presentation, and shall be deprived of their right of presentation, who shall say at the time: The prevention has taken place, so that whoever has given it away [rather give it away] shall go before. Whoever has the need to keep, if someone has obtained a mandate or other letters against it, that they should be considered without force and of no effect, as has happened up to now. In addition, if a curtisan makes the same benefices warlike, and thus survives his opponent, the papal authority shall then be entitled to revenge the same benefices with painted letters.

Of the Gaystlichen, so to Rome or on the way die.

Item. The Papal Authority shall decree and ordain, if a prince dies in Rome, or is departed from Rome on the way to death, whether or not he has been a member of his family and a relative of his service, that all his *beneficia* and *officia*, whether great or small, fall to be forfeited to the papal authority, whereupon the sovereign and secular patrons and feudal lords are deprived of their justice.

as well as for the sake of the royal dignitaries to Rome.

Item. What good benefices, as deans, cantors, or other dignitaries and officers, canonicals, vicarages, parishes 2c. If any of the above are lost, in *mense ordinario*, outside the city of Rome, the patrons of the church and of the world, who formerly had such benefices to lend and grant, shall lend and grant them to them, whether they have had such benefices or *officia*, or officiants of the pope or the cardinal, or whether anyone has retained recourse or access to them, that shall not be, and if letters or mandates are obtained against them, they shall also be considered as nothing.

B iii a How in Rome the benefices are often awarded to unskilled persons.

Item. The benefices of the German nation in Rome are given to some gunsmiths, hawkers, priests, donkeys, stalwarts, trabants, and other unskilled and unskilled persons, and at times to those who are not of German extraction. From this it follows that they do not provide their own foundations, and leave it to other needy, poor priests, who make do with little, and take much from them, to see to it that the poor laymen of every place are lacking in the provision of the law. The poor laymen of every place are also deprived of all consolation by their parish priests, and thus a yearly sum of money has been given to the poor people out of German lands, of which nothing will be returned to the German nation in eternity, nor will any thanks be paid. It would be fair for all born Germans to be granted the benefices of the German nation, and for them to reside there.

To have old privileges beleyben bey krefften.

Item. If papal authorities now, or other bishops before them, have granted privileges to anyone, be he royal or secular, to grant or grant some prerogatives, *beneficia* or *officia*, how then such privileges are to be held, the same shall not be denied by new findings, which are daily discovered, and an entry shall be made at that time. And if letters or mandates were obtained against it, that they should be considered as nothing.

From the annates.

In the beginning, how the German nation used the annals, which had been lost for many years, to benefit Christianity against the

The Pope has been given the right by the previous bailiffs to enforce, to burden, and to bring them into an exercise of his 1) and presumed rights. It has been proven that the subjects of the German principality must often make great efforts and help to destroy them and to cause no little harm to the German nation.

From daily growth of the annata.

Item. To the extent that such annuities are increased more and more, and not only to the archbishopric and bishopric, but also to abbeys, presbyteries, pastorates, parishes, and other ecclesiastical institutions.

1) This is: an exercise.

If, in recent years, ten ducats were given to the episcopal parishioners to redeem the episcopal pallium, they would demand one hundred ducats, and if they gave the advocates of the consistory pallium some two or four ducats, they would demand one thousand ducats with other additional ducats, so that, as 1) according to the old statutes, the courts of Menz, Cöllen, Saltzburg 2c. each is obliged to give ten thousand gülden for his pallium, and not more, he can still bring his pallium from Rome with xx or xxiiij thousand gülden.

From the new fiefdoms and offices in Rome.

Item. The confirmationes and pallia of the archbishops and bishops are also confirmed daily by the appointment of new officials at Rome, for which the ecclesiastical subjects must also give their assistance, which may be many, namely new Cubicularii, Scutiferi, Ribiste, Parcionarii, Paionarii and Caforati. And in particular, there is a new finding, so that a bishop does not have to pay his pallium in cash, but as a guarantor and self-borrower for the sum of money due, with the will of the bishop to pay it in a certain period of time. The same guarantors shall be excommunicated immediately, and they shall be discharged from this obligation at once, for which the bishop shall pay a special fee of iii. iiij. to the amount of D. Ducats. It is also said that this year the bishop's hailiwick has made a new order over the previous one, so that at B iiij a CL. or more mercenaries, called Caualoati 2), have to live on the depreciations of the bishop's benefices, waiting for the bishop's body, which the common bishops of the German nation must help to bear.

Of coming and incorporation of the prelatures.

Likewise, it is announced how many monasteries, convents, and other royal houses will be subject to the cardinals, bishops, and other prelatures, and (as they call it) will be commended, and also incorporated, so that royal, royal, and princely benefices will decline and come into future ruin, and the service will be diminished. or L. persons are contained in a monastery, they order the service with a clear charge, so that they may have more benefit from it.

1) In our prefix: "we wol".

2) In the old edition: Osnateati.

Rules of the Bäpstliche Tanntzeley.

The rules of the Cantzeley of Rome shall be established according to the laws of the Curtis, and shall often be changed, so that the ecclesiastical fiefs, especially of the German nation, may come into their Roman hands, and must be purchased from them, or be endowed with a pension, contrary to written law and equity.

From seruation pectorali, incntali, recourses, incorporation, union and (loncordata.

In such rules at Rome, his authority has not been established, but from day to day he has invented more and more new things, so that the German nation would be exhausted, and also deprived of its natural divine service, namely by reseruaciones pectorales, or mentales, generales, or speciales, Regressus, Incorporationes, Vnio- nes, etc., Concordats, of the German nation everywhere, against the spiritual rights and birthright.

The German prebend is to be granted to all Germans who are to reside in Germany.

Therefore, by and with such, almost all the fiefs of our nation, however small they may be, are drawn to Rome, given to and conferred upon poor, incompetent, unskilled fiefs, who are also ignorant of the German language, who do not possess the fief by themselves, and who do not present the fiefs with good lessons, manners, or customs, all of which are contrary to the established concordats, covenants, and the laws of the land.

From the sale of the benefices, also on future occupation.

Item. There is no doubt about it, not only the fiefs, as mentioned above, will be sold and transferred, but also the sum of money to be paid to the sovereign and secular lords of the fiefs at the end of the day, namely two or three thousand florins to each person on the fief, which are to be settled in the future, insured, maintained and reserved, and if they then bring the fiefs to and from them, they shall meet the ways and practices with permutation, reservation, surrogation 2c., If they are then returned to the patron or other ordinary lords of the fiefs, and if the fiefs are not completed in the bishop's month, nor are they due to him, he shall sell or give them to some merchants in writing, whether they will be free in the future to accept them, regardless of whether they were due to someone else.

Then Sant Anthony's message was all moved, and now come the holy Gaist, St. Huprecht, 8t. Cornelius, and 8t. Valentin 2c. 1) sent, by which the common people will be moved with diligence about their parchment.

Of Dispensation of Incompatidilia vnnd others.

Item. At Rome, at the request of the supplicating Germans, 2) prior to this, an inquiry shall be made among those who may have knowledge of the same matters, and the skill of the supplicants shall be investigated. Villerlay dispensationes, so that some bad and niders stand persons, who neither at the Leer, nor the gepurt gewirdiget, many parishes, many dignities, and other iuoompatidilia may possess. All others, and especially those of the knighthood and otherwise licensed persons, who preach to the Christians, and otherwise in the gaystlichait weyt better Fürsehung thünden, to great swearing.

How the German lords have been deprived of their land 3) and hewser in Apulia and Sicily.

How well the German Lords of Our Lady's Order of Prussia 2c. out of benevolent care and giving of the Roman Kay. and kings, of high lordly memory, also of the princes, graves, lords, and nobility for the laying out and control of several goods and uses in the kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia, as well as other western lands, which have been done in the past, so that they can be used against the unbelievers. The nobility, too, had more earthly maintenance, from which they had made villages and towns, and had possessed and held them for several hundred years. However, by papal decree, some cardinals and bishops, who are not German, have been given such a title and deprived of it, so that it is still in short supply, contrary to law and equity.

How the Teutonic Order was deprived of some of its hewers in the Wälschen Landen, and how they were made dangerous.

To this end, the Federal Council of the Common German Order of Venice has issued a special

1) In our original "Le." probably inadvertently instead of: "6te." Compare page Diia gegm the end (Col. 1748): "und anderer Botschafft 2c."

2) "on" - without.

3) "Polley" - Ballei, Comthurei.

The Order of the Holy Roman Emperor confirmed and confirmed the statutes of the Order in German. All of the statutes of the Order, which are to be kept in German, have been confirmed and confirmed by the previous bishops and Roman emperors, of high lordly memory. In the same way, the Roman Curtisans of the Teutonic Order have challenged the Hawser in Italy with papal bulls and commissions, as at Bononia 2c., and for this reason they have taken the right to enter Rome, which is no small disgrace to the same Order and the German nation, contrary to law and equity.

That the Teutonic Order of St. Benedict, 4) founded on them, is taken from them and given to the Cardinal of Lunnia 5) for a short time.

How to remove a number of prelatures from the bishop's court.

Item. The bishop is in the habit of expropriating some monasteries and of extracting from their bishops, as ordinary judges, jurisdiction and coercion, which is enforced by the empire, the assistance and imposition which the said bishops have hitherto imposed on their abbots, and for which reason the bishops are also obliged to render the Roman empire less service.

How seer not were ain reformation to make.

Because much condemnation of the poor Christian believers' souls arises, and because the German nation is highly and severely depleted in money, due to the daily struggle with the supreme head of the Church, it is considered necessary that a change and a common reformation take place, in order to prevent the destruction of our nation, for which reason we all thank E. Kay with the highest respect. Kay. May, to demand the same, and to graciously help.

Ciiib Beschwärnuß von den Ertzbischoffen, Bischoffen vnd Arelaten, allain von den Conservatorm vnd Bäpstlichen Richter.

Item. The princely princes and prelates also obtain from the papal authorities several offices, or ecclesiastical prelatures of their courts, or others, as judges of all their matters, of which they complain before them. Such judges shall be conserua-

4) Perhaps Sudiaeo near Rome, where there is a rich Benedictine monastery.

5) In No. 722 it says: "to the Cardinal Columna".

Before them, they will take secular persons, nobles and gentiles, in all secular matters, regardless of the fact that they are not lacking in secular, ordinary courts of law and justice; And those who for this reason do not want to answer themselves, let them be put into a temporary ban, as there were many examples to be told, so that (if it should take place) all secular persons would be held in high court and matters would be brought to the highest part of the court, so that neither Rom. Kay. May. nor other secular sovereigns leydllich. It is also publicly against the order of the court, which clearly states that one should let the other remain in law before his ordinary judge and court.

How a number of Layen, as true persons of the spiritual freedom, have been practicing.

Item. It also happens too often that some secular persons are or will be jurists, and yet they sit in secular courts, do other secular business, and for this purpose have two or more elders and elders' children. Such of them, for the sake of their entrustment, want to bring secular persons and matters to secular courts, and for this reason want to be accepted and not refused by the judges of the courts 2c. And if this were to happen, many of the subjects of the secular courts would be tempted to do so, and nothing less than to commit secular offences, since they could (if Ciiiia so wished) escape secular court jurisdiction and punishment, which would then be completely disgraceful and unacceptable to all secular authorities. But the bishops and prelates think no less of it.

When the suspected gays are caught in mischief,
how they seek escape.

Item. If a person is accepted and held by the secular judges, he shall say that he has been proven guilty before the bishop, official and religious judges, but soon after he has been accepted by the secular authorities, If he has not worn the divine chastisement and tonsure, nor has he been found in this form, or if he has been proven to be so, and if he has not been let out within xxiii hours, or if he has been sent to them, they declare the bishops under banishment 2c., so that some of the more noble, evil to do vngescheucht moved. His letters, which are called *litas formati*, and so they in

When the religious authorities arrive, they are often left in the lurch without paying off or restitution for the damage they have done. This is why many outrages, enmities, and uprisings have arisen.

How the secular lygends come into the spiritual hands.

Item. After the royal state has been provided with constitution, statutes, and orders by the Council of Rome, that it is not to buy or to change the church's property, bona immobilia, or lay persons in a regular way, it is useful that the Roman Catholic Church has given the same statutes and orders to the seculars. May. has given the same statute and order to the seculars. Namely, that a secular may apply his legendary estates to the gaystliche Stand or keren, power. That even in cases of inheritance there may be a provision for this, then if there is to be a provision, it is possible that the secular estate may be bought up by the religious with the tenure, and that the secular may buy through this, and especially through the fief, which they take daily with money from the seculars, and also bring and obtain other claims to the secular goods, so that the secular status of the Holy Roman Empire is brought before the seculars, or the merer tayl.

How some gaystlichen Layen güetter vnbilllich an
Sich ziehen.

Item, that at times the secular goods are sold to the churches and cloisters, are transferred and favoured, and are subject to the authorities, and are also charged with interest and taxes, after which they are drawn into the royal highness and protected, all of which the bishops and prelates have the right to do and do not punish.

How the bound tongue devised to pay the Preutigam gelt.

Item. If, after the Sunday of Septuagint, when the Alleluia is recited in the Holy Churches, a poor person wishes to have an open solitude and celebration of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist before the usual night of the barrel, which God Himself instituted and established, just as Cardinals, Bishops, priests, priests, priests and others of the royal state, who exemplify their ordination, do in the same time. Vite Sanctimonia are to be themselves (on) all scourge vnd punishment in public business vnd tentzen. Also those who hold and do for themselves: So

The poor people, if they want to have the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist before Shrovetide, have to purchase it with money from the official or other holders of the priesthood, In this case, they want to make use of the royal law, which binds the poor, hurried, arbiter, and is otherwise not valid for the royal or secular.

Dia How to bring the bishops of the gaystliche secular inherited güetter to themselves edit.

Item. It has also happened several times that clerical persons have accepted hereditary benefactors, and if they have died by will, that the ordinary bishops have required me to tolerate their hereditary benefactors, which would also be embarrassing and unacceptable to the secular ones.

Of clumsy officials and judges.

Item. The offices of the priests of the church are often vandalized and mismanaged, and in some cases they are lewd persons, and the way in which they engage in open sins and defilement is found from daily experience, who are to engage in spiritual matters, are almost poisoned, and to this end, their goods are dreadfully damaged and spoiled, which the bishops and prelates shall take care to put an end to with justness and severity.

How Jewish usury is punished by the courts.

Item. How much it is evident and evidently known, 1) that the Jews in the high German lands are interfering with and abstaining from usury, by which they are greatly harming and destroying the poor Christians. In some places where Jews live, it is assumed that the secular authorities do not want to help these Jews with their usurious debts, or if they make usury their main good in the future with evil deeds and beliefs, that the Jews should appeal to the spiritual judge, and therefore bring such Christians under suspicion, and the same judges take the reason that the poor people who confess before them and swear that such debts are not usury, and the judges from their own use openly know that the Jews have committed one usurious act.

The poor, out of great need, may swear to their harm, over and over again, that judicial and all other help in this and such usurious hendels is highly condemned in the constitutional and secular laws, but permitted to them by their bishops and prelates.

How they do not hold or handle their royal reformation of the court.

Item. Not only are all the laws that have been established, but also the reformation that has been established in some of the courts is openly and in many cases overused, and in many cases it is laid down in a way that is repugnant to the law, and it is sought to be used against those who are not afraid of it. But against those who are guilty of the offense, they let up. And when those who are wronged or violated petition the ordinary bishops of the same court for an equitable remedy of the accusations, the same often concerns the meritorious provost, dean, chapter, and lord of the throne, against whom the ordinary bishop (whether or not he was otherwise authorized) is not allowed to take any equitable action on account of his obligation, which he had made at the time of his accusation.

How Sy mer geldts, dan gaystlich puß, impose the sinners.

Item. Just as the judges and officials of the courts should, for the sake of obvious sins, draw up all kinds of blackened penalties, so that it may be noted that they are all atoning for the salvation of souls, they nevertheless make them more difficult, that the Laymen buy them off from them with money, by which they then extort money from the people, and thus are parthey and judge to their own pleasure, which is against all law also permitted by their Metropolitan.

How to give some new toes. 2)

Item. If the Layen have not paid a large tithe from some properties for many years, they will be so harassed by the ecclesiastical court (in which they have no profit) that they will have to pay the tithe, or whatever is demanded of them, in consideration of whether they appeal to Rome, as they may not receive any payment.

1) "wayß" set by us instead of: "wayst".

2) "penetrates" put by us (after the content statement) instead of: "brings".

How the sinecures are denied to the unskilled, and how much money is taken from them.

Item. If the sovereigns in the secular high khaytens have parishes or other benefices to dispense with, they usually fill them with unskillful, unruly priests, or they are left with an absentee, and cut down to the closest possible extent. Also the parish courts and priesthoods are built up, and let them perish, since with all of them the current enjoyment of such priesthoods, and what they owe to God and the world, is left behind. Also so by the bishops and prelates gedult vnd gehandthabt.

From the stationers.

Item. It is also not a clear grievance of the common poor man, that some unlawful stationers, who call themselves the Holy Gayst, St. Anthonius, St. Valentine, and other messengers, yearly move in all towns, villages, and villages, and bring the people, as is openly known, from their money, in which they have their day, and ravish them with finds and desecrations. Also, to the end, the poor, simple people, who do not give you money otherwise, on pain and punishment of the saints, because they call themselves the bishopric, vnchristenlich vnnd ganzz ergerlich beträwen [begrudge], vnnwegen zu geben bewegen, which the bishops grant, and would not be [refuse].

How the royal ban is used for almost minor things.

And in sum. Although the judicial censures and penalties are imposed for the sake of the Christian order and faith, they are also in the lowest debts, which in many cases do not exceed three or fourteen kreuzers, and other worldly matters, and lastly, if the same main matters are decided and executed, also in respect of the costs and damages incurred thereon, which the procuratores shall then assign to them and retain for their enjoyment and remuneration. Also daily, and on remission, fulminated and pronounced, so that the blood of the poor secular, indecent laymen was sucked and completely drawn out. Also, out of the fear of such unwarranted banns, to be condemned to eternal perdition, and to be deprived of their ordinary courts. It would be necessary to put an end to such contradictory and unlawful abuse and unlawful excommunication, and for them to be admitted in matters for which they are admitted, and not to be taken otherwise, because it is seen that their metropolitans are not such to them, but that they have acted in this way.

From interest claim of the Hewser, so on the Airchhöffen fteen.

Item. Of the hewers standing on the churchyards, the poor, whose they are, must pay every year in many places, instead of the prelates, with interest, 1) at the ban, all those because the same hewers stand there. However, if the hewers are forfeited or canceled, the Send-Dechant shall not pay any less of the same money from the leren.

If they are not punished, they banish the poor and forbid them the Holy Sacrament for as long as it takes for money to be given, which is a great shame.

From the great absences of the parishes and other benefices.

The parishioners are also burdened with deadly chanting, spiritual counseling, baptism, and religious fees, as well as with the rendition of the sacraments and other matters, for which a great deal of money is required, by the parish priests and their vicars, vice-parish priests, chaplains, and parish companions, And the parishes, which are incorporated into the monasteries, also by other ecclesiastics and prelates, so highly located, pensioned, left, and translated with absenteeism, to which they are entitled, the dotem beneficii, the widem hoff 2) and tithe of the parishes, reserved to themselves. However, according to the statute of rights, they are obliged to reside themselves, so that many vicars and parish priests may not have their own custody, and may be subject to all the taxes, such as the sacrifice, the payment of wages, the sepulture, the occupation of the dead, the soul device, and the like. If they require sacraments from time to time, beyond their poor means, superfluous, and at times have to be content with the ban, which the bishops and prelates penalized.

Of the commendations or monasteries, and other benefices.

How many monasteries, convents, and other ecclesiastical benefices or houses may be granted to cardinals, bishops, and other prelates, and how they may be incorporated, but as a result the imperial and princely sees may fall and come to ruin, and the service of the gods may be lost.

1) "vergölten" - to tax.

2) Cf. Col. 1755.

If there are xl or l perD iii b sons in a monastery beforehand, they shall order the service of the gods with a clear list, so that they may derive more benefit from it 2c.

Of the Interdict of the Service of God and its Interpretation.

Item. If a religious person or priest is slain or otherwise injured, and is not heard, whether it is a necessary, or in other cases legally permitted, the state, district, or village shall be interdicted, and so long interdict, and no church service shall be held in the churches, until the deputy or councilor, mayor of the same district, accepts to do or dispose of the matter. And as much as their own ecclesiastical law may forbid that the debt of money or matters of money shall not be interdicted, it shall not be held, but shall be said to be due to disobedience, which shall be so much greater than it is due to minor matters. This interpretation, however contrary to the law, has hitherto been handled by the above-mentioned prelates.

The new endowed benefices are described in the following.

Item. Some bishops want to have the first grant when a new fief is endowed or erected, say that it suits them, and do not want to allow or confirm the endowment, unless it is granted by the founders and patrons, thus preventing much endowment and divine service.

Of vnnottdufftigen Confirmation der Pfründen vnd anders.

Item. They take over the people excessively, if something new, be it a fiefdom, brotherhood or anything else of the kind, is imposed. They do not want to confirm it, and although it does not require their confirmation, they have their statutes and other practices that it must all be confirmed, no matter how small it may be.

How they of Opffern of the new Wallfarten also tayl begeren 2c.

Item. In some boroughs, where there is an influx or a Hayligen walfart, the bishops or prelates want to have the third or at least the fourth penny, all of which is due to the fact that they are not justified by their royal law.

1) Here we have put "ee", which is "rather", instead of "es" in the old edition.

From expenses, so one weyhet the airchen.

Item. When they raise the churches and the poor, they burden the poor people with other costs, and they also want to have great hardship, especially the suffragan and the bishop.

Of Subsidies and Other Oaths Imposed on the Guerrals.

Item. The priests, if they invest their fiefs, and want to have something of it, as much as the fief has a year's income, are called *Fructus primi anni*, siue *Primarii*,

So that half of the benefit is demanded to the bishop, and the other half to the archbishop, or archpriest, in order to give the possession. Those who exceed their fiefs with subsidies and other taxes, if there are open and honest reasons, *scilicet rationabiles et manifestes*. In that case, the right to take subsidies shall be granted, and the priests shall not be allowed their necessary abstention, from which the priests, in turn, shall be forced to swear to the laymen in various ways and to give no sacrament for free, as it is then publicly stated on the day, *simile*. It is condemned that in the countryside and in the towns the mighty ones (who were supposed to do so) do not give the grain to the bakers enough, and then look through their fingers, and let the bakers bake and give according to their liking, so that the poor community and a whole country (God's mercy) is highly burdened, deprived, and spoiled.

How sy Gelt require from the monastery priests.

Item. If some of the young ladies of the monastery are governed by the priesthood, but are to be dismissed at will, and are not eternal, they will not let the bishop have them, and the monastery will give them several guilders.

How to collect too many pettel-örden terms 2) and etching.

Item. Thus the poor people of Munich are besieged with excessive beggars, and especially with the terminators whom the beggar orders have against their rules in the towns and villages, since there are often two, three, or four of them in a town or village, so that poor people who are honest, upright, and faithful to the law may be housed.

2) terminiren - to go out begging.

If the bishops have kept the children in good health, if they have weedy and poor children who cannot support themselves through weakness, if they have deprived them of their natural resources and help, and have given them elsewhere, the bishops will grant them this for a small annual sum of money.

How ettliche reyche Closter dem Adel NachtFütter zu geben waygern.

However, the monasteries, as the Benedictine Order, have been endowed by secular princes, graves, lords, and the nobility more than by royal ones, and have been daily endowed with benefits, not only to wait for the service of God in the churches, but also to pay the nobility, who have come to them from time to time, for their proper costs, food, and time. As then the gleychen Hospitalitet gistliche right to give from them the Christian believers, also impose. However, the church rulers often give them the supposed freedom not to give anyone food for the night, and they take some money for it, contrary to the old, praiseworthy custom and fairness.

how one too much and often vngelert, vngeschickt priest weyhet.

The archbishops also have too many poor persons, even those who have no certain understanding of their fiefdoms or all of their titles, who then sometimes, out of poverty, commit crimes against the church and the common people, thus despising the holy state and giving them a bad example. So through the bishop, [who] believes the six witnesses, who give information about the one who is to be confessed, say how he is worthy and righteous, whether their kayakers have seen or recognized the same here before ye, and thus do all this with one sign of the Christian statutes enough.

How they make reformation and statutes to their liking, and yet do not keep them.

Some bishops and prelates also make special presumptive reformation, statutes and laws for the sake of the ecclesiastical courts, which in some respects are contrary to common rights, and especially to all secular jurisdiction and authorities, and are almost harmful to their subjects, and if it is considered that the same reformation and law are to be applied to the secular priesthood, even against the secular priesthood, and that the secular priesthood is not legally obliged to accept them, then they shall, after

The courts themselves do not hold this in the right and proper sense. If the same Reformation is to be used to declare that before such officials and courts of law only spiritual matters, including open, wicked sins 1) and not haymical ones, are to be judged and dealt with, and in all of this not the money and the *questus*, but only our Lord Jesus Christ and the salvation of the blessed are to be sought. From open daily affairs, however, there is a complete contradiction in many things, as has been described in the above-mentioned articles by the spiritual judges with the abbreviation.

From the synodo to hold the gepürlichen.

Item. If the bishops themselves personally attended and held their synod and council with the assembly of their prelates and other ecclesiastical representatives, as they are required to do by ecclesiastical law, doubtful deficiencies would be much disputed.

The first part of the book is a book about the history of the church.

How the Capitels connect their bishops and prelates.

Item. The judges and the court the merit have the Thum lords, who are the head lords of the same court, such Capittel lords, and also the choir lords in the collegiate courts, to appoint as bishop's or his prelates, He has then committed himself to the utmost with oaths, and so obligated himself against them that he may not turn to them or to their appointed judges and officers their shameful intercession and action, nor may he punish them himself for their conviction.

When the suspected clergy are caught in mischief, how they seek escape.

E ii a Item. Wa ainer of the secular judges 2c., ut supra [Col. 1744^.

How to persuade the poor people with money for the sacrament.

It is also the vnderthanen with dead Besingknussen, ut supru sud titulo: Von grossen Absentz der Pfarren [Col. 1749^.

1) "geyebte" - practiced, that is, perpetrated.

How the common people are harassed with gifts and spiritual devices.

Item. That the parish priests and pastors shall charge their parishioners with the blessing of the holy sacraments, and shall make a special charge of their fall, to which the poor, who have celebrated the first, seventh, thirtieth, 2) and year of their sins, shall not be able to add the remembrance of their sins in the church, And they shall be obliged to perform the feast, and to give fourteen kreutzer of a sung mass, so that they themselves, on account of their *benefices and* endowments, are obliged to keep the feast, and thus to earn, and also take, two or three lions with one mass.

As the parish priests claim Gelt for jrer pfarrverwanten Abzug.

Item. If someone from one parish is buried in another parish, each parish priest shall charge his parishioner one gulden for a letter of permission, on which the parishioners must come to an agreement with their parish priests, and if the parishioners refuse to do so, the parish priests shall forbid them the sacrament.

Item. From this it appears that all sacraments are sold for money, and some must be missed for money.

Eüb / How one must buy the churchyard of some dead people.

If a man, and especially a layman, is found perishing, drowned, slain, or otherwise dead during the sacrament, even if it is not obvious that he died in mortal sin, the church law shall only withhold ecclesiastical burial in the case of a manifest, known sin of death. They do not want to bury the poor people who have died in such a way in the churchyard, if their wives, children or friends have made up with them beforehand.

How many absences spoil the foundations.

The other *Beneficia* vnd *Altaria* are so highly burdened with the absence that

1) "Seel Wärter" - pastor.

2) That is, the first and seventh day, and thirty masses for the Todtm. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XXII, 773.

3) "Laß-" put by us instead of: "büß" according to the corresponding passage in No. 722, § 74.

4) In the old edition: "verragen", a misprint.

5) and other property may come to harm and waste, and not be kept in good order and condition.

How some clergymen keep themselves completely lazy, and also start quarrels and quarrels in tabernacles.

Item. That priests and other priests of the merchant class sit in tabernacles and innkeepers among the common people. Also, when they are in the tent, and when they are in the gaff, they use long knives and lay blades, they start a lot of violent quarrels and quarrels, which can lead to fights, and they use such methods that the poor people are wounded or blinded. 6) After that, the poor are banished, and brought to heavy cost and damage. Also, the poor so urge to get along with them of their case, and to buy out of the ban again.

From the wicked beyspill of the clergy with their servants.

E altem . That the pastors, vnd other gaist-

The priests of the city of Vienna have been given the task of keeping a house with unlawful wives and children, and of living a vile, repugnant life, which serves as a bad example for their parishioners, and they also become careless about it.

How to manage the airchamber at the beginning of the year.

Item. If two people hit or fight each other with fists or other weapons in a churchyard, so that one of them becomes a little indignant, some priests want to interdict them and no longer perform the usual service, until the church consecrates the churchyard again at great cost and expense.

How some clergymen keep unreasonable business, and take blame.

At times, the clergy also keep an open economy, and the like, in the churches of the place. But if they are lords, they or their servants, who are also priests, lay out annual dice, ball and carthorse money, take also the profit and scholars from it, say it belongs to them from the upper chapter. As much as the religious and secular law, also all the supreme authority forbid such things.

5) Cf. Col. 1749.

6) The text is not in order. Cf. No. 722,? 76.

Of order persons, as Münch and dergleychen
begging authorities.

How the royal monasteries, as Benedictines, St. Bernards, Premonstratensians, and other authorities, daily bought and took possession of the lands of the Layen, and grew to considerable wealth, is evident, from which they then no longer and more highly ray or want to ray to other secular sovereigns the customary land service, burden, stewardship, or other burdens, or want to do, then as it happened in the old times, when they were poorer, also the service of God with them with the reading of the mass, and other, now much more slack, then it was, therefore the necessity was, that they or other clergymen would not be allowed to take over other worldly lyric goods in the purchase way, or through others on purchase for themselves.

And how well rich monasteries have been granted the merest tail by secular princes, and the nobility, more than by the clergy, *ut supra sub titulo* [Col. 1752]: As some royal monasteries 2c. with the appendix, so vndersteen themselves to get back some of the freedom granted by their princes, and write them publicly to their monastery door. As no one is to seek 1) night's lodging from them, they are pleased to do so, and thus they are asking for the confiscated property.

Item. Eß werden auch arme Leüt von den anderen Bettel-München 2c., sub titulo: Wie sy zu vil bettel-örden [Col. 1751].

A)s they persuade the Arabs to deprive their rightful
heirs of the property.

The same terminators, as well as other priests who are with the sick, with whom they know money or good, persuade them with learned words that they will pay them much, since it would often be much cheaper for their poor heirs, children or other friends.

How the beggar-thieves bring much money to
Rome. Also, the Junckfrawen summon the
monasteries.

Because also from some mendicant authorities many things, and at times, in justification to Rome, so that the ordinaries, parish priests and laymen may hear 2) complained, and such justification on money may not be withheld.

Three of their generals, as it is said, have not been carded for any money. It is to be feared, and in some places 3) it has been proven that through the same begging authorities many monasteries of young women, in which there are not so few princes, counts, nobles, and citizens' children, are taking away the place where they alone have all the upper hand, with money, and are finding other ways to corrupt. Also to forbid them with a heard sentence with eternal punishment, to reveal such things to them, came others then to you.

To put an end to such complaints, and to come to an end for them, it is to be considered whether it was good, where the monasteries of Bettel-örden were situated in the one upper and lower courts, which were not provided with keepers and administrators by the same superior authority, but were all in the same superior jurisdiction, that these monasteries, and each of them in particular, were given two keepers, honorable and dapffers, by the same superior authority, who, in all their common accounts, were of their incomes and expenses, and also saw to it that the same monks did not unreasonably burden them, nor did they pay unnecessary tribute to the same monasteries, then, for such reasons, they did so without doubt, that the convents of the same monasteries would be daily observed in their customs, that they would certainly increase in number of persons, and that much more, so that their money would not come to Rome or to other inconvenient places, would be maintained.

[Ain advice and good look.] 4)

Thus, from among the ecclesiastical and secular princes and rulers, the lower committee has brought together all the superior articles, which are to be entered into by more than one secular state, and have variously put them into one order, and consider it necessary, therefore, if the necessity should be handled and decided, that this should be done by ecclesiastical and secular princes and rulers personally at the same time.

Since the secular sovereigns, who had been appointed to such a committee, considered it a great necessity, if the spiritual and secular sovereigns would not forget each other before the end of their time, that then the secular princes and sovereigns will all talk to each other about it and decide, that they will all be shunned from each other, so that there will be more justice and security.

1) "jnen" put by us instead of: "jren".
2) "hears"-hard.

3) Oertern" put by us instead of: "Oerten".
4) In our template, this heading is missing, which should be here according to the table of contents.

Of priests, officials, and other ecclesiastical judges and court personnel.

How the Layen vnbillich an Gaistlich Gericht ziehen werden.

Item. If the plaintiff is a cleric and the defendant is a cleric, the clerics may bring such cleric defendants before the cleric's court for any matter whatsoever, which is publicly against the law. *Quia Actor tenetur sequi forum rei*.

how the secular subjects are to be summoned to court for their debts to the church.

Item. The clergy also often take on the secular subjects for debts with clerical rights, and they are not allowed to get help from the secular authorities, and so they bring the poor people to a great extent into disgraceful banishment, as well as ruinous costs and damage.

how to cause the secular to demand their subordinates from the gospel court.

Item. In addition, there are several other cases, summonses and hearings in the church court against secular persons, irrespective of the fact that such church judges know beforehand openly and explicitly that they do not belong to them, and must subsequently reject them 2c. That then the secular defendants are also highly embarrassed if such matters are later, at the request of the defendant's secular superior, judged for secular court, is nevertheless of considerable harm to the same defendants, if they must therefore petition their secular superior, whom they may not then receive in sewing. If they have to request their secular superior, whom they cannot get into the sewer for this reason, to bring the writ and demand from them, and to send the summons to the ecclesiastical judge, whereupon they will be given a lot of time, assembly, costs, and punishment, and if such a plaintiff cannot find his secular superior soon, and brings the above-mentioned demand, and sends it to the ecclesiastical judge, he will send the summons 1) to the ecclesiastical court. For this reason, the judges of the church will not refuse me the secular matter, regardless of the reason.

From the Unfair Costs of Secular Matters, So an das gaistlich gericht gezogen werden.

Item. If a secular defendant is taken into custody by a court of law, and is therefore also retried and prosecuted at a later date, the plaintiff shall be liable for the costs of the proceedings. The criminal plaintiff's attorney, who has been duly summoned, demands that the defendant, who has been duly summoned, be summoned to appear before the court, and that he be given a trial and a hearing, until he has obtained a fair hearing in the court of justice, pay the costs of the proceedings that have been brought against him, or 2) wait for a probable ban and other charges to be added to the affliction, regardless of the fact that he who has been so officially summoned is required to pay his damages. But such contradiction of justice is practiced by the religious judges, therefore more and more unfair plaintiffs adhere to their courts, and thus take advantage of the people.

F i b How the poor people of the clergy are also dragged to clerical court.

Item. The clerics do not draw the layers in obberüerten and similar cases for the clerical judges on their own behalf, but rather their bailiffs, reeves, school teachers, servants, subordinates and servants are obliged to use such things as their sovereigns do.

How to take disgraceful things in the spiritual court.

Item. If it happens that religious persons have to sue Laymen for iniquities and words of disgrace, the religious judges have the right to be judges of the same matter, so that the answering party will also be tried by his ordinary judge.

How to bring secular matters from God's house to a spiritual court.

Item. The Officials accept that, in secular matters and between secular persons, in the case of loyalty and loyalty to the law, a physical or written obligation, proposition or promise is made, that, for this reason and for the sake of appearances, such secular matters are to be performed before them, and that, in the case of a legal dispute, they are to be settled.

2) In the old edition: "ober", probably a misprint.

1) "mahnung" put by us instead of "maynung" in the old edition, according to the corresponding passage in No. 722.

If this were to be the case, all secular representations and letters, which are usually made with the legal stipulation, obligation and commitment, would have to be discussed in the secular courts, and the secular courts would have to be held in vain, set in place, and also made *in totum elusoria*, which is nevertheless unacceptable to all secular supreme courts, and also contrary to law and equity. If, however, something should be permitted to the religious courts for the sake of the mainayde sworn to by the nobility, they may not become judges by virtue of the mainayde sworn to by the nobility, but the mainaydige persons allain vmb die Sünde Fiia des offentlichen Mainayds fürnehmen, vnd mit gaistlicher puß püssen, doch den weltlichen Richter, die den Mainayd mit peinlicher Strafe zu püssen haben, söllicher Straffnahme wegen ihrer Strafe vnabbrüchlich.

How a number of layers, as persons of faith, have exercised their religious freedom.

Item. Eß geschicht auch zu vilmalen, dass etliche geweychte Personen 2c., *ut supra* [Col. 1744[^].

How they do not handle or hold their reformation of the court.

Item. Es werden auch nit allain gemayne, beständige Recht 2c., *ut supra* [Col. 1747[^].

How to pay more money then to impose spiritual penance on sinners.

Item. How well the Judges 2c., *ut supra* [Col. 1747[^].

How often women are summoned for reasons of merit.

Item. If a man or woman is convicted of sin and vice before an official or religious court, she must, if she does not want to be judged guilty, purgate herself with her own blood and confess, if she has then proven herself guilty, 1) If she is found guilty, and if she is willing to give up her guilt, she must give two guilders for it, and one place of one guilders to the official or the court judge for one day's letter (which she is obliged to take). Therefore, the official and ecclesiastical judges shall also seek such an appropriate remedy for themselves.

If a woman is accused of a crime or sorcery by another out of anger or anger, and if she complains for the official, she must also apologize for it with her own name. Now everyone can appreciate that in this case a woman, whether she is guilty or not, must swear that if she wants to keep her worldly and temporal life otherwise, this will not result in the evil enjoyment of the money, but rather in a great deal of missing time. Et sic contra rationem impunita remanere delicta necessarium est.

How the spiritual judges seek a vnbillich interest, from vermaynten Ee things.

Item. If the man and the waif deal with each other for the sake of the marriage, they shall have one marriage between them. If one of them gives the other clothes, jewels or other things to keep, and if they are then divorced from the official because of the marriage, he shall have for his own interest what one of them has to give to the other, which is contrary to all rights and all authority.

As sy things that may also be taken before secular courts, allain drawing for itself.

Item. Although there may be many things that can be taken, judged and punished by the law of the religious or secular courts, many things happen when the secular judges, as they have the power to do so, challenge their secular judicial authority, that the secular judges will denounce such things to them in the ban, and so, if it should happen, the secular judges may take whatever they want from the secular courts and the supreme courts, whether or not E. Kay. Kay. Maj. and his secular members is to be judged by all means.

And as, according to 2), because of the law, open mainayd, breach, sorcery, and the like, gospel and secular sovereigns, whose ee [first] comes, ye at times belonged civilly to punish, vnd thus prevention has taken place, so vndersteen the

1) "Dennmals" set by us after No. 722, instead of: "mermals" in the old edition. - Likewise: "the same" immediately following instead of: "the same".

2) "after" put by us instead of: "yet".

The court has the right to impose such punishment against the law, which is then also highly disgraceful and not painful for the secular head of the court.

As the ecclesiastical judges do not want to know some special matters.

If a lawsuit is filed in a church court against a young woman, or for the sake of her children, or for the sake of a child, 1) or for the sake of a widow, whatever the case may be, they do not want to refer or reject such a lawsuit.

How secular matters can be brought before a religious court due to the lack of secular assistance.

If secular persons in secular matters apply to the secular judges for a summons and say that the secular authorities do not want to help them, he shall give notice of the proceedings, and before he does so he shall state in *summary form* how the law is to be administered or enforced, and if, on the grounds of the secular authorities or the defendant, the matter is referred and decided, the secular judge shall be given almost a short time, If in the same time the end of the case and its execution does not take place, the secular judge shall continue to bring the plaintiff to justice before him, which is almost inevitable, if a case is to be brought by the secular judge in three weeks, which often does not end before the secular judge in three or three years.

The judges also say how they may take legal action in such secular matters for themselves, if there is a lack of legal assistance from the secular authorities, and yet they do not want to tolerate a guest or a secular person suing them in secular matters, and if there is a lack of legal assistance from the secular judge, that he may apply to the secular supremacy for justice in the same way as the secular justice without difference in the law, as the secular should come to the aid of the secular, and against all odds.

How they intend to bring about coercion by means of a presumptive action by a secular court.

And it is not considered sufficient by many reasonable people to say how the ecclesiastical judges may justify themselves by drawing on the longstanding practice of *quasi possession* and the time-honored *proscription* in several places between the layers, when thereby Kay. Maj. and the Roman Rey. his

1) People's wages (?).

the highest is disqualified, deprived of, and averted from the jurisdiction and compulsion of the courts.

However, it is evidently right that against the high authority of the Pope and the Roman Emperor, no one may prescribe or claim a limitation of time, considering that he has used a great deal of time and military splendor.

How to punish women who bear deadly fruit.

Item. Since it sometimes happens that pregnant women and women in childbirth often give birth to dead fruit because of an accident or other malignant causes, and how well the mothers, who have suffered such a fate, If a great heartache happens to their children (as it is to be believed), and if they do not want to give any reason for such an accident, they will still be severely punished by the officials at this time.

Fiiiia As for some sins, the perpetrators who have plagued must also abort the officials.

It often happens, and at many ends, during Holy Lent and especially during the weeks of the martyrdom, that many people, both male and female, after having made confession of death and other cases reserved for the bishops, have to make an apparent penance, as is then customary, and how well these people make their penance public, so that they are not disgraced in the eyes of the world, they must nevertheless at times, after such an open penance, also give the officials a lot of money to pay off, and thus suffer two penalties for one death, and thus many men are highly punished, so that they must give the official more for punishment than for paying off the death of the borrowed friend.

How they tolerate usury and usurers for money's sake.

Item. If two sit in the vnee, the officials take the money, and let the ridden 2) thus remain in sin and disgrace, for the sake of a yearly interest. They do the same with usurers. 3) Because of this, they not only suffer damage to their temporal goods, but also harm God and their souls, and many other Christians are also harmed by this.

2) "die gerürt" == the said.

3) Something seems to be missing here. How it would like to be completed can be seen from No. 722, § 63.

Item. The officials allow a few further declarations, that people who do not know that their marriage is still alive or dead, may have a meeting with other persons, that they take Tollerantiam, or Tolleramus letters, in contempt of the Holy Sacrament of the Ee and Ergernus frummer Christen.

how to impose two punishments on death-beaters or other sinners.

F iii b Item. If some cathedral churches have a statute or a breach of it, they may not allow any death-witcher, so much as may be guilty of a death-witchery, to come to the sacraments or to be liable to them. It is then a matter that they, and one each in particular, get along with them, and on the Green Thorn Day have openly repented, considering whether the poor people have visited the holy place where Papal Indulgence is, since one may absolve them of such sins and episcopal cases, also be absolved, apparently have done penance there, and have the proper appearance. All this is done for the sake of their avarice and money, and thus the poor man is punished for one thing by the ecclesiastics twice, and at other times by the secular judges, against the common law and all written law.

How the spiritual judges inquire unformally and investigate the sins.

Item. They also do not hold their right in the proceedings, which are carried out ex officio, by the Inquisition, although these Inquisition proceedings are admitted in several great and important cases, and beforehand a common court of law, legem and fama against the Inquisitum is to be broken and proven according to the law. So that it may be obtained from honest, honorable and entirely suspicious people, not from frivolous or renegade ones, amen beginning and origin, and the accused shall be given a transcript of the alleged offense and objects together with a consideration that his protection would be brought against it. But all this will not be done, even if it is ordered, but the people who are ordered to do so will go into the towns, villages and villages and search for people who might be punishable. In this way, an honest person, man or woman, who is not credibly rumored to be there, is put to death by a lictor, and then publicly cited by the church court, and then proclaimed in the sermon hall, which sometimes causes great annoyance, reluctance and eternity between the people.

If they then come and appear, the officials want them to fill themselves with the means of their own aids of the alleged offences, sometimes with a number of compurgatorium, and according to the following, which should not be, unless the rumor and evil deed is first proven, According to the ecclesiastical law, if the person does not want to swear for a serious sin or other reasons, as it is found, he must agree with them, give money, and become wrong.

How the judges of the courts cause the laymen to take unfair actions.

Item. That in citationibus & monitoriis, or summonses and summonses, which are issued in the courts of law, the matter of the action is not measured, so that the cause of action can be understood sufficiently, whether such action belongs to the church court or not. From this follows: If the defendant therefore applies to his secular court, he must first request the court judge and find out what the complaint is, and if he is informed of this and finds out that the complaint belongs to the secular court, then he must first of all apply to the court judge for a remedy, which remedy is then immediately denied. If it is not so near to the time of the defendant that he, the defendant, may apply for a writ of summons. The judges of the courts shall set a short deadline by order of the court, so that they may precipitate and overrule the poor, and at times so quickly that the defendants may not be able to obtain the necessary relief between their estates, or thus obtain necessary counsel and assistance, And thus many poor innocent people come into a presumed ban, even large and noticeable, incurring considerable costs and damage, so that it is to be saved, which is then the secular sovereign's right, and its court authority has the right to noticeable abortions and disgraces.

as many others, so in the places, where the banished are, declared in the ban.

Item. In some places, other followers, ten, twelve, or more, who are not related to the matter at all, are summoned by banishment with the self-sacrificer 1) so that the officiants of his will may be followed by them, and the poor people may be relieved of their duties.

1) "selbssqcher", the one whom the matter actually concerns.

The banned persons have to make terms with them, or go on the way with their poor children, and become landlords, and no measure or difference is kept in this, as is the fortune of the poor people. Also, if you have participated in or had joint ventures with the banned self-interested persons unjustly or wantonly, they are not always obliged to chase them out of their villages for this reason, although they are forbidden to do so by their own spiritual law, that for pecuniary debt or pecuniary property, no interdict shall be made, yet it shall not be held, saying, that the disobedience, which shall be so much greater than it is due to lesser things, shall be covered with a reason.

How the Sendt lords demand unreasonable interest from the hewers.

Item. The sender-dechant also demands money from the inhabitants of towns and villages every year, and if this is not given to him, the poor people are banished and thus forced to give it, and it is necessary to ensure that the sender is kept in order to be punished and punished according to the law.

GiiaHow to wuchen geldt from the handt wercks people.

Item. They take such things in some places from millers, innkeepers, bakers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, blacksmiths, shepherds, 1) cowsherd, or other craftsmen for weeks of money; if they do not pay such things, they are banned from giving them.

Of the Arresting and Oppressing of the Judges of the Judiciary.

Item. In many places there is an abuse in daily practice], that, on one layman's request in secular matters, the judicial magistrate against the other layman's inhibition and violation letter is issued before the secular magistrate, not before him, but before the judicial magistrate, 2) If the opposing party then seeks to defend his lay judge, many writs will be filed against each other for this purpose, and when, after a lengthy legal process, the lay judge settles the matter before him by jury, the laymen must believe the writs, even if they do not have the right to do so.

In view of the great expenses and work that would be incurred in the appeal to Rome, as well as part of the same judges, they are daily relieved of many secular matters by Kay. May. The Supreme Court and its judicial power, contrary to law and equity.

How the poor can be persuaded to enter into a contract by force of law.

Item. The religious judge or official has against the poor single Layen to the right Advocaten, Procurator vnd Schreyber umbsonst. But the layman must transfer the right out of his bag. Consequently, the innocent may flee from the court with their hands and armies and enter into a legal contract, by which means they may also be brought to ruinous harm, provided that they are entirely innocent of any wrongdoing.

Giib How to use a Roman lawyer or procurator in many religious courts.

Item. The ecclesiastical judges wish that all parties who are to be heard in their courts do not use any other advocates or attorneys, except in the city in which such courts are held; they also often set too short a deadline, so that advocates from outside the army may not be brought in. And they apply the apparent causes, as if it happened to the right, for which these advocates or procuratores should be obligated, and yet it often happens for a repugnant reason, as one then finds publicly in the daily record, and so that these judges know how such advocates, who sit with them, must have great fear and awe of them, the judges, and their authorities, that they may not advise the parties to lawful defense and exception against the judges and other parties, who complain there, according to their need and have such action, also therefore the ecclesiastical prelates and others, who reside there, when they or theirs have to do with ecclesiastical law, any advocate or attorney fears to advise or speak to a foreigner against their need, if they have much night on their hands. And if someone does not want to confess to such misdemeanor or right of the advocate or procurator, it is the daily open finding, if very seldom an advocate or another so completely

1) "Schöflern", that is "shepherding", as results from comparison with No. 722, 8 65.

2) Also in No. 722, 866 hiev is the form "vollfahren".

3) "the on" put by us instead of: "on it".

It is found to be perfect and steadfast, that in all diligence in the application of the law neither right, hope, love nor sorrow is denied him, and great good fortune, if an attorney or procurator has such a case, that he does not save possible and his best efforts, how much more then, if he has to deal with the said right, and so that the parties may, in the course of time, be able to have the same attorney, or procurator, as the case may be, of the court of their choice, advocates, or counsel, and that the same advocates, according to the proper order of the court, would therefore do a special duty, as well as the other advocates or procurators who sit in the city where the court is held, and by doing so, one might be able to save oneself from a lot of trouble.

How the sacraments are held out to the poor for almost no reason.

Item. If someone owes a debt to the priest or the church at this time, and is unable to pay it due to poverty, and therefore asks for a reasonable amount of money, the sacraments will be held before him, and he will be asked how he should be taken before his secular judge according to the circumstances of the case, and how he should be fairly discussed there.

How the Sendt are used unformally.

Item. That the sender, who according to the statutes of the law is to be mounted once every several years, is now to be mounted and yoked every year in many places, so that the poor people can be protected and cared for. The sentence is also not kept as it is set up in church law, but the fines and penalties are all based on the cash money and the money paid.

Giiib Ettliche Beschwörung teutscher Nation von dem Stul zu Rom.

It is evident that the providence and disposition of the German nation's ecclesiastical 1) gifts and benefits, in accordance with the law of the land, are due to a bishop and ordinaries in his bishopric, and to the other bishops out of a different right. In the same way, the laymen in the cases, left to them in right, may also have *jus patronatus*, according to the following and in the other order, such provision and disposition, either out of neglect and negligence of the ordinaries, or out of order and by the deuolution,

1) "spiritual" put by us instead of: "spiritual".

2) those belonging to the archbishops and the bishopric, so that in accordance with the law the ordinaries shall grant the same benefits, and those who have the *patronage* shall present those who have agreed to do so. But bayden taylen, as mentioned, from gepürend right to prevent, of the Roman Curtisanen, Amptleutten vnd den Bäpsten daselbs vil jar Heer groß vil vnbillichs zugetragen ist.

First of all, in ancient times, the bishops, for the sake of their skill and merit, have sought out the ordinaries in the German nation to give them gifts of God for the sake of their skill and merit, From this the custom and the practice has been established that many persons have been provided with gifts and offerings from ordinaries on account of such requests, and from this it has followed that a great deal of autumnal baggage and offerings have been given to each ordinarius, to provide each ordinarius with one person in such a way that the ordinarius assumed that the subsequent bishops would not be satisfied with such a person, as mentioned, but for and on account of other persons, The law at Rome was also affected by this, and the matters were such that the reservations arose in a strange and manifold way, and at last the ordinaries' power and authority were completely destroyed and extinguished.

The first reservation had its origin in the city, when a person with a foundation died in Rome, his abandoned foundations fell to the bishop, according to the aforementioned petition, the following bequest and petition, with the same reservation, The ordinaries have been deprived of their rights, so that the bishops have called themselves lords of the benefices and benefices, as if they had perfect power and authority to act and dispose of them, among whom Bonifacius the viii. The law has been established, by which a great delay and damage is inflicted on the German nation, although this is against divine right, as well as the wills and desires that have established the benefices in German lands, as that the twelfth chapter of Prebendis in the fourth book of the Decretals, one of the most important of all. The second chapter of Prebendis, in the fourth book of the decree, contains a loud tyranny, which then has justified the reservation mentioned above.

Subsequently, another reservation has arisen, from the dignity vnd the same werds wegen, als

2) That is, of the Council.

The higher authority and dignity after the bishops in the thumbs, and the highest in collegiate churches, also in the conventual churches, surpassing the bishops in the thumbs, and the bishops in the conventual churches. The bishops have also reserved to them all ducats, and thus cut off the rights of amicability and discretion, so that the chapter and the convent have been deprived of their free time, so that they may no longer be able to exercise discretion.

The third reseration is when the prince reserters his prebend on account of a person, that is, on account of his office, his and the cardinal's servants, priests, and others, on which the rule of the Canntzeley is based, and for this reason the ordinaries' authority and power are drawn in, restricted, and almost completely suppressed. For this and other reasons, he has and will be taken to Rome for a court of law.

After such superfluous inventions, Pope Leo has made another addition, as above, concerning the place, the dignity, and the persons of whom the power and authority of the ordinaries is exhausted. So he also takes from them those on account of the time, and as he reserves to him the benefices, which become vacant within six months, according to law. Thus he will also set up future reseruations on account of the days or perhaps the hours, since with this all proper German authority will be suspended, and then, with great German nation aggravation, such reseruations will be tolerated.

Subsequently, such complaints have been conceived by the said Pope Boniface the viii. still more list, which is called [Affectio, and used in three ways. Firstly, on the grounds of the right to have an owner of a foundation touched, then, if the foundation in question is legally inherited by the death of the owner, it is further granted by the bishop to the ordinarius as a post-tribute.

On the other hand, on account of the Commenda, which is then also a gross invention, within the power of a dignity or trust, and to a title, either on account of the person, or on account of the fact that one would not otherwise be eligible, or on account of the fact that one who is to be in charge of another trust may not be appointed and conferred, may not be laid down, which is to have a commendation, be granted and conferred, just as if the retaining power were to be with him, and if it is conquered as a *beneficium*, and is again released, the commendation is neither extinguished nor expired, but is still to be conferred in the power of commendation by the bishop. Thus, the ordinarius may no longer come to his fiefdom. Therefore, such commenda shall be full of scandal.

Thirdly, fraud has been committed, if a person, in virtue of a *gratuity*, has an expectation 1) of a *benefice*, and accepts it, but has no supervision or commission over it. Thus the same prebend, as affected by the bishop, is forbidden to the ordinary. If one now 2) wants to advise and help the German nation, the shameful reseruptions, commenda, and *affectiones* must be stopped in all ways.

Furthermore, it should be noted that after the invention of the said reseruations, the practitioners in Rome have divided them into two according to 3) fictitious names. One is called the common one, the other the special reseruation, by the rule of the Roman Cantezey. Or if another has a prebend, and has married himself, or enters the order of the mint, or makes profession, or obtains a further reversion, or in other such cases, the same prebend shall be reserved to the bishop and reverted. Such reseruatio also allain, to withdraw the ordinaries their borne fiefdom with it, in will of the bishop hanget.

In addition to the above-mentioned cases, another trick is sought for the ordinaries and feudal lords of the benefices, so that the benefices and *beneficia* are retained and restored for every Roman person, and especially for the Waldens. Whether or not the annual use of the several thousand gülden is worthwhile, that is, if some servants and familiars of the Pope or the Cardinal live, their benefices and *benefits*, if they have passed away, are reserved to the Pope for the sabbatical of the feudal lords and ordinaries, and are also called "*affectata*".

The German nation has many rights that have arisen at the end of Rome, which have been settled in the place of payment with money, or else pension has been struck on it, and other additions to it, which they call R6Zr688U8,

Accessus, vnnd Ingressus, be reserved Hib. From which has followed that the

The Pope has reserved and restored to those whom he owed a considerable sum of money in the German nation many benefices, benefices and dignities, up to a considerable sum of money. Therefore, the cardinals, chamberlains, treasuries, and other forests, the Germans on the Rhine, the Danube, the Wiser, the Elbe, and everything else that lies between and outside, are exhausted in money, all with irretrievable nightmares, damage, and ruin. And so

1) "Expentantien" put by us instead of: "Expectanten".

2) "nu" put by us instead of: "nit".

3) "after" put by us instead of: "yet".

Also that, if some skilful and suitable German benefices are obtained in Rome in the month of the bishop, the other owners will be justified at a low cost for a long time, and presumably they will certainly obtain and have them. So there is again a poem or gleyche restoration by a cardinal, a chamberlain, or another taken and obtained from the pope, by which the called German again a new justification to take forced, and since it is known that he has had to buy him favor with noticeable explanations, to obtain a papal declaration and explanation, so that such a pledge is understood among the mentioned restitution. This declaration was subsequently transferred by a papal decree to a different maynation, so that money was taken from different places, and the parties were thus made to suffer, that they were often branched off from such justifications, and put into the greatest poverty. To give such evil the cause to resist the king.

There is also another reseration, which is called *mentalem*, since the bishop has a foundation and benefit in his office (as is said), and the same reseration is the example. A pledge has been left, so that one named Peter, through the pope's hands, will be punished and procured, which then will not be paid, but Peter assumes to have spent his money, but there is a fraud in it, then with an appointed date, seal and seal, as if the bishop had reserved and reserved such venetianship and pledge in his mind, and after that (as can be assumed), but for money, one H ii to another, so that he first comes by his money and pledge.

There is also another way to bring the ordinaries and feudal lords of the benefices and benefices by their justice, conceived as by the union, and in such a way Peter, Thumbherr zu Wormbs, begeret ayner Dignitet or parish churches, makes the one to Rome, if it by surrender or death of the old owner becomes vacant, Vnion, due to the evil invention of the ordinaries or lords of the fief, may not come to his fief, then a contract, which they call *Compositionem*, with the bishop's dotaria described here, and in the form, is the foundation of annual money 1) xxiiii. Ducaten, then one pays the votario from such Vnion because of it 2) xxiiii Ducaten. If it is above that, then half the amount shall be paid.

1) "güld" - validity, levy, tax, pension.

2) "dar" put by us instead of: "der".

There is still another way, the way of the coadjutorship, which is taken with or without the consent of the one, 3) who owns the benefice or benefit, allain that one represents oneself with the votario. This way may well be opposed, if the order would be adopted that no one without the consent of the Ordinary shall be admitted to aynicherlay Coadjutorship, and that the Ordinary shall have the power to appoint and take 4) the Coadjutor.

To deprive the ordinaries and feudal lords of the benefices of their fiefs has been invented under this Pope Leo, If one possesses benefices, beneficia, or dignitaries, he shall give them up and resign them with words to one of his good friends, and yet in his history nothing shall be resigned, If he then takes in the same benefice or dignity, title, standing in the choir and capitulum, likewise all fruit in place of a pension reservation, and if he dies, the same his friend in force of such resignation accepts the same benefice or dignity, so that the Ordinary may no longer come to plundered fiefdom.

Now it is to be said of recourse, ingress, and exactions, so called by the practitioners at Rome, that the law of Kay. Law of service parkhaiten vnd Seruituten of the Leyplichen vnd verlayblichen things say, as söllichs in kaynem Ratt so well be used, as in Pfründen, gotsgaben, gistlichen things, however with a big vnbillichen interpretation of the right, therefore so is at Rome sought vnd to let, But at the end of the ordinaries and feudatories, that one with the will of the one who owns the benefice is allowed and permitted access, which they designate as above, to the same owner's benefices after his departure, but that one should get along with the bishop's dotaries about it.

Item. A person who has a sinecure, ceded, and relinquished a sinecure, out of such a relinquishment and cession to the ordinarius, shall not only receive a pension for it, but shall also, if it is relinquished, reserve the right of recourse, recourse, and recourse, all of which shall then be of recent invention, and out of invented names shall bear the merchantship of the sinecure upon him.

From the fact that it is infertile and unjustly established by law that the benefices are to be conferred on change, then by virtue of the said amendment, the bishop has forfeited the benefices for and for, and the ordinaries are to be conferred.

3) Instead of: "that the" we have put "deß, der".

4) "nemen" probably ----- nämen, that is, appoint.

and. The feudal lords may no longer come to the feudal estate.

Item. Pensions are paid on the foundations, so that the next owners must also pay, even if the first owner gives his bad will.

From the use and handling of the pension and its redemption, it is found that all the properties, and which are found houses and meren, are not less daily the benefices with it, than with half or third part of the income of the fruit, so that in God's gifts, benefices and dignitaries at Rome the largest merchant 1) is used.

So also under this bishop has arisen such a treaty for benefices and beneficiaries at Rome, that any German there may obtain any benefice, as far as he changes before the cunning of the superior date, 2) and wants to prevent such a reservation, he then asks for such a foundation before and on one's own name, and to settle with him for half the day of the fruit of the same foundation, which is paid annually from the pension, or which is paid with cash and not a little money.

Then it has been found, that so respectable persons of the German nation have applied for benefices, which have been obtained and impetrated, so have others and on behalf of the people with practice of the appointed date, designation and derogation of a rule, which is there against, and reports, that Jus patronatus has statute, it being then fact that much time may pass, in which gleychmäßiger weiß may be had from the day of the died off gepürend Kundschaftt, the same Pfründen vnd beneficien zu wegen pracht, dardurch die erste jren angehörten Fleiß, mye, kost vnd labor verlieren.

It has also been proven that many merchants, other foreigners, and also local Germans of lesser origin and art, live in Rome in great lust, and use the costs for it all from German lands, surpassing great princes and lords in their income, thus wasting the Holy Roman Empire. This and such cases are always countered with necessary advice, and in such a way that all reservations, affection, coadjutorship, influence, employment, and pensions, through the Waldens or other friends, and so not be sent to the Teutons, and be approved on the basis of the law.

The same shall not be allowed again in the German nation to benefices, benefices, dignitaries, or to the above-mentioned qualifications, or else the pension of the same, if they had been personal before, shall be put in perpetual tribute.

If the lord of the fief and the patron at Hnib of this gift of God shall offer and present one to the Ordinary, and the Ordinary shall lease and invest another thereupon, there shall be a subsequent surrender and resignation at Rome, with the consent of the patrons and the Ordinary, so that they may then bayd, the Ordinary and the patron, If he is indeed a priest, he will be deprived of his rights, so that he will never again be able to do so. Therefore, no surrender or resignation of any gifts to God should be permitted without the consent of the ordinaries and patrons, because this would deprive the Church of much income. So that everything may also take place in the donations, which may be surrendered and ceded according to the ability of the law.

From the nomination designations, and subrogation is to note:

Since the ordinaries' right to swear and to truck by the bishops has come to an end, the same ordinaries may have wanted to provide themselves with more freedoms, statutes, and rights out of necessity, If the bishops have received papal confirmation and confirmation of this, they have spent considerable money in Rome, and if they have letters about this, they believe that they can be sure that these will not be revoked or abrogated. If, however, the bishops have suspended and abrogated the old rights, which were also good, the same freedoms, statutes and powers, whether or not they have been sworn to, will be suspended and abrogated by derogation, as has then openly appeared before and now, not only in minor, but also in major benefits and dignities.

How then the bishops, by designation and derogation, do not abrogate all papal and imperial freedoms, praiseworthy and good, sworn statutes and statutes, but they also take away the foundations and beneficia fiefdoms and jus patronatus of the lays, and of the princes, and for this derogation they have often sought, used, and thus used all sorts of swift ways.

First. How well the Layen founded me benefices, and in the foundation and endowment

3) "abrogiret" put by us instead of: "obrogiret".

1) "Kaufmannschaft" set by us instead of: "Kaufmannschatz".
2) That is: reservations, reservationss mental.

The fiefdom and patronage are reserved for them and their heirs, but if the owners of the same fiefdoms at the bishop's court die and their fiefdoms become vacant, the bishops have taken their fiefdom and jus presentandi from the fiefdoms by derogation.

Secondly. However, on the grounds of the same benefices, the fiefdom and jus patronatus are to be renounced and derogated, since the same jus patronatus belongs together to the church and to the laymen.

Thirdly. They deny and derogate from such rights, if such a benefice is vacated, that one has not been named for it, or does not have the right to it, or is vacated by the statute of execution, or is otherwise turned over and devolved, 1) the feudal lord and patron is appointed and accepted, that he should be released from such and have a vacancy, which appointment should be made out of discretion, if he would be appointed such of his right 2).

Fourthly, the way has been found that the same benefices are taken away and derogated from in the second third, and therefore war and quarrels are aroused, and the patrons are deprived of their fiefdom.

Fifthly, the fiefdom and jus patronatus shall be taken away and derogated from, if they derive their justification from the grant or from the receipt of the prescription, provided that they have the rent and prescription for themselves.

The sixth, which is difficult to report, is that the fiefs have endowed benefices and beneficia, and out of simplicity they have decreed that, within the power of their fiefs, the jus patronatus should be endowed and presented to one of them by a prior or prioress, or by another dignified person, that the other month the bishop wants to have, and the one who has, so whether the benefice or the beneficium is vacated, the one who should have the jus presentandi in virtue of his endowment, is deprived of it, and against it neither will to perform, taken order, good won, and even so sworn, has no right.

From the Papal Graces, which sy call Grantias Expectatiuas.

It is to be noted that the ordinaries are to take the care to know, and also to indicate, who and which of such expectants 3) acquired and executed, so that good information is available

1) "eemalen" --- before.

2) Instead of "deployed," it should probably read "appalled."

3) "Expectantien" put by us instead of: "Expectanten".

The Council of the Italian Nation shall have the power to establish whether they were virtuous and skillful for the benefices and benefits for which they had such grace, then it shall be found out of such that the Walhen, Reuerendarii, Auditores, Camerdiener, Schreiber, officials, and other servants of the Babst of the Italian nation most of all stumble after benefices of the German nation, and trade with them, not that they are for or against these same benefices, but that they exhaust the money of the German nation in this case and make themselves revenged.

Therefore, many damaging preachings of such episcopal graces were taken, then, on the hope of the owners of the same benefices dying off, many such graces were gathered together. Therefore, much justification has arisen in Rome, and therefore many have been put into poverty; whoever now learns of such a matter must confess that such preaching should be stopped at once.

And in order to establish such rights, which arise from and out of such graces and graces, that is, if one in Rome, the Pope or a Cardinal N. is a describer, the other with means, the third on middle! The fourth noble, the fifth a priest, the sixth a doctor, the seventh not learned, he has his gratitude and first Jia processes, the one to a peer, which they call 4) ad Instar, the created, the vngeschöpfft, has Freyhait vnd Prorogation, the other came Prorogation, but the one with a right, so they call Perinde valere. The other, by means of a declaration, with such things, spends and wastes a lot of money, injures and damages the common property, and also exhausts all assets.

And because the ordinaries may well recognize suitable persons of their bishoprics, but in the same case a proper exception shall be sought, he shall have to consider and understand the necessity that an ordinarius shall have power and authority, for just cause, to dispense from two, It is not proper to dispense with two, which would not otherwise be dispensed with another, then to dispense with Rome, and to dispense with the right on grounds, except that it is not proper to conquer and have by the way of the union many benefices, which do not otherwise suffer to be held by one another.

Some of those who lived in Rome claimed that they personally owned the benefices they obtained, and not less, by the way of the union, more than three benefices, which they did not suffer to have in the past, were brought to their account, and therefore to many bishoprics, lords of the throne, and the church.

4) "call" put by us instead of: "nemen".

have other benefices, vicarages, and pensions. Hereupon, the German nation's emergency requires that the ordinaries, persons who have been found fit to rightly hold the benefices, to equalize the benefices and the gifts of God. Also, for this purpose, persons must be appointed, and others must have power and authority to serve as examples, so that the Holy Almsmen [not] is thus uselessly wasted.

The dispensation of death-row inmates should not be permitted in any way, unless the reason why they were given is first explained to the Ordinary.

The dispensation on account of those who have been urged not to take up nor to be promoted, then allain on account of the li blearning, must not be left, it then forbids.

The bishops are to learn this with their own persons, as is the case, and then to dispense with the same benefices as the bishops.

From the Vrlauben and Licentien.

No one should be given permission to transfer, resign, or exchange the benefices, although this is permitted daily, but it should be done with the consent of the Ordinary and Patrons, and not at Rome.

The permission should also be aborted, in which one is allowed to become a doctor in the form of a papal decree. Thus, if a student is deemed to be a doctor, he shall be interrogated and admitted to a high school and university by appointed doctors after learning about the place for several years, and therefore, if doctors are admitted by right or by choice, they shall all be admitted, and not those first mentioned, which are called bullatos.

One also gives permission to be ordained to the priesthood by any bishop. From this, it follows that unskilled and unskilled people come to benefices, which nevertheless must be allowed by the ordinaries before examination, and if they are sent, they must be allowed to do so.

Of the reserved cases, which they call casus reservatos, when the bishop reserves the right to the divine gifts. Thus, he also protects him from the princely, which is also embarrassing for the ordinaries.

Dispensation in the ii. vnd iii. degree SypJiia vnnd Magschaft, so far one represents oneself with the Datario to Rome, desgleychen Dispensation gaystlicher geuatterschaft, are admitted vn large gelt, so that two brothers successively one woman, and then two sisters successively one man, eelich beschlafen, öttlich

Because such a dispensation may be harmful, it is necessary that the ordinaries should have the power to make such a dispensation according to the law, and not to allow papal authorities or others in Rome to do so.

And since the Archbishops have confirmed and confirmed their bishops, Suffraganii, Aept, and Abbatissin in their bishoprics, and the Archbishops have confirmed and confirmed the Primates in Germania, it is still good that justice remains with the German nation, so that much money, which is sent daily to Rome, would be saved.

Of the justifications, the Basel Council has decreed and stipulated that no royal, secular, or other gifts of God are to be judged in Rome in the first instance. The last Lateran Council has also decreed that all gifts, until they are named, are to be judged in Rome. But this notwithstanding and disregarding, the ordinaries and parties shall be severely punished, and all benefices shall be justified in the first instance at Rome, and thus much grievance and loss shall be caused. To settle my appeal with money, in which much is accrued, and for many reasons is almost unacceptable.

It shall also be appealed to Rome from each city before the final day, and the same appeal shall be accepted by the city, which shall also be opposed*. Princes, counts, lords of the nobility, doctors and others, through the Auditores Camere, with their commissions, that each one is managed to appear in person, and no procurator will be admitted, therefore many things are due to the treasury at Rome, by which the Germans will be required to go to Rome and will be summoned with great expense, which, however, can no longer be afforded.

Therefore, it would be good that the first instance be left to the Ordinary, the second to the Archbishop, and the third to the Primates, so that the visitation would be stopped and the money would be kept in the German nation.

540. of an unnamed nine articles, in Latin, for the benefit of the German nation, on account of the complaints against the Roman Court, drafted.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Part II. p. 435.

Translated into German.

1. for the special benefit of all Christendom and the churches of the German nation, and for the taxation of ailments, and for the provision of the churches with

It is beneficial for such people, who govern and build them at the same time, that the following is ordered and decreed by the most invincible and most noble Roman king, with the consent of the empire and the estates, and for its benefit and preservation.

2. first of all. First of all, that no foreigner who cannot perfectly preach, read or understand the German language to the people may attain a right or possession to the offices, benefices and dignities of the German nation, but be considered unfit for it, because even such benefits have not been established nor endowed in Germany for such persons. And that also no German, under pretext, as if a right of such had been ceded to him, can attain to such a right and possession of any dignity, office or benefices, which have only been thought of. And that, therefore, an end be put to the dalliance that is made with the French and foreigners about ecclesiastical benefices, and the simonean and other unlawful dealings be controlled, and that the benefices be granted only according to the canonical decree, without the least abortion, whereas none of the persons concerned can or should be allowed to possess them. And that the fruits of their income shall be confiscated by the Ordinary from those who let them have it, and shall be given to the Ordinary himself, until the benefit thus taken shall be received freely and unencumbered by him to whom the Ordinary has given it, and on the other hand he who has come to it in the manner aforesaid shall again be deposed and expelled from it by the very above-mentioned people who let him have it. However, the Ordinary shall also have the power to expel such a holder from his place and to testify, and to confer such Beneficium, which the expelled person possessed in this manner, to another.

3. secondly. Since today, because of the taxes (pensiones) and the many kinds of recourse of the Benefices of the German nation, Germany itself, which was formerly free, is now, as it were, more interest-bearing and valuable to the Welsh than it ever was in the time of the Romans: Therefore, so that Germany is not so exhausted, nor the Welsh tickle themselves that they can draw the money out of the Germans' pockets by their wit, it shall be commanded by the king (emperor) that henceforth the inhabitants of the German nation shall continue to pay such taxes to the Welsh and others who live outside Germany.

shall not pay, nor be required to do so. And that those who would pay such tax to the Welsh and others residing outside the nation shall be deprived of the possession of the benefices from which the tax is ordered or directed, and the fruits of such benefices shall be taken and withdrawn from them, until the benefices on which such taxes are due, have been granted to other competent persons who do not wish to pay such taxes by the Ordinary, who shall also grant them freely and without charge (or without such a burden), if the aforesaid of the Welsh interest people do not otherwise swear that they no longer wish to pay such interest or tax.

Thirdly. And since through unions, commissions, recourses, secret reservations in the heart or mind, in general or in particular, the ordinary power and authority is weakened, and the will of the founders is evidently overturned, also one generally desires other deaths, and promotes people whom one does not know well: Therefore, and because of other just causes that require such things for the benefit and tranquility of the German nation, it shall be decreed and commanded that henceforth no such commendations of the benefices and dignities, temporal or perpetual unions, cessions or recourses, nor any reservations, except those described as just, shall be permitted in the mind or heart, in general or in particular, but shall be rejected by all. And that under such pretext no benefice of the church, of whatever kind it may be, shall henceforth be obtained, or anyone allowed to possess it, or those who allow them to do so shall also be punished in the above-mentioned manner by confiscation of the income of their benefices; and that even the possessor, without prejudice to this, may still be deposed by the Ordinary, and the benefice which he thus receives may be given to another capable person quite freely and unencumbered.

Fourthly. That also henceforth known and capable people be appointed to the churches; and that the Ordinaries are not deprived of their ordinary power by any reservation, exception, union, incorporation, encroachment or recourse, unauthorized coadjutorial, or other merely sensible ways and means, and that, on the other hand, the annals are collected by the same Ordinaries for the use for which they are imposed, and that the Holy Roman Empire is accounted for by the same Ordinaries: It should be decreed that henceforth the same ordinaries, whatever the contrary usage or established bad habit may bring, shall collect the annals every month of January, March, May, July, August, and December,

1) According to the previous writing (Col. 1773), these are encumbrances, servitudes, of the benefices.

September, and November, all benefices, including the highest and higher dignities, and all canonships and prebends of the cathedral and collegiate churches in their cities and districts, shall be freely granted to competent clergymen of their cities and districts, and none other than he to whom they conferred such benefices, under any pretext of any pardon, even of the kind mentioned above, shall be allowed to possess the same, if they have granted such benefices, after they have been discharged, within six months from the time of their discharge; and that those whom they have otherwise left in possession of said benefits shall be deprived of the fruits of their benefits by the Ordinary, and such shall be applied to other uses granted, until the one to whom the Ordinary has granted it shall freely obtain such benefit taken, and on the other hand the one who has taken it wrongfully in the manner aforesaid shall be expelled and deposed from the same by the aforesaid people who have left him in possession.

Fifth. And that also the annoyances and damages, which arise from the possession of many not rhyming together 1) (Beneficien), which were attained by special liberty or dispensation, are controlled: Henceforth no one shall be able to obtain such multiple incongruous (Beneficia) by special grant of grace or dispensation, except for a good and efficient cause expressed in the letter of grace, examined by the Ordinaries, and certified and lawfully found by the same Ordinaries of each place where the Benefices are situated. Otherwise, the ordinaries themselves shall freely confer such benefices, which have been received by dispensation, on competent people.

Sixthly. Likewise, that also in the benefices over which the laity, also princes and nobles, have the jus patronatus, although such jus patronatus of the laity come to the clergy, according to the presumed will of the founders and benefactors, and according to the custom, and according to the custom that has been observed in such benefices from the time of their foundation and existence, and that no one can or should grant them otherwise, and that such right of patronage of the laity shall not be interfered with or abrogated, in part or in whole, due to any limitation or custom or due to death at the [Roman] court: and that all other grants and encroachments contrary thereto, as unjust and inequitable things, be resisted.

and they were not obeyed at all.

Seventh. Likewise, that because of the inordinate plagues and burdens of the parties, which have often been seen up to now, and the great expense of the litigants, no one may henceforth depart from the court of the Ordinary to any other, nor, by overruling the former, or before a final judgment (unless one finds himself aggrieved by another and appeals), may appeal from a definitive and irreparable judgment (a diffinitiva irreparabili). And that no one shall henceforth be brought before any ecclesiastical benefit or other secular matter other than before the ordinary judges; and that he who acts contrary thereto shall be condemned in fifty marks of silver, half to the credit of the treasury of the Ordinary, and half to the credit of the opposite party; that, nevertheless, he who acts contrary to this shall become legally and factually due, and that the appeal made otherwise than as aforesaid shall be held null and void and invalid, and that, consequently, the execution of the pronouncement or judgment made shall be continued, notwithstanding the appeal.

9th Eighth. Likewise, that no letter, writ, bull, or command, other than that issued and decreed in a common concilio (held in a place belonging to the nation, to which the nation is also summoned), shall be obeyed against the above-mentioned things, nor shall any conclusion, order, demand, reminder (or warning), procedure, sentence, or ban (which in some way has been pronounced, proclaimed, and pronounced in the Roman court by anyone, or in some way) bind or burden anyone in the least, so that he may be avoided by others or abhor others, or still to be pronounced and pronounced) should bind or burden anyone in the least, that he should be avoided by others or that he should shun and detest others, but that he who desires something else, as a disturber of the common peace and who thus annoys the church manifestly, should also be contradicted to his face, and on account of all the above-mentioned matters in the common concilio (to which the nation may refer for the above-mentioned handling, defense and assertion) should offer to stand and answer the law; Since, however, all and every one of the nation shall hold on the above-mentioned pieces, notwithstanding anything that may run contrary thereto or be brought forward against it.

Ninth. Nor need anyone be so brooding and so superstitious in conscience as to think that objectionable things, which the common law

1) incomxÄtitiHium.

could not be ordered (in this case for the common good, and since the pope is so wicked and so indebted) by the temporal prince against the so depraved and base customs of the Roman court, by which the general state of the church is evidently vexed.

net. For such orders and statutes are justified by so many reasons and rights that there is not the slightest doubt that all this can be ordered and well decreed with the help and grace of God.

Section Four of Chapter Seven.

From the imperial citation to Luther to come to Worms in person under free, secure, imperial as well as electoral and princely escort, despite the fact that the papists had used every trick in the book to prevent Luther's inconvenient personal appearance before the emperor, whereupon Luther confidently began his journey.

What guile the papists used with Chursachfen, that the Elector should demand Luther only for himself privately for doublet, but Frederick the Wise was too clever for them.

541: A note that the imperial ministers sent to the Saxon ministers, demanding that Frederick, Elector of Saxony, summon Luther to Worms for himself, under imperial escort.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 211.

After the Keyserliche Majestät also Churfürsten und Stende have decided to let Luther come here and the Kay. May. Ine is to provide him with secure faith now and then, and for the sake of his actions and common talk he does not want to be forced to give up Kay. May. Ine is required by your May. letter here, so Kay. May. kindly request that my most gracious lord, Duke Frederick of Saxony, write to Luther that Kay. May. beger und bevelh sei, dass er auff das glait, so Jme die Kay. May. hereby sends to him, rises up and comes here 2c., that also his princely grace gives to the same Luther through his F. G. Land also one glait, and assigns to him Jmands, who with sambt der Kay. May. May. ambassadors with Luther here.

542 The draft of the electoral answer made by the electoral Saxon councillors, in which this wise gentleman rejects the above request with concise motives, is, by the way, requested, if Imperial Majesty, Electors, Princes and Estates themselves wanted to demand Luther with a given safe conduct to Worms, he, the Elector, and his brother, would also gladly lead him.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," Vol. I, p. 500.

On the slips of paper concerning Ro. Kl. Mt, our alln. Herr our gn. Lord the Elector of Saxony, concerning doctor Luther's requirement, is our subordinate concern, but has fallen upon our Lord's grace that his elector's grace should be followed by the opinion of our Lord. Lord's gracious pleasure, that his Electoral Grace should give the following opinion on the matter.

After I 1) have received a letter, which contains, because the Kay. My. also Churfürsten, surften und Stende have decided to let Luther come here, und das Kaysl. Ma. Ine should be provided with safe conduct here and there, and for the sake of his action and common cry it would not be proper that Kay. M. Ine by his May. letter. Thus Kay. May's noble request that I write to Luther that Kay. May be willing and able to respond to the request that Kay. May, and that I will also give the same Luther an escort through my country and order him to come here with all his belongings.

1) "me" put by us instead of: "we".

of the Kayserl. May. [1) to go here with Luther. As I was completely willing to show Kay. May. in the submissive obedience, but because your May. have decided to require the said Luther on your May., also princes, rulers and sovereigns in your May. name, and I have not taken upon myself to represent or answer for Luther's matters, but have left them to his own responsibility and command, as I have then written such things of myself at times, and although I have also asked May. May. not to do anything against Luther or to allow him to be heard beforehand, such a thing has nevertheless come about at Luther's request, and that I would like to prevent the truth, and whether Luther is mistaken in his writing, from coming to light. Should now D. Luther is required by me alone, I would like to consider many things, such as May. May, it would be difficult for me, where Luther would be entitled to something burdensome and disadvantageous on account of this, from which I might, as a matter of concern, arise an accusation that May. May will not grant me my hopes. For this reason, I ask you to refrain from such a request, and not to complain about it in my application. May. or princes, sovereigns and sovereigns shall require this Luther, then I will at the end, where my brother and I have joined. I will gladly let him go, so that he may get through to the place, if God wills it, without being judged,

B. Von Luthers Citation und freiern kaiserlichem churfürstlichen! und fürstlichem Geleit.

543 Emperor Carl V's citation to Martin Luther to appear at the Diet of Worms. Date Worms, the March 6, 1521.

There are said to be two originals of this writing, one in the Leipzig City Library, the other in the Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg, which came there after the death of Georg von Kunheim, Luther's son-in-law. The first print has the title: "Cythacio vnd geleyth Doctoris Martini 'Luthers ghen Wurms, vff den Reichstag vor König Caroll, vnd den stenden des Reichs: etlicher Büchlein die Ehr gemacht zu veranthworthen." In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 106; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 4331; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 652. These three editions contain only our writing, although the caption reads: "Kaiserlicher Majestät Citation und Geleitsbries "rc. Furthermore in the Leipziger,

1) Added by us.

Vol. XVII, p. 569 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 101. Also in Junker's "Ehren-Gedächtniß Luthers," p.50; in Müller's "Staats-Cabinet," Vol.VIII,p. 288; in Naumann's entalokus librorum mnmisriptom sts, p. 265; in "Erläutertes Preußen," vol. IV, p. 144; and in Wegner's äissrrntio de silvo sonäustu D. Nnrtno l'Autksro lVorumtinna sontl ad Imperators Oarolo V. Impstrato st srrvato. llsKiomonts 1698. the German original is translated into Latin and found in the Wittenberg (1551), tom. II, toi. 163d; in the Jena (1566), tom. II, toi. 4111) and in Goldast, sonst, impsrialss, tom. II, p. 142; in a different translation in Balan, monumsnta, p. 120. We give the text according to the Erlangen correspondence, which follows the Leipzig original.

Karl, von GOttes Gnaden erwählter römischer Kaiser, zu allen Zeiten Mehrer des Reichs 2c.

Honorable, dear, devout one! After we and the holy kingdom's estates, now assembled here, have undertaken and determined to receive information from you on account of the teachings and books that have gone out from you for some time, we have come to you and from then on again to your safe custody, ours and the kingdom's free, We have given you security and escort, which we send to you herewith, with the request that you will rise up favorably, so that in the twenty-first days, destined for such escort, you will certainly be here with us, and will not stay away, nor worry about any violence or injustice. For we want to handle you firmly in the above-mentioned escort, and finally rely on your future. And you do so our earnest opinion. Given in our and the kingdom's city of Worms, on the sixth day of the month of March. Anno 2c. XV^c and in the twenty-first year of our empire.

Carolus (L. S.)

Ad Mandatum domini Imperatoris
ppm.
Albertus Card. Mog.
Archicancellarius sspt. Nicias
Ziegl.

To the honorable, our dear, devout, Doctor Martin Luther, Augustinian Order. 2)

544. imperial letter of safe conduct for D. Martin Luther of March 6, 1521, and insinuated by the herald Luthern at Wittenberg, March 26, 1521.

The original of this letter is in the Wallenrodt Library in Königsberg. Printed in Wegners äissrr-

2) About this honorable address Aleander was annoyed and Luther wondered about it. Cf. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 1922, No. 999.

ckatio äo salvo eonänotu, 1698; in Müller's "Staats- Cabinet," vol. VIII, p. 286; in "Erläutertes Preußen," p. 144; in Fabricius, Oontikol. I'utiioran., 1728, p. 79; in Lingke, "Luthers Reiseges." p. 80; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 570 (as it says on the title: from the manuscript located in the Pauliner Bibliothek) and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 103. A Latin translation of this is also available in Oorctos, tust, reck. II. VoeuW, p. 32 and in Balans niourinaoiita, x>. 120, Ho. 46, from the Vota IVormao., col. 108, of the papal secret archives. We give the text according to the Erlangen correspondence.

We Charles the Fifth, by the Grace of God chosen Roman Emperor, at all times Merer of the Empire, in Germania, Hispania, both Sicily, Jherusalem, Famine, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. Kunig. Archduke of Austria, and Duke of Burgundy, of Habsburg, of Flanders and of the Tyrol 2c., confess: when we required Martin Luther, of the Augustinian Order, for movable causes, we gave and promised him our and the Holy Empire's free security and escort against men, and we do so by imperial power knowingly in virtue of this letter. So that in one and twenty days, the next after the delivery of this letter, he shall come here to Wormbs, and there await our and the empire's action, and after that he shall and may move to his safe custody from there to Aries, unoffended and unhindered by us and all men. And thereupon we command all princes, ecclesiastics and seculars, prelates, counts, freemen, lords, knights, servants, captains, lieutenants, bailiffs, stewards, administrators, ambassadors, mayors, judges, councillors, citizens, municipalities, and otherwise all other of our and the realm's subjects and faithful, in whatever sovereignty, state or nature they may be, earnestly by this letter and will, that they provide such our and the kingdom's security and guidance to the mentioned Martin Luther steadily and firmly, also to accompany and guide him in his going and returning, and not to offend him against it nor to offend him, nor to allow anyone else to do so in any way, as dear to each one be our and the kingdom's severe disgrace and punishment to avoid. This is what we sincerely mean by this letter. Given in our and the kingdom's city of Wormbs on the sixth 1) day of March, after the birth of Christ XV C.

1) In the original "sexten", which will be the cause that in Müller (by reading the x in ten) the 16th of March is given as date.

and in the twenty-first, our kingdom of the Roman in the other, and of the others of all in the sixth.

mandatum äni.
Imperatoris pprn.
Vllisrtus Oaräinulik maZuntinus
88t.
Niclas Ziegler.

545: The escort letter of Elector Frederick and Duke John of Saxony. Date Worms, March 12, 1521.

This escort letter and the following two are first printed in "Die gancz Handlung szo mit dem Hochgelerte D. Martino Luther täglich die weyl er auff dem Keyserlichen Reychstag tzu Wormbs gewest, ergangen ist, auff kurztest begriffen. Item die geleytcz brieff D. M. gegeben, hyr yhnn auch begryffen seynt", 2 sheets in quarto. Without place and time. In the editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 106b; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 434 b; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 652 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 571. Also in Lingke, "Luthers Reiseges.", p. 81. We follow the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 110 f., which reproduces the original print.

By the Grace of God, We Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen. After the most noble prince and lord, Mr. Charles, elected Roman Emperor, at all times ruler of the Empire, in Hispania, both Sicily and Hierusalem a king, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burundi, of Brabant 2c., Count of Habsburg, of Flanders, of Tyrol 2c. Our most gracious lord, the worthy, highly respected, our dear devout Em Martin Luther, Doctor of the Augustinian Order, is required here at this present Imperial Diet, and requests us to provide the same Doctor Luther at the end, as it is due and due to the highborn prince, our dear brother, Duke Johansen of Saxony 2c. and to us, with free, safe and secure escort to here, and again to his custody 2c. Since we then acknowledge to render submissive obedience to the Roman Emperor's Majesty in this and other matters, we confess on behalf of the above-mentioned our brother and ourselves against all men, that we, at the gracious request of the above-mentioned King, provide the above-mentioned Doctor Luther and those whom he will safely have with him, for such a journey to here and again to his custody, for our brother, ourselves and all of his family.

Love and our subjects and relatives and whom we are safely powerful, have given our strong, free, safe, vhelich 1) and safe escort. And hereby give him such in and by virtue of this letter. And thereupon to all and any of our brother's and our officials, castles, escorts, mayors, burgomasters, councillors of the cities and otherwise all others of ours our earnest request, hereby commanding to protect, handle and defend the more mentioned Doctor Luther and those whom he will have with him in such escort; also to assign someone to him at his request, so that he may come through and over all the more statly and securely, without difficulty, and not to do otherwise. This is our serious opinion. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our seal, and the same is given at Worms in the Imperial Diet, on the twelfth day of the month of March, Anno Domini 1521.

546: Duke George of Saxony's escort letter for Luther, dated Worms, March 8, 1521.

About the first printing of this writing, see No. 545. After that, it is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 106; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 434; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 653; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 570; in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 109; in Müller's "EröffnetesStaats-Cabinet", vol. VIII, p. 294; in Richter, Oeuloul. I'utüer, p. 170; and Keil, "Luthers Lebensumstände," vol. II, p. 96. We follow the Erlangen correspondence.

We George, by the Grace of God Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen 2c., hereby inform all and any of our officials, administrators, bailiffs, escorts, bailiffs, mayors, judges, councils, municipalities, and other of our subjects and relatives that Roman Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, has now required Doctor Martin Luther to come here at the present Imperial Diet. Since the same Luther will take his way partly through our principality, country and territories, we recommend to you and want you to support the said Doctor Martinum everywhere undiminished.

1) Carlstadt (Jäger, "Carlstadt", p. 325) explains "vhelich" by "sicher". In the next number, instead of "fehelich" in the original, in the Wittenberg and in the Jena edition is set: "one fahr".

and let him pass through and arrive without difficulty, and also appear conducive to this, so that he may travel safely and in wedlock 2) and arrive here all the sooner. This is our opinion and favor. Given at Worms, sealed under our back-printed secret. On the eighth day of the month of March, Anno dni 1521.

547: Letter from Landgrave Philip of Hesse escorting Luther on his return journey home from Worms. Worms, April 26, 1521.

About the first printing of this writing, see No. 545. After that, it is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), Vol.IX, p.113b; in the Jena edition (1564), Vol.I, p.449b; in the Altenburg edition, Vol.I, p.727.; inder Leipziger, vol.XVII, p.590; in Müller, "Staats-Cabinet", vol. VIII, p.295 and in Lingke "Luthers Reisegeschichte", p. 103. We follow the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 127.

We Philips von GOttes Gnaden Landgrave of Hesse, Count of Katzenelnbogen, of Dietz, of Ziegenhain and of Nidda 2c., confess and manifestly declare with this letter to males: When Doctor Martinus Luther departed again from this Imperial Diet and here from Worms, that we have given him for himself and all those whom he has with him our free, strong, secure and safe escort in and through our principality, county, dominion and territories for us and all those of ours whom we are dangerously powerful and who are obligated to do and not to do for our sake. And so we give it to him at present in and by virtue of this letter in all ends and places where we have to guide, also to command and to forbid, without danger. And in witness whereof, this letter is sealed with our knowingly annexed Secrete Ingesiegel. Given at Worms, on Friday after the Sunday Jubilate [April 26], and the birth of Christ our dear Lord five hundred and one and twentieth years.

C. Of the "papal *bulla coenus domini*" published around this time, in which D. Luther was once again condemned as an arch-heretic, and by which the pope again, as by the

2) Wittenberg and Jena: "one fahr".

The author of the first book, Luther, wanted to deter the emperor and the princes from having anything to do with Luther as an exile.

548. Pope Leo's X. *Bulla domini*, against D. Martin Luther and others, given at Rome at St. Peter's, March 28, or Maundy Thursday, 1521.

This bull appears from word to word in Luther's writing immediately below, which Walch has indented here because of the bull, although Luther's writing should have been among the controversial writings.

549 Luther's sharp and vehement writing about this bull, under the title: "*Bulla coenae domini*, that is, the Bulla vom Abendfressen des allerheiligsten Herrn, des Pabsts, verdeutscht durch D. M. Luther, to the most holy Roman See for the new year. His mouth is full of cursing, deceit and avarice, under his tongue is toil and labor. Psalmo 10", to which is appended an explanation of the 10th Psalm under the title: "Glossa of King David on these bulls". 1522.

In the Erlangen edition, five individual editions of this manuscript are listed, four of which belong to the year 1522, one to the year 1523, under the title we have placed above it. It is found in the Wittenberg edition (1554), vol. VII, p.317b; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p.44d; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 62; in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 1; in the Erlangen, 1st ed, Bd. 24, p. 165 and in the second edition, Bd. 24, p. 168. In the Jena edition, which Walch followed, a number of Luther's glosses are not among the chapters, but in the margin. Since Walch considered these to be marginal glosses of the Jena edition, he omitted them. We have now replaced this deficiency after the second edition of the Erlangen edition. ____

Martin Luther to the Most Holy See of Rome and its entire Parliament.

My grace and greeting before, most holy chair! Do not crack and break before this new greeting, in which I put my name first, and forget the kissing of the foot. Cause you will hear. It is now a new year, which you never knew before. I also need to talk to you more now than to think about and wait for the old year's custom. I thank thee, thou most gracious, tender, well-learned chair, instead of all the common-

ner Christendom, beforehand of the German nation, that thou wouldst once open the eyes of thy grace and the shrine of thy mercy, and let us see the highly renowned and deeply feared and far hidden bulla of thy Lord's supper.

For after we have suffered so many bull-bearers, cardinals, legates, commissaries, sub-commissaries, archbishops, bishops, abbots, provosts, deans, deceased lords, priores, gardians, stationers, termiuriers, monastery messengers, monastery messengers, chapel messengers, altar messengers, bell messengers, tower messengers, and who could tell all the pack of such oppressors and slayers? The Rhine would hardly be enough to drown them all; and, if it lasted longer, the geese and the kukuk would also have to become bull-bearers and treasurers of indulgences, that is, legates and commissaries of the Most Holy See in Rome, so that the rust and the moths 2) do not spoil the treasure of indulgences, and Germany would become too rich, where it would remain locked in the shrine of the Most Holy See.

(3) Through such your most faithful apostles, a great and unmistakable desire has arisen for this most holy bull of the supper. For when we saw that all kinds of sins were forgiven for the sake of a penny or a good drink, before which the good fellows, the indulgence merchants, were merry and well merry, and whether someone had committed adultery, murder, robbery, betrayed country and people, strangled father and mother, 3) defiled sisters, yes, whether he had crucified Christ himself seven times, and his mother as well; This was such an easy daily sin, so lightly forgiven, sold, given away, and how one would have it, if only the beaten silver gave a cheerful look, and their pockets gleamed in a friendly way, that everyone wondered what kind of sins these would be, which were drawn out and reserved in the most holy bulla of the evening meal, that they alone could not wash away so much cloudburst and flood of sin of the un-

1) In the original and in the Wittenberger: "befürchte"; Jenaer: "fear".

2) Original: "matten".

3) Original: würget.

4) Original: Sindfluss.

The "indulgence" that was granted. No one could think of greater sins than those against God's commandment, all of which the indulgence consumed as the sun licks up the little snow. But this was the fault of the rude Germans, who do not know much about sin. For I will excuse the Most Holy See for not having revealed them until now; the Germans' lack of understanding was spared, so that such a great light did not blind their eyes.

4) But now that the desire has taken over, and is no longer deceitful, your old coming good right comes to measure, quiets the hearts finely, and lets go out this most holy bulla of the evening goblet, in which everyone now sees 1) how not without honest cause you have reserved such great sin.

Now I want to earn my keep for you; who knows, you might even give me a cardinal's hat, or a bishopric, or a good parish. It is time that I recognize my duty and help to spread this bull and make it common before everyone. Therefore, I will not only translate it, but also add a little gloss to it; and since no one is worthy of it, I will attribute it to you alone, and thus honor you for the new year.

6) But I will not spare you my great trouble, which I had to translate and gloss in it; so that, if you want to give me something, you will regard my trouble rightly, 2) and not just give a cardinal title without interest, as has happened to some; for I may not be a cardinal by title or by letter, it must bite badly with me, and be more there than in white canvas.

(7) For I tell thee, though it be made in the midst of the Latin country, yet it is as un-Latin as if it had been made by a scullion. But I do not consider this to have happened out of ignorance, as some say that there is nothing more unlearned and grosser on earth than popes, cardinals and bishops, and that it is also a great honor if such people can write in the least; just as it is a great honor if princes and great lords can write badly.

Scribes should be able to write; lords should be able to rule; so here also: students and pupils should be learned; pope, cardinal and bishops should wait for their thing.

8 But I think that was not your cause, but that it was proper to speak such Latin on a drunken evening, at the time when the tongue walks on stilts, and reason leads with half a sail. A painter who painted a fool and gave him the shape and color of a wise man would not be a masterpiece; but he is a master who paints a fool in the most foolish way. So also, because this is not only a bulla of the evening meal, but is also famous there, was to mean, where it would have some reputation, as if it were made on a sober morning, so the art would be wrong, and should not be called *Bulla coenae*, but *Bulla jejunii*, a bulla of the sober morning.

(9) But now you have kept yourself right, and everything comes from art, according to the saying of St. Paul, 1 Thess. 5:7: "Those who are drunk are drunk in the evening"; and as the Germans sing: *Nächt z' Abend war ich trunken, da redt ich nach Gedanken*. So you find my effort to make German Latin in non-Latin. I think I must also become drunk, so that I do not lack the art. The other effort is not less, that I strike out the sins, which are told in it, so that it also appears, how they went out on a drunken evening, and all sins, which are against God, are preferred.

(10) For you to be so hard on this bulla, and to have it read on Green Thursday, and yet not to remember the gospel all the year round, is not acceptable to me; for it is not fitting in any way that you should do anything that is proper to a sober morning, as there is the gospel.

(11) There is also the art of evening eating, for what should a drunkard do if he could not curse, maledict, and rage and rage in the most unreasonable manner, when other people should rest and sleep? So you also, on the day when Christ has given rest and peace to all the world, it is fitting for your evening meal that you open your mouth with confidence.

1) Original: see.

2) Original: to look at.

You curse, malign, rage, and rage against all the world as if you were mad and insane; as this bulla does. Everything goes according to the art and time, which you tender chair takes forward, and sends itself from him as it should.

But if I would do too little for him, [you] would have it good; I will improve it another time; New Year's Day ran away in a hurry, and I wanted to bring this gift with me. May you be protected by my favor and grace, you blessed, friendly, holy chair, amen.

Doctor Luther Privilegium to print this bull.

Whoever prints this bull and does not use large letters for the text, so that the holy bulla may be honored enough, shall know that he is guilty of the sins contained in this bulla, and that I have the order to absolve him by grace of the Most Holy See of Rome. But if anyone takes small letters, I will send him to Rome itself to the Most Holy See; for there is still a bulla which reserves such a case over this bulla. He dares his ebb.

The bull of the Lord's supper, the Pabst.

The first chapter.

Leo Bishop,^a) a servant^b) of all servants of God, in eternal remembrance of this history.

The Roman bishops, our ancestors, were accustomed to exercise the weapons of justice on this feast, according to the duty of the apostolic office,^c) to maintain the purity of Christian faith, and to preserve the unity of the same (which consists primarily in the adherence of the members to One Head Christ and His Governor)^d) and the holy fellowship of the faithful,^e)

a) Like a wolf a shepherd.

b) In the evening, when we are drunk, but in the morning it is called 4.60 dominos (lommarnimn, a lord of all lords.

c) Apostolic office here means cursing and killing soul. Merk, Christian faith purity means the Pabst's land and letters he wants to receive in this bull.

d) Christ is not enough for this.

e) Behold, bad boys can preserve holy people.

The other chapter.

Thus we follow^a) the old and common custom, and banish and maledict, on account of the Almighty God,^c) the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and by force of the holy apostles Peter and Paul and also ours,^c) all kinds of heretics, the Gasarians, the Pateronians, the Poor of Lyon, the Arnoldists, the Sperouists,^d) the Passagirians, the Viglephists, the Hussites, the Fratricels of Opinion, and Martin Luther,^e) recently condemned by us for the same heresy, together with all his followers, and those who show him favor, so that he cannot be punished,^f) whoever they are, and all other heretics, as they are called, and all patrons, upholders and retainers of the same.

a) One blind man to another, One fool makes ten.

b) He who speaks John 3:17: "God did not send His Son to destroy the world, but to save it."

c) And I, said the dog, whether God's power would be too weak in the evening meal.

d) And not the papists, the pious, tender Christians, e) Deß gratias Grammartzy. 1)

f) It is now in the week of martyrdom, the flesh is not eaten.

[Glossa of the other chapter.] 2)

These heretics have done nothing against God, but have forfeited a much greater guilt, namely, they wanted to have the Holy Scriptures and God's Word, and pretended that poor sinners, the pope should be pious, and preach God's Word soberly, not drunkenly present the bulla of supper. This is such a great error that they would have justly deserved harsher punishment. But now the Most Holy See, out of special compassion, has mercy on them and casts them into the abyss of hell after their souls, burns them to powder in their bodies, maligns their names, and wipes out their honor, and takes away their goods, and is sorry for his great goodness that he cannot have a worse hell, fire, shame and damage.

But since he himself confesses that my heresy is equal to theirs, and I well know what I believe, I am obliged to thank thee once again, thou blessed chair, that thou hast united me with the people of the world.

1) "Grammartzh" ----- Ararid roerei, nice thanks.

2) These words are found in the margins of the Wittenberg and Jena editions instead of a caption to what follows until the end of this chapter.

len. And what shall I do for you in return? Well, that you see 1) my earnestness, I will leave you the cardinal's hat, and do not desire that you give me anything; I can well think that you represent himself. It is enough for me that my name is so gloriously proclaimed in Rome at the feast with the poor heretics, and is now being circulated in the world in the drunken evening bull.

You also say in the first chapter that the weapons of righteousness are such malediction and banishment, when St. Paul himself means weapons of light and weapons of righteousness: meekness, patience, kindness, chastity, 2 Cor. 6:6, 7. But that makes him speak of a sober morning; you do not unreasonably interpret that for a drunken evening, for raging and raving, and the same for the antagonism; for evening and morning are contrary to each other. You are truly an understanding chair!

The third chapter.

Item, we banish and denounce all sea robbers,^a) runners and robbers on the sea, especially those who run astray on our sea,^b) from the Silver Mountain to Terracyn, and rob, paralyze, kill the shipmen on it and rob them of their goods and possessions, have so far presumed and still presume, and all their keepers, and who do them counsel, help and favor.

a) "Sea robbers" and "robbers on the sea" find two things from the drunken evening when the tongue stutters.

b) Of the "sea of ours" Peter, our leader, says thus, Apost. 3:6: "Gold and silver I have not"; and Christ Luc. 22, 25, 26: "The rulers of the Gentiles rule over them; but ye shall not do so." But let a cartload of hay be taken out of the way of a drunken man, let Christ and St. Peter the Evening Eater be silent.

The fourth chapter.

Item, we banish and maledict all who set up new tariffs in their own lands, or demand the forbidden ones.

For we are lord also of all other temporal goods, according to the saying of Christ, Matt. 8:20: "The Son of man hath not where to lay his head."

The fifth chapter.

Item, we banish and maledict all falsifiers of the bulls or apostolic letters,

1) In the original: siehest.

and the letters of supplication, concerning grace or justice, which are recorded by the pope, or sub-chancellor, or their governors, or officers of the sub-chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, by order of the same pope; also those who record such letters of supplication in the name of the pope, or sub-chancellor, or their governors.

But God's letters and scriptures may well be burned and condemned. Cause, because in such letters he interprets the scripture, which is due to him alone, as he boasts.

The sixth chapter.

Item, we banish and maledict all who bring horses, weapons, iron, woodwork and other forbidden things to the Saracens and Turks and other enemies of the Christian name, so that they may impugn the Christians.

What a serious thing it is about a drunken man who can eat all the Turks in one evening!

The seventh chapter.

Item, we banish and denounce all who hinder or interfere with those who bring food and other necessities to the Roman court,^a) or hinder and insult them so that they are not brought or brought to the Roman court,^b) also those who do or withhold such things, be they of what order, height, nature and status they want,^c) whether they are also excellent in episcopal, royal, royal-internal, or whatever dignities, be it spiritual or secular.

a) So that the belly does not pine away.

b) How can a drunken man be so evil!

c) Mark, how brightly the Scriptures are interpreted here; how could the pope err in such light?

The eighth chapter.

Item, we banish and malign all, who out of their own outrage rob, take, hold out, or where they do not have proper or commanded authority, out of wanton! ^a) to beat, paralyze or kill those who come to or leave the apostolic see, and those who reside in the same Roman court; also all who do or command such.

a) Without the pope, he may well set kings and bets on each other and bathe them in Christian blood.

The ninth chapter.

Item, we banish and denounce all who freely lame, wound, kill, see, imprison and detain the patriarchs, archbishops and bishops, and their trades.

But what about the other Christians? Each one thinks his best. See for yourself!

The tenth chapter.

Item, we banish and denounce all who, for the sake of their cause and business, beat, lame, or kill, or deprive of goods those who, by themselves or by another, or other persons, whether ecclesiastical or secular, run to the Roman court for the sake of their cause and business, and who execute and procure in the same court, and their business-dealers, preceptors, and procuratores, or also the interrogators or judges, ordered to the same cause and business. ^{a)} Also those who presume to forbid in case of severe punishment, set and command that the letters and commands of the apostolic see and its legates, messengers and certain judges, they concern mercy or right, and the judgments, which went over it, and other findings, trades and execution not be followed, if they do not have before their approval and favor. And that also the clerks and notaries shall not make public letters or vellums, about the above letters and execution; and if they are made, shall not hand them over to the part to which it is due.

Also those who, for the salvation of their souls^{b)} stubbornly presume to withdraw themselves from our and the Roman bishop's obedience, as it is at present, or escape in some way.

Anch those who are subject to the constraints of judgment or fruits, interest and income,^{c)} which belong to the ecclesiastical persons, for the sake of the churches, monasteries and other benefices which they have inside, and seize to themselves, or have without expressed leave of the Roman bishop means and under them, be it from whatever cause it may. ^{d)}

Also those, who do not fear to execute and procure such by themselves, or an external one, or others, straight or crookedly, or in the same council, assistance or

They may be of whatever height,^{e)}) The first step is to make sure that the people of the country have the right to be in the right place.

a) And so the teaching of St. Paul is fulfilled. Let no one get involved in worldly business who wants to serve God; except for the drunken evening, the pope is well off.

b) There, there, that is the soul's journey!

c) It is about money, as the masters are about getting, d) And this is the gloss on the word of Christ, Matth.

5:40: "He that will righteousness with thee for his cloak, let him have his skirt also." Yes, come back tomorrow!

e) 2 Pet. 2:1, 10. "False teachers will come, maledicting and blaspheming majesties and kings, and despising rulers."

The eleventh chapter.

Item, we banish and malign all those who paralyze, wound, or kill, or drive, or attack, or rob the Rome runners and pilgrims who go to Rome for devotion or pilgrimage, and stay there or go from there; also all those who do help, advice, and favor.

The twelfth chapter.

Item, we banish and denounce all those, who by themselves, or by another, or by others, bring under themselves, by any title or color whatsoever, to or against^{a)}), or destroy or touch in the way of the enemy, or presumptuously take under itself, hold out, or rename, and touch in enemy's way, totally or in part, the city of Rome/) the kingdom of Sicily or Trinacria, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, the land near Farum, the paternal inheritance of St. Peter in Thuscia, the heart of Sardinia and Corsica, the land of the Holy Roman Empire, the land of the Holy Roman Empire, the land of the Holy Roman Empire and the land of the Holy Roman Empire. Peter in Thuscia, the duchy of Spolet, the county of Venusyn and Sabyn, the margraviate of Ancon, Massa, Trebaria, Romandiol, Campaniä, and the land and care of the sea, which have especially taken us^{c)}) the Arnulfi, in addition our cities Bononien, Ferrer, Benevent, Perus, Avinien, the city Castel, Tudert and other cities, land and place and right, to the Roman church belonging^{d)}) and pending and responsible; also all those who give such favor, protection, sleeve and council to it.

a) Unless the Turk does not understand the bulla of the evening meal.

b) Behold, Peter, poor fisherman, where does Rome and such a kingdom come to you? Greetings, Peter, king of Sici. lia and fisherman of Bethsaida.

c) What harm a good strong lie to a drunkard, on a drunken evening, who may rob such land and measure it with lies!

d) That is woven a wall of paper, ruling the country and people asleep.

The thirteenth chapter.

Item, we banish and denounce all and any sub-chancellors and councils, both ordinary and special, of all kings and princes,^a) and chancelleries, councils and parliaments, as well as their common procuratores, or other secular princes, whether they were also in imperial, royal, ducal, or whatever dignities;^b) also archbishops, bishops, abbots, commendators, and their governors and officials, who by themselves, or another, or others, summon to themselves from our interrogators and commissaries (as they say) the things of all kinds of exception or other gratuities and apostolic letters, also concerning tithes, benefices, and other ecclesiastical matters, and from laymen the execution of letters of admonition, letters of charge, letters of interdict, letters of middle, letters of execution, and other apostolic letters,^c) concerning grace and law, which are issued by us and by the Camerier-Cardinal, and from the administrators of the apostolic chamber,^d) and from the interrogators and apostolic commissaries in the same matters have gone out at his time, and prevent their course, interrogation, person, chapter, convent, collegio, who want to carry out such matter, and are subject, as judges, to recognize the same, and to revoke or compel the counterpart, which they have obtained, and still obtain, by order, and to absolve from banishment and punishment those against whom such letters of prohibition have been issued.

a) Tub, tub, it wants to go out hot. The drunken man is angry.

b) He pretends not to blaspheme kings and princes, but bites their trades and offices.

c) The pope is concerned about letters.

e) The great whore of Babylonia.

The fourteenth chapter.

Item, we banish and denounce all who forbid, in whatever chastisement, whatever persons, in common or particular, that they should not order for execution any apostolic letter, even if it be a

The letter of summons and the letter of execution, which emanate from the aforementioned see and will emanate in its time, unless they have their or their princes' good pleasure and recognition. Also those who saw, imprisoned, and held out, or saw, imprisoned, and held out the notaries, executors, and sub-executors of the same letters, letters of admonition, letters of summons, letters of prohibition.

Also, those who, because of their office, or because of suggestions, whatever they may be, are dragged before them to their judgment seat, interrogation, court, council, or parliament, and against the order of the common law, have them dragged and procure, straight or crooked, whatever agility and color this may be, the ecclesiastical persons, chapter, convent, and collegia.

And we declare nothing less, and we condition, as we declare and condition this content, that the absolution, which we shall do this day, or else, also with all glory, shall in no way be bad, nothing shall be detrimental, nor shall it be detrimental to the above-mentioned sub-chancellors, councillors and procurators, and to the above-mentioned banned persons, unless they renounce all and any of the above-mentioned and all other rights, which have been granted by the apostolic chair, Councilors and Procurators, and the above-mentioned exiles, unless they renounce all and any of the above-mentioned and all other rights sought by the Apostolic See and the Holy Roman Church, and are still sought, as and where he may. And it shall not be prejudicial, whether by us or by the apostolic see anything is done contrary thereto, or as that is wont to be prejudicial, be it done or to be done, be it concealed or expressed. Nor any length of time, nor any of our patience or humility.

There shall be no objection to letters of privilege, letters of indulgence, apostolic letters, common and special, given to them, or to one of them, or to some of them, by the aforesaid See, of whatever order, rank, nature, dignity, or height they may be, whether they be (as has been said) in episcopal, royal, regal, or whatever dignity, ecclesiastical or secular, or whatever dignities, ecclesiastical or secular, whether also the form and content would be, that they would not be banished by apostolic letters, which do not do a full and clear report, from word to word, of such privileges and dignities, and of their order, place, name, surname.

All kinds of custom and usage, whether they are described or not, and everything that might be contrary to them, by which they might help themselves and protect themselves against these proceedings and judgments of ours, as if they were not included in them, shall not help either.

Of which judgments no one may be absolved by anyone, except by the Roman bishop, unless he is in mortal danger; but not even then, unless he is satisfied or gives sufficient assurance to stand by the commandment of the Holy Roman Church.

For this it shall not help whether he alleges confessional or all kinds of liberty, whether they are given by words, letters, or whatever scripture, whether it is also stated therein that the signature alone shall be sufficient, and whether therein are invented those unusual additions, that the right of the abrogating letters is stronger and more powerful than that of the abrogated ones, whether the same also abrogate all others beforehand, which are given by us, or by the above-mentioned see, or as they may be given henceforth, of whatever person, height, dignity, nature or status they may be, whether they are also (as has been said) in episcopal, royal, royal-internal, or whatever other dignities are excellent, both ecclesiastical and secular, men and women, chapters, colleges, convents, also the mendicant orders, and the hospitals of the knightships, brotherhoods and high schools.

But those who, contrary to the contents of this bull, do the good deed of absolution to such or to one or some of them, we condemn to the sentence of excommunication and punishment, and forbid them to preach, to read, to administer the sacrament, to hear confession, and declare and clarify to the same transgressors and despisers that we want to act much harder against them, both spiritually and secularly, after which we see that it will be necessary, and nevertheless everything that they have done with absolution, or otherwise, shall have no power nor force.

But that these our proceedings may be brought to the common conscience of all, we will cause to be pinned and hung up slips of paper, or

Leaves to the gates of the church of the Prince of the Apostles and St. John Lateran at Rome, wherein they are held, which shall proclaim, as with their vocal outcry and public display, these proceedings, so that those who prosecute these proceedings may not pretend some excuse, or attract ignorance, as if they had not come before them, or had not known them. Since it is not credible that what is publicly proclaimed to all remains unknown to them.

But that these present Epistles, and all and every thing written therein, may be so much more widely known as to be revealed in many cities and places: we command in these writings the worthy brethren, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and ordinaries in all places where they are, and in virtue of holy obedience, with stern commandment, that they, by themselves, or another, or others, read these epistles, after they have received it or have knowledge of it, at least once a year, or more times if they deem it necessary, to proclaim it gloriously in their churches when the greater part of the people gather there for worship, and that they bring it into the hearts of the believers in Christ, preaching and transfiguring it.

Therefore, let every man be forbidden to think that it behooves him to break this leaf of our ban, censure, abjuration, proclamation, transfiguration, revocation, linkage, prohibition, command and precept, or to resist it with unrighteous thirst. But if anyone dares to do so, let him know that he will run into the disgrace of Almighty God and His holy apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, Anno MDXXL Quinto Kalen. Aprilis [March 28], Pontificatus nostri Anno nono.

Read by me

John's Arberium, Romanum Subdiaconum
Apostolicum.

Martinus Luther.

I had will to continue joking with the drunkards, so the displeasure goes to me so close that the miserable, desperate people, pabst, cardinals, and whoever they are, the

not only are they so insolent that they are allowed to pretend their drunken slobber and monkey fervor to the Christian people, but they also raise their poisonous blasphemous mouths to heaven, and draw on the highly praised name of the high divine majesty, and thereby malign the souls, which is, after all, vain blasphemy, so that I lose my laughter. What does this poisonous bull of blasphemy teach? Only anger, suffering, cursing, malice to body, goods and souls, the destruction of all the world for the sake of miserable temporal wealth. Call it the good of the holy church and St. Peter's inheritance that now St. Peter must be a duke of Ferrer and king of Sicily. What shall I say? It surpasses the infernal dragon's wickedness and his apostle's malice all word, sense and thought. I know of nothing more annoying to do than to ask each one to read the Bulla for himself, and yet see how all the letters rage and rage against Christian love, hope, faith, patience, meekness, poverty, etc., and still want to be feared. But I say this much about the Pabst's and this bull's dread: Whoever dies of dread shall be buried with farts.

But in order to do a service to the wretched papists, and to show them their idols, that they may see what they worship under the pope's mantle, let us strike it out a little.

On the first chapter Glossa.

St. Paul Tit. 1, 9. 11. teaches that false teachers should be shut up with scripture, and that a bishop should be powerful to punish the gainsayers with sound doctrine; and Peter 1. Ep. 3, 15. 16. says: "You should always be ready to speak in defense to all who demand from you a testimony of the hope you have, and this with fear and litter." Behold, these are words and phrases of the Holy Spirit. Now let all the papists say, whether this is held in this bulla? There is no litter, no fear, no letter of sound doctrine, no testimony, no protective speech, but only naked condemnation, banishment, malediction, cursing, raving and raging, as if he were a man possessed. Therefore, everyone can see the spirit from which this bulla

The people of the world are not the ones who are so unchristian that they strive against the teachings of the Holy Spirit.

If that were enough to protect the Christian faith, to silence it with violence or to defend it with malice, I would not know better Christians and bishops than the tyrants and murderers, or the wicked women and possessed people. So the pagans would not have done wrong to the martyrs, and the Jews would have crucified Christ. And with this I want to shut the mouths of the papists, who almost complain that I am mordant. To be biting is useful and necessary, that one punishes the hard heads; but I have never once blasphemed or maligned anyone, but always blasphemed and granted good. What do they say to their idol and abomination, who does nothing but blaspheme and curse? Why do they praise and honor him?

St. Paul did indeed denounce false teachers, Gal. 1, 8, but that was for the sake of the Gospel, to save God's honor. But where he was touched in that which was his, there he always denounced. But the pope, as this bulla unashamedly shows, does not deny anything else than that he wants to break off his wealth and power. For behold the arch-whoring face of this bulla: no one is banished for breaking marriage, harming his neighbor, blaspheming God, but, as the women and children howl, and avenge themselves with blasphemies and say: Yes, he takes this from me, does this to me 2c. Only what touches the pope himself is blasphemed; what touches God he does not remember. Is this not an impudent, thirsty presumption, thus publicly acting in the church against God's commandment, and yet pretending that one should be afraid of it, and accept it for right and good deed?

Therefore open your eyes, you blind and wretched papists, and see your idols, how they work against Christ, and how they do the devil's work. Christ says Matth. 5, 44. and Luc. 6, 27-29.: "Love your enemies, and do good to those who hate you; forgive those who abuse you, pray for those who do you evil. He that taketh away thy coat, let him have thy skirt also. He that smiteth thee on one cheek, let him have the other also. He that taketh thine own, fetch it not again." These words of Christ are so harshly commanded, that on the

End of Matth. 5,49.] So he who hears these words of mine and does not do them is like a foolish man who builds his house on the sand" 2c. Although the great flat scholars of the high school of Paris have made advice and admonition out of it.

Now say, how does this bulla hold to these words? Christ says, "He that taketh away thy coat, let him have thy skirt also." The pope says: "Whoever takes a penny from me, let him be of the devil body and soul, a heretic, an apostate, and let all misfortune befall him. What is this but as if an angry whore said to him who takes a penny from her, "Let thunder and lightning strike you dead, and let all the devils take you? Behold, dear papists, your idol. Behold, such abominations must be read every year in Rome on the holy green Thursday; that is to teach and govern Christendom.

And although the Scriptures report some maledictions done by God, Christ, apostles and prophets, it is not proper for anyone to maledict if he wants to. Otherwise, what would be the use of the teaching that we should not maledict? Scripture maledicates what is contrary to the gospel, and yet extends its malediction no further than to the betterment of souls through bodily evils. But the pope paints through and through, body and soul, property and honor, friend and companion; seeks no improvement with it, but vain destruction, and speaks no more than: Give again, and leave me in peace, and let me bear no cross.

Therefore the example of the Scripture is not to be followed further, except in the things in which it maledicates; for thou wouldest say, The Scripture maledicates the gospel of the brethren; therefore I also will maledicate what I desire. As the asses of Paris speak: We will also condemn without cause or evidence, as the apostles wrote without evidence. No, not so, dear asses; if thou wilt follow the example of the Scriptures, follow it purely and simply, or else let it stand.

And even if the ass of Pari's lies were true, that Christ's word was only advice and well-meaning, nevertheless the pope should keep them, because he does not only want to be in the state of perfection, but also the head and the most distinguished in the same state.

Now the same class is obliged to keep them as a commandment, and not as a counsel. Therefore, as you direct, the pope is a blasphemmer, a maledict, a curser; and not only is he so, but he also teaches the same as if it were right and proper. O abomination! O *abomnatio*! it wants with you to the end, you overprotect it too high!

Let this be said to you papists in service to the first chapter, there you have your idol, the devil's larvae.

On the other chapter Glossa.

He banishes and maledicts on account of the Holy Trinity, God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I ask, where did the command happen to him? Is it because of this, Matth. 16,19: "What you bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven"? Christ did not use it more than binding; and the infernal dragon's mouth of the pope maledicts and curses for binding. The binding is only an outward separation of those, who put themselves with sins into the malediction, to get them out again, so the most holy father pushes them in. This is called feeding the sheep!

Now the blessed name of the divine majesty is that which gladdens all hearts, in which we are blessed, baptized and saved. The great, poisonous blasphemmer uses this to malign, and frightens, kills, tortures the soul with it, so that one should become hostile to the name. If he were to throw the highly sacred name into a puddle of dung, or trample it underfoot, or otherwise blaspheme it, I would count him among other vile blasphemers. But now that he is the chief evil-doer of all the world, and the greatest enemy of God, as Paul proclaimed of him [2 Thess. 2:3], he must curse and abuse him. And yet shall be well done; call such weapons of righteousness, as all others confess that it is great sin, if they only curse with God's name; hold their peace if they should boast therein of His command. St. Peter said, 2 Petr. 2, 19: "They are children of malediction," namely, that they are worthy of malediction and can do nothing but malediction.

He saw, the chief hawk, that he was too weak for the kings and princes to steal their land and cities and obtain with the

Sword, that is why avarice teaches him to turn to the Maledeien with God's name. There is fulfilled the word of St. Paul, *Radix Omuium Malorum Avaritia*, "Avarice is a root of all evil" [1 Tim. 6, 10.]. And see if these four Latin words with their first letters do not have the name Uoma all by the sending of the Holy Spirit, so that such evil should reign in Rome?

To the third chapter.

The sea robbers also have to take their turn; the noble man of war can fight, build, plant, protect, escort, and direct all things, only with cursing and malediction. If the lazy ass sits on his chair, such a great thing wants to rule only with curses. But who is the greatest sea robber and sea murderer, but the idol with his malediction, who catches, paralyzes and kills all souls. He has fallen on the temporal, physical good and being, therefore he can do nothing spiritually, but the contradiction. For temporal and spiritual cannot be provided for at the same time. Christ says: "You cannot serve mammon and God" [Matth. 6,24].

To the fourth chapter.

That is a little bit once, that he is putting new tariffs. That would be good, but what does the fool mix in that is foreign and does not concern him? Kings and emperors should take care of such things; the pope should wait for the gospel and see to it that no spiritual customs and burdensome new doctrine arise anywhere. But what does he do? He himself burdens the world with unspeakable laws, translates, robs, steals, takes, suckles from all bishoprics and monasteries with cloaks, annotations, reservations, letters of indulgence and with such innumerable tricks and deceptions, and presents himself as if he wanted to ward off new customs. Is this not a hateful, hostile, vexatious malice and mischievousness against the most holy See? who receives a spoon, and devours the house; ape us that we should fear and praise such things. I mean, that is, to coward the gnats, and to swallow a camel, as Christ says Matth. 23, 24. And even though it is unjust to raise new tariffs, should one for that reason

And shall they maledict them, and not amend them in some other way? Ah! What shall the lying, wicked chair of the devil do, but only lie, deceive, and do all deceit? Nothing good shall come out of the abomination.

To the fifth chapter.

No one shall ever forge the letters of the Holy See, that is, blasphemy, soul murder and world destruction. When will it be that he will also once counterfeit those who act against God's ten commandments? No, he must act against them himself; otherwise he would have to malign no one more than himself. Therefore, such monkeys and fools must be maledicted, so that only the avarice and the lies remain strong.

To the sixth chapter.

He told those who brought iron and wood to the Turks and the Saracens that he was serious about doing good for Christianity. But if he were Christ's governor, he would stand on his feet, go and preach the gospel to the Turk, risking life and limb. This would be a Christian way to fight the Turks and to increase and protect Christianity. For what is the use of fighting the Turk physically? What evil does the Turk do? He occupies land and rules in time. We have to suffer the same from the pope himself, who is taking our life and limb, which the Turk does not do. For this purpose, the Turk lets everyone remain in his faith. Neither does the pope, but forces all the world from the Christian faith to his devilish lies, so that the pope's regiment is ten times worse than the Turk's, of course, in body, goods and soul. And if Christ himself should not overthrow the final Christ, according to the Scriptures, and one ever wanted to exterminate the Turk, one would have to start with the pope.

To the seventh chapter.

These eight following chapters maltreat and bite impudently, just for the sake of the belly, like a dog for the sake of the leg. Nothing is sought there, except that the Holy See should eat, drink, walk idly, flaunt, lust, rule, rage, rave, lie,

I do not want to deceive, abuse, disgrace, seduce, and all evil may be handled safely and peacefully. There shall be nothing suffered, no evil, no piece of the cross, no emblem of Christ; that I no longer may nor can act the holy chair. Another one also tries his hand at it. What more I want to say, I command King David in the following psalm, where you will see that he has seen everything before, how the pope would lie, deceive, maledict, blaspheme God, devastate Christianity, and neither praise nor seek anything but his own, and what pleases his soul.

Glossa of King David on this bull, Psalm 10.

O Lord, why wilt thou depart so far away, and hide thyself in the times of adversity?

2. the wicked will be hopeful, and burn up the poor; they will fall to their wills what they only think of.

3. for the wicked praises what is according to the pleasure of his soul, and the covetous blasphemes and blasphemes God.

4. the wicked before his puffed up wrath asks for no one, even God is nothing before his vain will.

5 His doings are always anxious for the height. Thy judgment is from his face. He speaks boldly against all his enemies.

He says in his heart, "I will not waver; I will be without evil forever.

7 His mouth is full of cursing, deceit and avarice; under his tongue is toil and labor.

8. he sits in wait in the courts, within he kills the innocent, his eyes secretly look upon the poor heap.

(9) He lieth in wait, as a lion in his den; he lieth in wait to catch the poor man; he catcheth the poor man, when he hath drawn him into his net.

010 And he breaketh and bruiseth, and breaketh the poor heap with his violence.

011 He saith in his heart, God hath forgotten her, and hid his face. He no longer looks at her for and for.

Arise, Lord God, raise your hand, do not forget the poor.

013 How long shall the wicked blaspheme God, saying in his heart, Thou askest nothing of it?

014 Thou lookest on them: for thou art he that lookest on both the work and the raging, that it may be given into thy hand; and the poor company shall leave it unto thee, who art the helper of the fatherless.

15. break the arm of the wicked, and seek the wicked, and you will never find his ungodly nature.

016 The LORD is king for ever and ever: ye heathen shall perish out of his land.

17 Thou, O LORD, hast heard the desire of the poor; thou wilt prepare their heart, and thine ear shall be attentive.

018 That thou mayest judge the cause of the fatherless and the poor, that no man henceforth be afraid on the earth.

Interpretation.

Lord, why will you stand so far away and hide yourself in times of adversity?

For if God had not abandoned us for our ingratitude, it would not be possible for the final Christian to perform, let alone accomplish, such monstrosities in the church (as follows). Therefore, the prophet David points out the right reason and power of papal tyranny, without merit. As St. Paul also does in 2 Thess. 2,3. f. 7-10. The prophet marvels at the greatness of tyranny, that God can suffer it, and yet shows that it is our fault, and to act against it with pleas and cries.

This is now the first and highest part, by which the pope has arisen and committed the following abominations, that God has departed for our ingratitude, and not a little, but far away departed, and so completely abandoned in all the world that no word of God nor regiment has remained, but vain tyranny of papal laws. To this end he has hidden himself, so that he not only abandons us, but also cannot be found or asked for in the dreadful adversity. Indeed, there is no one who has asked. And though there have been some who have opposed him, to them he has not

has let them perish, and has destroyed and condemned the truth together with them, as Daniel also says, that not only the people but also the truth has been destroyed; therefore it follows:

V. 2. the wicked is hopeful, and burns up the poor; they fall on their wills, what they only think of.

This had to follow, since God departed and left us, and did not resist. So we see that the pope of all things has lain above, has burned many Christians, by which he has become trustworthy, proud and secure, and has brought a terror into the world, that he does and lets freely according to all his will; also insolently puts in his decrees: no one may defend him, judge him, punish him, but he shall judge all the world. That is why they do everything they can think of with the utmost courage. This is the time of adversity, when Christ says Matth. 24, 21, that their like should not have been nor should be. The burning alone shows enough that the pope is the one this psalm is referring to. For this alone is his own punishment, since he rages with them, and the prophet also denounces them; to the heathen he gives the sword, in the previous psalm. The Christian church does not kill bodily, therefore let it be said whoever will; the fire tyrants may not be Christians, the work alone knows who they are.

V. 3. The wicked praises all that is according to the lusts of his soul, and the covetous blasphemes and blasphemes God.

No flatterer has ever attributed such great, high things to the pope that the pope would have been ashamed once and said: This is too much; but everything is confirmed and made articles of faith, and the same booklets are praised for being Christian. These are called pious, faithful children of the Holy Roman Church. This is because the pope cannot err, has all the rights in his heart, he is the head of all people on earth, an emperor of the world, who also commands the angels and has power in purgatory, and equal power with Christ, who may also act above, apart from, and against God's word and scripture, and the like, before which one's heart would burst into a thousand pieces, who only hears it.

not to mention to see. He himself praises all this in his decrees. All this is done by the remaining courage and hope that God will not prevent him.

Now everything is to be done for the sake of avarice, as he says here. What is the Pabst's regiment but pure avarice, the like of which has never been so experienced in any regiment of the world? This is the reason why it is said that the final Christian will find the treasures of the earth. I mean, he has found them, that there is not a penny left in the world that is not his.

Benediction is the blessing, in which the pope is powerful, and directs all things with; so that he also in the greeting of his bull, instead of divine grace, with which the apostles are used to greet, he needs a new, unashamedly applies the snot and slobber of his grace and apostolic benediction, and his benediction is held great. But underneath he devours the world with his avarice, and blasphemes God, because he does not use anything with his blessing, except lies and error, and what is useful to him; but what is divine and truth, because it must be against him, he does not use. So this blasphemy is that he uses God's name in his blasphemy, and calls divine that which is devilish; and so, for the sake of his avarice, he affirms with God's holy name a vain devilish nature, work, lies and error, makes all the world receive the lies as from God, and gives them to God, thinking that it is truth. O blasphemers and blasphemy! what a flood of sin is this in all the world!

V. 4. The wicked before his puffed-up wrath asks for no one; neither is God anything before his vain will.

We see this also in the pope, how he boasts, defies and puffs up in his bulls, how contemptuously he threatens kings, princes, bishops and all the world, as if they were little worms before him. And even if one holds God and God's word against him, it is a mockery before him, since it points to pure courage where he wants to go. There is no fear to act in God's words; it behooves him, he says, to interpret the Scriptures, one should confess to his interpretation. If not, hell is fourteen times hotter than if you go against God.

You have sinned against God; the wrath of these vipers is so high and puffed up beyond measure. He has no other care in all his laws, except that he may ascend upward and abide therein, as those who read it must confess.

Therefore, it is undoubtedly God's will that the Pope's letters have a different name from all the letters of the world, and are called bulls. Bulla is the name of a bubble on the water; yet it has the very quality of the pope, that it is miraculous. For it blows itself up, and comes from the rain: so the pope also boasts, praises and exalts himself, and boasts that he comes from the word of God, Matth. 16, 18.

For as the rain is unfruitful when it falls into the water, and makes only water bubbles, so also God's word, when it falls into such worldly hearts, makes only vain inflated hearts. Item, the bubble leads on the water, as if it should say: I am not water, but I rule and sail on the water; and yet there is nothing more fragile 1) in all creation. She has also closed her back to heaven, and below she is even open, as if she wanted to grasp all the water. So does the pope, does not want to be a man, but floats above all men, does not ask for God, and wants to devour all the world, and yet there is nothing more unfounded on earth than his tyranny.

And in this he does not ask for God's judgment, who, after all, threw Lucifer down from the Hinnacle because of such arrogance, and lets all the world know his judgment: "He who exalts himself shall be humbled" [Luc. 14:11]. But the judgment with all its examples is far from his eyes, yes, so far that he sets the contradiction for articles of faith, that the prophet is justly astonished. He freely attacks those who oppose him, is boldly against them, banishes and condemns them, is certain of his cause, and may put it for articles of faith; so he does not respect God's judgment at all, as this bulla alone sufficiently shows. His only concern is that people do not become heretics about him, that is, that he does not remain high. It is the nature of lies that they are fortified with worries and fears, because they stand on their own. But the truth is sure, lets God prevail, because it stands on God. Even so the liar is presumptuous, bold against his adversaries, but the truthful one defies God alone.

V. 5: His doings are always anxious for the height. Thy judgment is from his eyes, and he speaketh boldly against all his adversaries.

You will find almost no bulla or laws of the pope in which he does not declare how he is the supreme one, and how dangerous it is for the souls if they are not subject to him, that, just as a woman fears when she is to give birth, so the pope fears at all times that he may bring this fruit into the world, and that he may collect his highness from everyone; that [it] is also annoying to read, if it were true at the same time. Therefore, with this word the prophet has actually put his concern and melancholy in such! Trade troffen. For in Hebrew it reads: *parturiunt*, that is, his ways or works always give birth to the height; that is, all that he does is only that he bears himself with sorrow and anxiety, as a woman bears a child with pain.

V. 6 He says in his heart, "I will not waver, I will be without evil forever.

This is the certainty that the pope and papists boast of and rely on. For they say that the papacy is founded on the rock, since Christ says of Matth. 16, 18: "On the rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. On this they stand secure, saying that the Roman see shall remain, and neither kings nor emperors may move it. And this is true. But they do not know that such their security is proclaimed here and in more places, and that only the last day shall destroy the papacy. But God makes him sing: No evil will touch me, who will harm me? I sit on the rock, and I am sure that the holy Roman church will remain the head. Everything is full to overflowing, full of his spiritual right, and the Holy Spirit has just met everything beforehand.

1) In the original: "Brechtlichers" -precious; probably a misprint.

V. 7 His mouth is full of cursing, deceit and avarice; under his tongue is toil and labor.

The pope could not align nor maintain his tyranny with love and favor, because niemayd wanted to grant it to him. Thus he could not conquer her with the sword. But since he did not want to do without her, how could he do otherwise, but with cursing, malediction. How could he do otherwise than with cursing, maledictions, blasphemies, lies, and bells on the simple, pious hearts? You can see this clearly in this drunken bulla. Christ has kindly drawn the world to himself with benedictions and love; his governor throws them under himself with curses and maledictions. Recently: The Holy See can do nothing but curse, has never done anything with love, but everything with cursing and dread, so that the prophet says that his mouth is full of cursing.

In addition, everything he says, he teaches under God's name. For he teaches no gospel truth; therefore the prophet also rightly says, "that his mouth is full of deceit. Because he does not teach the gospel, but only his word, and yet pretends to the people for Christian truth, it is not only lies, but also deception. Deception is more than lying. Deceiving is when the lies are guessed at and come to pass, as happened to the Pabst's lies. Lying, however, can be missing: Deceiving is not missing. He is deceived who believes the liar.

Enough has been said above about the vain avarice of the priesthood. For that is why he curses, lies and trusts so furiously under God's name, that he is the supreme one, and brings all the world's goods, honor, body and soul under himself. Therefore it is rightly said, "His mouth is full of avarice." Look at this bulla, what the pope seeks with his full mouth.

But that is still the worst, that "under his tongue is toil and labor". Look at the tyranny of the pope, with which burden he weighs down the world, and presses on body and goods, but much more on the soul with his innumerable, infallible laws. He has rounded off all our goods, made so many erroneous things with laws of praying, confessing, fasting, celebrating, dressing, eating, drinking. How he alone has confused marriage! Recently, it is wondrous

that he has not also forbidden farts in secret places; the world he has laid full, full, full of fearful, deadly, hellish cords. That is, "toil and labor under his tongue." See how just the prophet has recognized the pabst so long zn ago. Christ made us free and put a light burden on us, but this one puts all the devils on us, and does it with vain cursing, deceit and avarice. Behold, ingratitude, there you have your reward!

V. 8. He sits in wait in the courts, in secret he kills the innocent, his eyes hide on the poor heap.

Sitting" means teaching, or being a teacher, and the prophet wants to say: He sits down himself, throws up a chair, and makes himself the teacher of all the world. As we also see that the pope always puts on the word: the holy Roman chair, the apostolic chair; item: We are the master of all the world, the rule of faith, the fountain of all that is right, and the like dreadful thing much more, that now nothing is more famous nor meaner than the Roman chair. The prophet knew that such a name would arise, which is why he called it so long before.

But he does the sitting with "lurking in the forecourts". Here he separates the forecourt from the *Sancto* and *Sancto Sanctorum*, just as churches now have three parts, the choir, church, and churchyard. These are three different lives: the inner one, *Sanctum Sanotorum*, is the rightly believing being; the other one, *Sanctum*, is the being in good works, which God has commanded; but the court is the being of ceremonies and own works. Thus the prophet wants to say: The end-Christ with his unmistakable tyranny, does not teach faith, not good works; but only the outward glitter and pomp of self-invented works, as there are clothes, food, place, person; as we then see all this in the Papist teachings and life all too superfluous. That means: "sitting in courts", being a teacher of such jugglery.

But, because he pretends such for serious good, he deals with the souls, like the bailiffs with the birds. It is vain lurking and setting traps, since the souls saw themselves inside; they fall on it and think it is the right thing to do.

Beings. Behold, that is sitting on the trap in the forecourt, teaching and placing the souls in external, human laws and works.

Therefore it also follows, "that he kills the innocent in secret", that is, in the spirit. For no man sees how horribly the souls are strangled by him. On the outside it seems as if they do good and he teaches them right, but on the inside he destroys faith. For everything that comes out of baptism, when it grows up, falls into this snare and lurk. That is, the innocent secretly killed.

This is also, "that his eyes hide on the poor heap," that is, he lies in wait and sees how he will kill them, lest someone contradict him and reveal his lies. For many have begun to punish such a thing, and want to betray the traps, but they are suppressed by force, as follows:

V. 9: He lies in wait in secret, like a lion in his den; he lies in wait to catch the poor man; he catches the poor man when he draws him into his net.

This is all said about the teachings of the Pabst in the world, since he not only deceives, but also drives and forces people into the net of his teachings. Whoever does not want to enter his net must be a heretic; and there he lies in wait like a lion, through bishops, high schools, monasteries, and before that through heretic masters. These are the right holes, in which this lion lies and lurks, so that the gospel does not arise and the truth comes forth. He has a real lion's wrath in here. We also see how his bishops, priests and monks scream and rage in the pulpits, wanting to tear the rocks apart with malice, fight and fence, so that they draw the people into the Pabst's net and keep them. Where this does not help, they do as follows:

V. 10. And he breaks and bruises, and shatters the poor heap with his violence.

So the pope boasts; if his lion's wrath will not help, since he rages and rages, and cannot compel them with banishments and false terrors and traps, he also takes hold of them with worldly force; and those he cannot burn, he chases away, and brings them

Otherwise, it will be destroyed or hindered. Therefore here the prophet sets three pieces one after the other. First, where he can, he breaks, crushes and destroys him. If not, then he bends him, but imprisons him, or otherwise hinders and resists him as he can. And if not, he will cut him down, so that he cannot be of use to others; he will tear down those who follow him and listen to him, so that the word must fall. He has done this to many, especially to the Greeks and Bohemians and many others, with the help of secular princes. He also boasts of this in the last chapter of this bull.

V.11. For he says in his heart, "God has forgotten you and hidden his face. He no longer looks at her for or against.

This makes the final Christian bold and strengthens all his willpower, that God is far away and does not resist him. The stubborn fool interprets this as if God is with him on his side and he is doing well and right. Therefore he may conclude and judge: whom he condemns, God will never look upon. Thus it also happened that the pope destroyed many of them, especially Vigleph and Hus with their comrades. Then the papists boast, saying, "Behold, many have risen up against the Holy See; but how have they fared? they are distraught, destroyed with shame, and the Holy See remains.

Behold, the Spirit has declared all this of them before, for they are blinded, and do not see that their thing continues because God has departed, so that error may rule by force, as St. Paul also proclaimed. So now the papists must shout and sing: "God has forgotten you," they are eternally damned with shame, he will never recognize them; but we find the holy Christians. What shall we do to such an abomination? Shall we strike with fists? No, but to storm the devil's abomination with prayer, as follows:

V. 12. Lord, stand up! God, raise your hand, do not forget the poor.

GOD must break this tyranny alone, moved by our praying and crying; as also St. Paul says that Christ will be with

We will then see whether the glory of the papists will endure, that those who have told the truth to the Holy See will be destroyed with shame.

V. 13. How long shall the wicked blaspheme God, saying in his heart, Thou inquirest not after them?

There you see that blasphemy most corrupts the spirit, that the pope still boasts above all his abominations that he has done well, and has rightly condemned, driven out, burned and disturbed the poor. For this is blaspheming God and attributing to Him such high, great abominations. It is also most painful that we should not only see the innocent burned, condemned and disgraced, but also let the final Christ boast and praise himself of righteousness. This will break his neck, because he has come so high that he cannot come any higher. Therefore also the spirit becomes long, and says: How long shall the blasphemy last? Move God by the Most High, namely by His honors.

V. 14. You see them, for it is you who sees both the work and the raging, that it may be given into your hands, and the poor people may be given to you. You are the helper of the orphans.

What a fine little verse this is! He places vengeance in God's hands alone, and says: "It is not as the papists say, that you have forgotten us; yes, you look at us, and have never let us out of your sight, although it seems otherwise. For there is none that doeth as thou doest. But how do you do? Thou seest both the labor of the oppressed, what they must suffer at the hands of the tyrant, and also the raging of the tyrant against the poor, and judgest rightly. Therefore it shall be given into your hands to judge both of them justly. And because the poor man knows this, he abstains from revenge and impatience, lets it remain on you, puts it in your home, and waits to see what your hands will do. And he does this safely, because he knows that you are not the tyrant's but the orphan's helper. Not the murderers and burners, the papists, but the burned and killed thou wilt save.

V. 15. Break the arm of the wicked, and seek the wicked, and you will never find his ungodly nature.

That is: It does not cost you much effort, take away his power. But this is what you do: "Seek out his wickedness," that is, make it obvious, and it will fall from itself, so that nothing more will be found of it. There is no finer war against lies than to reveal them and let them be seen; then it is already over with them. Therefore the pope and his regiment must be disturbed, not with the sword, but with search and investigation, so that it may be found who the dear See is; as it has already begun, and God has begun to hear our prayer, amen.

V. 16. The LORD is King forever and ever; you Gentiles will perish from His land.

The pope does not believe this, but he will soon find out. There is no king nor lord over God's land, that is, over the church, but God alone; therefore, no doctrine shall rule there but his word. This verse says that there is an end to the fact that the pope has exalted himself as king over this land and has ruled with his word. They are pagans and not Christians, because they rule themselves and do not let Christ rule.

V. 17. You have heard the desire of the poor, O Lord; you have prepared their heart, your ear will listen.

That is, the time that thou hast stood afar off is ended; now shalt thou hear, and come near again; for thou hast prepared and prepared such hearts as shall pray, that thine ears may hearken: for it is thou that teachest and hearest prayer.

V. 18 That thou mayest judge the cause of the fatherless and the poor, that no man henceforth be afraid on the earth.

The verse sings of the last judgment, because it speaks that after the Pabst's disturbance and redemption of the poor no man shall be a tyrant and feared on earth anymore. This would not be possible if the world should stand longer after the pope; for the world cannot be without tyrants. And so it is true

the prophet with the apostle, that Christ shall reverse with his future the holy Roman see. May God grant that it be done soon, amen.

I hope that when everyone sees how this psalm so evenly portrays the papacy, and the pope does the same as is said here, and no other regiment from the beginning of the world can be so even, everyone will realize that he does not have to wait for another final Christ. It is impossible that on earth there should be a worse regiment that kills more souls than the pope; I will be silent about the drudgery of the flesh. Therefore, only cry out and pray to God against the chief scoundrel of all God's enemies, until he comes and delivers us from him; we have the righteous one. Say Amen, whoever is a Christian.

D. Luther's journey to Worms, what he encountered on the way, and the cunning attempts of the Archbishop of Mainz, with which he, along with other papists, wanted to keep Luther beyond the set time of his safe conduct.

550 Luther's report of the attempts made by the archbishop at Mainz to deter him on the way and prevent him from coming to Worms, or at least not within the set time of the escort.

The entire historical narrative, which is scattered here according to the division made, is already in the 22nd volume of this collection, in the table speeches, Cap. 55, § 2, according to the relation of Cordatus. However, because this differs significantly from the one that is said to have taken place over the table at Eisleben in 1546, as Aurifaber reports, the latter is also included here. It is found in the first Eisleben part, p. 38; in the Altenburg edition, p. 733 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 587. The other pieces of this report, which have the same location, are numbers 555. 559. 560. 561. 568. 570. 573 and 578. Together they are also found in the Erlangen edition, vol. 64, p. 366, supposedly after the Jena edition, in which, by the way, our writing is not found. The locations given in the Erlangen edition are all wrong, because they do not refer to our writing, but to the "detailed description of Luther's action at the Diet of Worms" given in No. 592 in this volume, which was not included in the Erlangen edition. The incorrect references find reprinted from the old edition of Walch, Volume X V, p. 116 a, No. 592.

Because you desire me, the doctor said, that I should tell you how it happened to me at Worms, I will gladly do so, and show every opportunity so that you may know the reason for it and recount it if I were once dead.

First, Emperor Carol summoned me to the Imperial Diet and sent me an escort and a herald to accompany me to Worms. As we now come with each other to Weimar, since I received from Duke John 2c. 2c., the cry comes that Doctor Martinus is already condemned at Worms, and his books. And that would be true. In addition, the messengers under Allgen came to me, who were to post the imperial mandate in all cities, that D. Martinus was condemned by the emperor.

3rd Now the herald asked me and said: Doctor, do you want to leave? Then I answered, "Yes, regardless of the fact that I had been banished and that this had been publicized in all the cities, I still wanted to go away and keep the imperial escort. This was the first practice that the Bishop of Mainz exercised, by which he thought to prevent me from going to the Imperial Diet, and then to protest against me, as if I had disregarded the imperial escort and had been contumacious. As I now came to Oppenheim, and had only three days of escort, so much was practiced by the Bishop of Mainz that the Emperor sent his confessor, a Barefoot monk, called Glapion, and her Majesty's highest body chamberlain, Paul von Armbsdorf, to Franz von Sickingen in Ebernburg, and requested that he should demand Luther to come to him, so that her Imperial Majesty would order some of the guards there to deal with him. Upon this, Franz von Sickingen sent Martinum Bucerum with several advisors to meet him, with the offer that he would show him all loyalty. Then Bucer came to me, as Franz von Sickingen was a servant at that time, and wanted to persuade me to come to Franz von Sickingen in Ebernburg, because Glapion, the emperor's confessor, was supposed to talk to me there about several things. But I did not realize that the bishop of

1) Should probably mean: procediren.

Mainz that he should lead me around until the time of the escort was over before I came to Worms. Then I said to Bucer, "I will go away; if the emperor's confessor has something to say to me, he can well do so at Worms," and so I went away. This was the other practice that the bishop of Mainz lacked, and I learned later that he had done all this.

551 Myconius' report of the sermon that Luther preached on the way to Worms in the Augustinian monastery in Gotha, as well as of the illness that afflicted him in Eisenach and what else he encountered on the journey to Worms; also of his great heroism.

From Myconius List. Lei, p. 87.

Anno Domini tausend fünffhundert 1) und zwentzig war der grossen Reichs-Tag zu Worms, dahin war Lutherus durch den neuen Käyser Carolum auch citirt: und beleitet ihn einen Herold, von Wittenberg durch Erfurt, Gotha, Eisenach 2c. And when he preached a sermon in the Augustinian monastery in Gotha, where a good crowd was present, the devil tore some stones from the church gable, which was against the city wall, after the sermon: they had lain solidly for over 200 years, and have not been rebuilt to this day. Therefore, in 1532, the same monastery was made a parish of Gotha and a school.

At Eisenach, Luther became very ill, so that his life was in danger. But when he had a vein cut, and Johann Oßwald, debtor, then mayor of Gotha, gave him some noble water to drink, and he then passed away, he became better. He left the next day. When he went to a city, the people met him for the city and wanted to see the miracle man, who was so sinful, and who could again lay the pope and all the world, who again considered him a god. Some comforted him on the way very badly, that because so many cardinals and bishops were at the Diet in Worms, they would all burn him to powder, as happened to the priest in Costnitz. But to them Luther replied: "And if you made a fire that would burn between Wittenberg and Worms all the way to heaven, it would be burned to powder.

1) Here lacks: "one".
2) In Myconius: "the".

But because he was required, he would appear in the name of the Lord and step into the mouth of the behemoth between his great toes and confess Christ and let him rule.

Luther's sermon on Sunday Quasimodogeniti, April 7, 1521, preached on the road to Erfurt at the request of many.

It is in the 12th volume of the St. Louis edition; Col. 1386.

Luther's letter to Spalatin, from Frankfurt to Worms, that he had been ill on the way, but hoped to arrive with God in Worms. [April 14, 1521.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamtarchiv (with the inscription by Spalatin's hand: Dx Ovvsñuevul M. D. XXI); printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 314b; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 586 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 120. The time determination, which De Wette already has, results from the diary of Canonicus Wolffg. Königstein 1520-1548, edited by D. G. E. Seitz, Frankfurt 1876, p. 18. That the rubrication of this letter by Spalatin: ex Oppenheim is based on an oversight is clear from Luther's indication of the place: Francokurāiae. Thus, Spalatin's statement in the next number that Luther wrote him the well-known heroic word "from Oppenheim" is also based on the same oversight.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To his [friend] in the Lord, Magister Georg Spalatin, court preacher to the Duke of Saxony, who is to be highly honored in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! We 3) are coming, my dear Spalatin, although Satan is trying to prevent me by more than one illness. For all the way from Eisenach to here I have been ill, and am still ill, in a way unknown to me until then. But I hear that also the mandate of Carls,

3) Namely Amsdorf, Peter Suaven, a Pomeranian nobleman who studied in Wittenberg, and the Augustinian monk Johann Petzensteiner. Schurs had been in Worms before.

4) This is the sequestration mandate of March 10, 1521, which was posted on the church doors in Worms on March 26 and publicly proclaimed on March 27. Printed in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 61, No. 18.

to frighten me, had been published. But Christ lives, and we will enter Worms, should all the gates of hell and the mighty ones who rule in the air oppose it? 1) I am sending you copies of the letters of the emperor. 2) It has not seemed good to me to write other letters before I have first seen what has to be done, so that we do not make Satan puffed up, whom rather to frighten and to despise is my firm intention. Therefore, provide an inn. Fare well. Frankfurt, 1521, Martin Luther.

Spalatin's Relation of Luther's Journey to Worms.

From Spalatin's Annals, p. 38.

In 1521, the year after Christ's birth, D. Martinus Luther was appointed by the Emperor on his Imperial Majesty. Majesty. Although the good man's books were forbidden and burned by the Emperor at the first Imperial Diet in Wurmb, he still appeared obediently on the citation sent by the Emperor, with such high Christian courage that he wrote to me, Spalatin, from Oppenheim in Wurmb: He wants to go to Wurmb, even if there were so many devils in the world, as there were always mirrors.

Luther's own account of his confident answer to Spalatin.

See No. 550.

As I am now not far from Worms, Spalatinus (who was outside with Duke Friderich, the Elector Blessed) sends me under his eyes, warns me not to enter, nor to put myself in such danger. But I told him again: "If there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the roofs, nor would I be in such danger.

1) According to the report of the "Tischrede", Cap. 55, § 2. Luther spoke such words to the herald when he asked him if he still intended to go to Worms after the imperial edict against him had been publicly posted in many places. This may have actually happened before Luther wrote them to Spalatin.

2) Probably the documents reported in No. 543 and 544.

I wanted to go in, because I was fearless, I was not afraid of anything. God can make you so mad; I don't know if I would be so joyful now.

The litany of the Germans, which was made around that time, is still well arranged in Papal language, but nevertheless in and for the cause of Luther.

Between March 6 and April 16, 1521.

This writing appeared in Latin under the title: *Idtarna Osmiarioruin, sivs suppleatio ad douro optiimiln IQÄxiinuin pro Oorwania, dadiin in oslekri <znnncinrn Oorinaniao nrko in die oinernni in Quart. The time: in dio oinornn, the 13th of February, is fingirt, because at that time it was not yet certain that Luther should come to Worms, while it says afterwards: "if he will arrive now soon in Worms". Therefore it will have to be put into the time assumed by us. It is found in Kapp's "Nachlese", Theil II, p. 500. In von der Hardts nutoAr. I^utksr., toro. III, p. 46, this writing is erroneously placed in the year 1520, but Spalatin has added the year 1521 in his own hand.*

Translated from the Latin by Joh. Frick.

Litany, that is, humble prayer to the triune God, for Germany" held in a certain famous city in Germany on Ash Wednesday [February 13, 1521].

Kyrie, Eleison. Christe, Eleison. Kyrie, Eleison. Christe, hear the Germans.

Christ, hear the Germans.

HErr GOtt, Father in Heaven. Have mercy on the Germans.

Son of God, Savior of the world. Have mercy on the Germans.

God Holy Spirit. Have mercy on the Germans. Holy Trinity, some GOtt. Have mercy on the Germans.

Holy Mary, pray for the Germans.

Holy Mother of God,

Holy Virgin of all Virgins,

Saint Michael,

Saint Gabriel,

Saint Raphael, pray for the Germans.

All holy angels and archangels, pray for the Germans.

All holy orders of blessed spirits, pray for the Germans.

Saint John the Baptist, pray for the Germans.

All holy archfathers and prophets, pray for the Germans.

Saint Peter,
 Saint Paul, Saint Andrew, Saint
 James, Saint John, Saint Thomas
 (namely the twin, not Aquino's),
 Saint James, Saint Philip, Saint
 Bartholomew, Saint Matthew, Saint
 Simon, Saint Thaddeus, Saint
 Matthias, Saint Barnabas, Saint Lucas,
 Saint Marcus, / . please for
 the
 ~

Malice Inquisitor, and Silvester Prierias, the
 Pabst's very cunning fox-tail.

All holy monks (excluding the villains, of whom there
 are an infinite number) and hermits, pray for the
 Germans.

All holy priests and Levites (but you hardly meet one
 or the other these days), pray for the Germans.

Saint Mary Magdalene, Saint Agnes, Saint Lucia,
 Saint Cecilia, Saint Agatha, Saint Catharine, Saint
 Clara, Saint Elizabeth,

please for the Germans.

All holy apostles and evangelists, pray for the
 Germans.

All holy disciples of the Lord, pray for the Germans.

All holy innocents, pray for the Germans.

Saint Stephen, Saint

Lawrence, Saint

Vincent, Saint

Fabian, Saint

please for the Germans.

Sebastian, Saint

Blasius,

Saints John and Paul, pray for the Germans.

Saint Cosmas and Damianus, pray for the Germans.

Saints Gervasius and Prothasius, pray for the
 Germans.

All holy martyrs, pray for the Germans.

Saint Sylvester, Saint

Gregory, Saint

Martinus, Saint

Augustine, Saint

Ambrose, Saint Jerome,

> please for the Germans.

Saint Nicholas, Saint

Louis, Saint Julianus,

All holy bishops and confessors (of whom there were
 very few), pray for the Germans.

All holy Doctores (by calling them holy, M. N. Theolo-
 gists are excluded from this), pray for the Germans.

Saint Benedict, please for the Germans.

Saint Franciscus, pray for your followers that they do
 not slander everyone.

Saint Anthony, pray for the Germans.

Saint Dominic, pray for all your monks, especially for
 Hoogstraten, the heretical

All holy virgins and widows, pray for the Germans.

All God's saints and holy ones, come to the aid of the
 Germans with your intercession.

Be merciful, spare the Germans, dear HERre GOtt.

Be gracious, hear the Germans, dear HERre GOtt.

Protect the Germans from all evil, dear Lord God.

Before all sins,

From your wrath and disfavor,

From a nasty quick death,

Before the pope's tyranny,

From the devil's and the Roman-minded cunning and
 deceit protect the Germans, dear Lord God.

Protect Alexander, dear Lord God, from hatred and
 envy and all evil intentions.

Before the papal indulgence,

Protect the Germans, dear Lord God, from all the
 monks' misbeliefs and customs.

Purify the Germans from the godless courtiers, dear
 HERre GOtt.

From the fornicating spirit help the Romans, dear
 HERre GOtt.

From lightning and thunderstorms,

Before eternal death,

From the false prophets (also called pseudo-
 theologians),

From those who come to us in sheep's clothing (but
 inside are ravening wolves, whore hunters and
 peelers in the skin), protect the Germans, dear
 HERre GOtt.

Protect the Germans, dear Lord God, from the terrible
 dread, bulls and banishing rays of the popes.

Before the insatiable avarice of the Roman-minded,
 close your chests, you Germans, and open your
 eyes.

For the sake of the living God, Aleander is up to no good.	will arrive, 1) protect and preserve from all Venetian poison.
From the sophists' mockery turn away our ears, dear Lord God.	Redeem the souls, which the scholastic theologians seduced by their mindless sermons, from hell again,
From all ungodly and heretical teaching purify the schools, dear Lord God.	To bring the scholastic teachers to the knowledge of the true God.
From the unspiritual questions save the theologians, dear HERre GOtt.	But lead those who have so far strayed from the path of truth onto the right path.
Free the minds of the great from all evil suspicion against Luther, dear Lord God.	Eradicate those godless theologians.
From all barbarism empty the chairs, dear HERre GOtt.	Push down the preachers who teach what is not proper from the preaching chair,
From the yoke of Roman rule free the Germans, dear HERre GOtt.	Pope Leo of the Tenth curb rage.
From the palliis to be solved by Rome help our bishops, dear HERre GOtt.	To keep the brave German knight, Ulrich von Hütten, M. Luther's trusted friend, steadfast in his good intentions and in the business he has taken on for M. Luther,
From the annals make Germany loose, dear HERre GOtt.	King Carl's confessor (Glapio), who is very repugnant to Mart. Luthern very much disliked, teaches him better.
From all rage help Aleander, dear HERre GOtt.	Do not let yourself, Lord Jesus Christ, once crucified, be crucified again by the godless Christians,
From evil and evil-minded robbers help Carl, dear Lord God.	Burn with fire the buildings of some divine scholars that have become whorehouses.
Through the mystery of your holy incarnation,	To allow the priests who defile themselves by illegitimate intercourse to become legitimate again, as before,
Through your future,	To free the Aleander from the madness,
Through your birth,	The apostolic nuncios, who act unjustly from all sides against the princes assembled at Worms against M. Luther, vigorously stir from above,
Through your baptism and holy fasting,	Martin Luthern, who had already been condemned once without cause of unheard-of things, revive in the Godly hearts.
Through your cross and suffering,	To the German princes now assembled at Worms, bestow your grace, peace and mercy.
Through your death and burial,	Prevent Carl, who does not yet have a mature understanding of the important points of faith, from making a hasty judgment,
Through your holy resurrection,	To show eternal goodness to all our benefactors, to redeem our souls from eternal damnation, to convince the Italians, Lombards and Romans that you are the true God,
Through your miraculous ascension,	Give and receive the fruits of the land,
Through the future of the Comforter of the Holy Spirit help the Germans, dear HERre GOtt.	Grant eternal rest to all who have died in the faith.
At the last judgment help the Germans, dear HERre GOtt.	And graciously hear us Germans.
We Germans ask you to hear us, to spare us,	Hear us, dear HERre GOtt.
You would be merciful to us Germans, bring us to true repentance.	Son of God, hear us, dear Lord God.
Govern and preserve your holy church (not the Roman one).	
To keep the apostolic Lord (not the one who arrogates to himself dominion over the whole world) and all spiritual orders (of which there are none at all at present, since almost nothing is known about them as they were in use in the ancient Church) in the holy faith,	
Give peace and true harmony to the common being and all Christian princes,	
Fortify and sustain us Germans in your holy service,	
Awaken in our hearts a desire for heaven,	
Martin Luthern, the indisputable pillar of the Christian faith, when he now soon in Worms	

1) This indicates the time of writing, namely between the citation (March 6) and Luther's arrival in Worms on April 16, 1521.

Lamb of God, who bear the sins of the world, have mercy on us.

Lamb of God, who bear the sins of the world, hear us.

Lamb of God, who bear the sins of the world, have mercy on us.

Christ, hear us,

Christe, hear us^

Kyrie, Eleison. Christe, Eleison. Kyrie, Eleison.

Our Father 2c. And lead us not into temptation.

Psalm.

Make haste, God, to save us Germans.

Lord, make haste to help us.

Those who take after the soul of us Germans must be ashamed and become disgraced.

They must return and be heard who wish us ill.

They must suddenly become ashamed who are shouting: There, there.

All Germans must rejoice and be glad who ask for Jesus Christ, the living Son of God, and who love your salvation and the freedom of Germany must always say: Praise be to Jesus.

But Luther is poor and miserable; God, make haste to him.

Lord, you are the helper and savior of the Germans; you our God, do not consume.

Glory to God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit 2c.

Prayer.

My God, save us Germans, your servants who trust in you.

Lord, be a strong fortress for us in the face of our Roman enemies.

Our enemy in Germany must not succeed, and the child of wickedness must strive in vain to harm us.

Lord, do not deal with us according to our sins, and do not forgive us according to our transgressions.

The Romans may always pray for their pope.

Let the Lord overthrow him from his harmful chair; let him crush his head; and let him who made himself God and Lord of the whole world be and remain Beelzebub forever, amen.

My God, help us Germans as we hope in you.

Lord, send us help from the Holy Place and strengthen us from Zion.

Lord, hear my prayer and let my cry come before you.

Prayer for the Roman Church.

Let us pray.

God, who is always gracious and merciful, listen to our prayer and hear us Germans, who humbly plead with you for the welfare of the Roman-minded: You will enlighten their hearts, take away blindness and ignorance from them, and convince them that after this life they have to wait for eternal punishment, and that they cannot possibly become blessed because of the indulgence and pompous nature that has broken out among them, which is flatly contrary to the teaching of the Gospel, so that they may honor, fear and love you all the more fervently. And so that this may be done, tear out and banish from their hearts all malice, vice, guile, deceit, ungodliness, abominations, heresies, blasphemies, damnable avarice, unnatural and more than animal lust, arrogance, simony and blind lust, according to which they would like to suck and exhaust all peoples under the sun. Let their tyranny, which they have let loose against us for so long and which has spread through all countries and nations, finally come to an end; but let them themselves, which all Germans heartily desire, be reconciled with you, so that they may learn to recognize the true God and Jesus Christ the Crucified, follow you, and through him become worthy to enjoy the unceasing joy of his most blessed vision for all eternity.

Prayer for the Emperor Carl.

Almighty and merciful God, grant your grace to our Emperor Carl, so that he, with sharpness (without listening to the flattery and ear-blowing of the Roman-minded and the Cardinals), may put an end to the disorderly, vain, lecherous and lustful nature, that is spreading widely in the church, for your glory, for the benefit of the preaching ministry and of all believing Christians, and that in your church, which has been in extreme decay for so many hundreds of years, a godly life may begin to be led again, according to the pattern of the ancients. Through our Lord Jesus 2c.

End of the litany.

Section Five of Chapter Seven.

It tells of Luther's arrival in Worms and his solemn interrogation before the imperial majesty and the imperial assembly, as well as of the malicious attempts of the papists to deprive Luther of safe conduct, even to kill him.

From Luther's arrival and public entry into the city of Worms.

557. letter from Veit Warbeck, canon of Altenburg, to Duke Johann of Saxony, on April 16, 1521, concerning Luther's arrival at Worms.

From Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch," p. 68. With omission of the beginning and end at Seckendorf, Nist. lid. I, p. 152, in Latin, and likewise in the German Seckendorf, p. 346. We give the text according to Förstemann.

To the illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Mr. Johansen, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my gracious lord. 1)

In S. F. G. selbs Handen.

Sublime, Highborn Prince, my poor prayer to God Almighty and submissive obedient services are ready to E. F. G. before. F. G. ready beforehand. Gracious Lord! I humbly inform you that Doctor Martinus arrived here in Worms today on a Saxon cart, together with a brother, 2) Niclas von Amsdorf, canon of Wittenberg, and a learned nobleman from Pomerania, called Schwofenius [Suaven]. In front of the chariot rode the skillful imperial Ernhold together with his servant, and led his clothes with the eagle on his arm. Behind the carriage rode the licentiate Jonas 3) of Nordhausen with his servant.

a servant. Many also rode out to meet him, namely from my most gracious lord's court He Bernhard von Hirschfeld, He Hans Schott, Albrecht von Lindenau, Schenk, with six horses, and many other servants of the princes. So he arrived here at ten o'clock, when they were eating. Nevertheless, more than two thousand people surrounded him until he reached his inn, in which he Friedrich Thun, he Philipp von Feilitzsch and Ulrich 4) von Pappenheim were ordered to lie, not far from my gracious lord at the inn "zum Schwan", where Duke Ludwig of Bavaria was located 2c. So I am told, great honor was done to him in the places in charge of my most gracious and gracious lord in Saxony 2c. He also preached in Erfurt, Gotha and Eisenach, and those from Erfurt met him on two roads and kept him honest. But in Leipzig they did not ask much about him, only the council gave him wine. As far as I am able, I will let E. F. G. know how things are going with him in the next message. However, E. F. G. did not omit to inform him of this, 2c. the Romanists did not receive any favor that he came, and were not a little frightened. For they had always hoped that he would stay away and not appear, so that they would have reason to proceed further against him. But the old God is still alive, he creates everything according to his divine will. I did not want to behave in the best way to E. F. G. in all submissiveness. I also entrust myself to F. F. G. as my gracious lord, in the hope that F. F. G. will graciously signify me. Dat. Worms, Tuesday after Misericordias Domini [April 16] in the year 2c. 1521.

E. F. G.

subordinate chaplain Veit Warbeck.

4) In the original "vtz", which Seckendorf correctly resolved by Illrious.

1) In the original this inscription is damaged and therefore in Förstemann with leaving gaps. But at the beginning "vnd leuchtigen" will not be read correctly. We have added the same.

2) That is, an Augustinian monk, namely Petzensteiner (see No.553), since the rule of the order required that an Augustinian should never walk or travel alone. This against Förstemann, who says: "Without doubt Luther's bodily brother is to be understood". Seckendorf correctly: Monachio.

3) Justus Jonas had joined the train in Erfurt.

Spalatin's account of Luther's arrival at Worms.

From Spalatin's p. 39.

Lutherus thus came in God's name to Wurmbis, Tuesday, after Misericordia Domini [16. April], with Mr. Justus Jonas, who was still a licentiate of law, and not yet a doctor of holy scripture nor provost of Wittenberg; although it was ready for the time being, and Peter von Schwafen, and witness to the Comptor of the Order of St. John, with whom Vtz von Pappenheim, the hereditary marshall of the empire, and Fridrich von Thun and Herr Philipp von Feilitzsch, both knights, also lay in residence.

559. Luther's own account of it.

See No. 550.

Now I entered Worms on an open little wagon in my cap; all the people came to the gaff and wanted to see the monk D. Martinum, and so I drove to Duke Frederick's inn, and Duke Frederick was also afraid that I was coming to Worms.

The bishop of Mainz would have done something else, because I should have come to Worms, and if I had been as fearful as he, I would not have come.

B. The discussion of the papists immediately after Luther's arrival. Luther's arrival, whether he should be given a safe conduct, and of their efforts with the emperor, as well as other cunning attempts to get him to do so.

560 Luther's relation, how the most secret imperial councillors, immediately after his arrival, when asked by the emperor how Luther's matter should be handled, advised him to put Luther aside. The imperial majesty, however, answered them most praiseworthy; whereby it is also reported how the princes

of Palatinate and Brandenburg have clashed so sharply over this point that they have resorted to knives.

See No. 550.

When they had learned of this, my enemies, they had partly suggested to *the resoinäenää Lää publioa* that I should not be escorted. But the Count Palatine of the Rhine and Elector had opposed this, that I should be escorted, that and no other; he was also at odds with the Elector of Brandenburg, Margrave Joachim the Old, that they both took up knives.

The emperor had also ordered his most secret councilors, of whom there were eight or ten (among them D. Modo, Bishop of Palermo, Chancellor in Flanders), to deliberate, now that Luther had arrived, in what manner her Majesty should proceed with Luther; they replied: they had discussed the matter more extensively, and found no better counsel than that her Majesty should first set Luther aside and have him killed, and allege the example of Johann Hus, whom Emperor Sigismund might well have led to the Concilium in Costnitz, yet he was burned. Reason: because one was not obliged to give or keep a heretic a certain escort. But Emperor Carl had given this laudable answer: What one promises, one shall keep.

Luther's more distant account of how the Papal Nuncio Caracciolus at Worms had urged that he be burned, but Cochläus had offered to enter into a disputation with Luther if Luther would give him safe conduct, and how badly Cochläus was treated.

See No. 550.

Caracciolus stopped hard at Worms, they should burn me, but the Count Palatine and princes of Bavaria did not want to break the escort; it would also have turned into a riot.

den. Cocleus also came to me in Worms and wanted to dispute with me, and I alone was to recite the escort. But Vollrat von Watzdorff would soon have given him the escort, so that blood would have run over his head if he had not been resisted.

**562. Ulrich von Hütten's letter to Marinus Caraccioli, in which he criticized him for his
The people of the country are called upon to leave Germany.**

This letter is found in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), toin. II, fol. 176 b.

Translated into German.

Ulrich von Hütten, knight, wishes Marinus Caraccioli, Roman envoy, to do right.

1 I did not believe, Marinus Caraccioli, those who praised you with all their might as an honest man, when you were in Mainz two years ago. For I had never heard that a good envoy had ever been sent here from the city of Rome. But I would not have thought that you would be so boldly wicked that in the midst of this great assembly of princes and people in Germany, where the cause of freedom is being fought and Roman injustice is being denounced more strongly than ever, you still dare to carry on your haggling and to go in for theft, robbery and drudgery. For what else is there to think or say, since at the time when we Germans are working in earnest to shake off the yoke, you are collecting and extorting money from nowhere but from ourselves, so that you can fight against us? We cry out against your cruel and abominable tyranny, resist violence, reject rule, do not want to accept power, sigh for freedom, and act so firmly and steadfastly in this that it has long been thought that you are now hated enough by the common people and have been called evil. But you (Caracciole), as if this did not concern you at all, always continue in your wicked hucksterism as surely as ever, and forgive the sins of some for money, but allow others to sin for a named sum of money. You demand money for marriages from the young people in Germany. You let yourselves be deprived of the human and divine right, of what is permitted and respectable, of everything.

buy. Faith, religion, right and wrong you offer for sale, take gold and silver against the laws, and extort money from our poor in an ungodly way. O outrageous insolence! 2c.

And soon after

(3) Neither the present state of things nor the change of times, which you must pay close attention to, frightens you from such a beginning. For how could I believe that you could have turned either to shame, of which you Romans have nothing, or to the fear of God, whose existence you do not believe? Behold, the righteous legate, the only pious envoy of the pope of all, whom the Roman courtiers have so praised to me with great pomp and ostentation! What should you not have subjected yourselves to exceedingly ungodly acts, if you had lived in the times when in Germany no voice, not even sighs, were free? when against your wickedness no one dared to protest or even to look askance? How could you have acted there, since now, when we hope for the best and things are not at all bad for us, you dare to seek profit so miserly, in such an immoderate way, and in our fatherland here, before all the eyes of the people who are rushing to freedom from all sides, to confiscate our fortune 1) and to drag the money away from here?

You do not even secretly pursue this shameful profit, nor do you think of covering your shame in any way. That is why I could not believe it for a long time when I was told that you had demanded 300 gold florins from someone who wanted to marry the woman whose godfather he was. When he, both because he despised you for being stingy and because he saw that such a deal of yours was most unjust and had been made against all law and honor and the laws of Christ, he would have offered eight. You would have answered: "For eight gold florins you would not speak a word, let alone spoil seal and letter. But shortly after that I heard more and more. Only because of one piece you answer me: What right or fairness is it that he who has taken a wife, whose son he once led to confirmation, should pay 70 guilders? And yet you insisted so stubbornly that when he offered you only 10, you told him to pack himself away before your eyes, as if he were unpleasant to look at, because he thought so little of your antics.

1) Instead of confiscari we have assumed conūsors.

How dear you have not sold the freedom to eat all winter long! For whom have you granted the use of butter without money, or of milk and eggs, since you yourselves eat the flesh of four-footed animals and birds without distinction? But I interpret this as a kind of fate of the Christian people, that they could have been heard in such a way that they did not see that if something should not be eaten, unless the pope had allowed it beforehand, it would at least never be proper to buy it with money.

6 But this is your outrageous insolence, that you do what people of understanding could not suffer at any time, in these turbulent times, when everyone is striving for a change. Could your fierce desires not have lasted until this Diet was over? which is being held primarily to make Germany free again, so that you can no longer rob, cheat and steal here, and so that those to whom it belongs to rule the world are no longer interest-bearing for the city of Rome. Let the corrupt customs which you have brought from there be abolished, and the consciences of the people be freed, so that the truth may come to light, the gospel may resound in the ears of the common people, and the popes' statutes may be banished beyond Africa and India, so that the bulls may not plague Germany henceforth, and they may remain as far away from us as the legal disputes from the city of Rome which may arise over our ecclesiastical authorities. In short, that the Germans be free and true Christians 2c.

And soon after

7 You caught the opportunity and persuaded the young prince [Carl] a little, since he did not yet know what was due to him or in what state he would be. He gave in, he conceded. But what will he do when he learns afterwards what all German emperors have learned before, that the Roman bishops do not keep their word, and neither bind themselves to covenants nor promises, nor comply with treaties? What will he do when (as will certainly happen) he is cunningly deceived by you, deceived with lies and deceit, shamefully and ungodly deceived and cheated? Will he not then realize that we have given good counsel in vain, but you have carried out your cunning and deceit for so great a reward? But, O how wretched he is, if he does not already realize that he is being deceived, since you act so openly, and do not go further into your traps. Yes, wretched he is, if he, deceived by you, so

that he cannot return other than to his greatest detriment. For this I worry, and therefore warn him in times. But now he does not hear, for you have held the ears that belonged to me; you have occupied and taken them. But they will be open once for a best counsel; wanted only GOD, before suffered harm. For no sirens are heard by shipmen with such danger, as the Roman caresses by the Christian princes.

(8) This I say to you, Marine, and command it: Stop perverting the mind of the pious youth; stop having the head of the princes and the people of the Germans as a mockery. Or do you hope that you can be tolerated here any longer, since you not only plunder us but also make us worse? Yes, I tell you, get out of here and leave at once. For although Germany, with its great damage, already knows that no honest orator or legate will be sent from Rome, it has nevertheless experienced this in you in particular. So much is lacking that it should suffer this forever that I rather believe it will avenge this on you before you take it into your heads to guard against it. You will well know what great misdeeds have come from you among the people. You see that they point at you with their fingers and wave over you. You see and realize clearly that we can no longer contain our pain and frustration. After being out of our minds for too long, we are now becoming wise again. Since we have been charmed with miraculous things for so many years, our eyes have now opened. Let, you villains, your ungodly thievery, your shameful robbery, your drudgery and unjust judgments stand. We have tolerated this for so long.

The darkness that you once covered over our eyes has departed from us. The gospel is preached, the truth is taught, your laws are no longer valid, the Roman vain things are mocked. One hopes for freedom. Do not think that you will continue to have as your prey those who have no desire for injustice. Henceforth you will not be allowed to corrupt the morals, to strangle the consciences, to turn the minds. Your power has been stopped. And if you do not put away your fair of exceedingly trivial things, if you, as another Verres, do not cease to sweep away (verrers) the money from here and to open your mouths after our goods, then you will certainly burden yourselves with a great misfortune 2c.

And soon after

I will break through to Carl's ears, which have been blocked for so long, yes, break through. He will, he will finally hear my good advice and turn against your will to the one who advises what necessity requires. I will speak before him of your glorious deeds and your most sacredly led mission. I will tell what you have sought here, what you are found to be. I want to say that all of you, as much as you have been sent here, you envoys of the Roman bishops, have been traitors to Germany, oppressors of this nation, and violators of all law and all equity for several centuries now. That is what I want to say, and you will have nothing to say against it. Therefore, pack yourselves from here, pack yourselves. What are you delaying, wicked one? Why are you hesitating, the worst thief of all those who have ever stolen here, the worst robber, the worst cheat, the worst rogue? Know that this is a most salutary warning for you, and also the last!

Some rhymes written on Joh. Cochläus at Worms.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Part II, p. 494.

Rhyme translated into German by M. A. Tittel.

O thou mad brood of snails, 1) Who does evil to Luther. Who is called the pattern of fools, A race of sluggish spirit!
That gives rise to poetry, And pushes the horns away, Since only mud and drool are, Since a foot finds to tread (stomp), Which one cheaply calls peelers. Nor from mad fools separates, Which one counts with to hypocrites. Whose envy torments Luther. A sex that misses itself, If it is impudent and blasphemous, Luther is fallen by them, That yet stupidly (great) bounces back.
And much sooner a rough cow, And what one finds of donkeys, Can run them down, Than Lutherum, Löffelmann. 2)

1) Ooeülea from Oooülaeo. (Walch.)

2) In Lat.: Limius Oooülasns. But one need not bind oneself so much to the words. Luther calls him

C. Von Ulrichs von Hütten Ennunterungsschreiben an Luther, und von dm Briefen, die er sowohl an den Kaiser Carl als auch an die zu Worms versammelten Geistlichkeit Luthers wegen hat.

564 Ulrich von Hütten wrote two beautiful letters of encouragement to Luther, so that he would not lose heart in the certain hope of divine support, but would continue to fight joyfully for the cause of Christ. From Ebernburg, April 17 and 20, 1521

Two single prints of these letters have appeared, one at Wittenberg in octavo under the title: vuuu all Martiuuiri opistolao Illriei ud Hütten, the other under the same title in quarto, without indication of time and place. A copy is in Spalatin's manuscript at Weimar, Lls. Kpolutini, toi. 419 a. Printed in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), toin. II, toi. 175; in Burkhard's oonnent. de llutteni tatis ao ineritis, Theil II, p. 210 and in the works of Hutten edited by Wagenseil, von Münch and von Böcking. According to the latter edition, these letters are reproduced in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 123, but the first letter with the wrong date "April 18, 1521" instead of: April 17.

Translated into German.

a. First letter.

To Martin Luther, the unconquerable theologian and evangelist, my holy friend.

May the Lord hear you in the day of trouble! The name of the God of Jacob protect you! He send thee help from the holy place, and strengthen thee out of Zion. He will give you what your heart desires and confirm all your requests! May he grant all your requests and hear you from his holy heaven, in the strength of his right hand [Ps. 20:2, 3, 5, 7]. For what else shall I wish you, most worthy Luther, my dear venerable father, at this time? Be confident and undaunted [Jos. 1:6]. You see what kind of game is being played against you and what kind of door is being opened. You must never doubt me. If you remain steadfast, I will cling to you until my last breath.

otherwise, from cochlouri, snot spoon. And a spoon man, who has honed his trunk more to drink and eat than to speak anything clever, can also rhyme with this fchlammy snail and monkey species. (Walch.)

002 Many dogs have compassed thee round about, and the company of the wicked have gathered themselves about thee. They have opened their mouths against you like ravening and roaring lions [Ps. 22:17, 14]. They are glad and rejoice over you who pursue you 1) [Ps. 40:17], but the Lord takes care of you [Ps. 40:18] and will repay the arrogant. He will help you against the wicked and stand by you against the wicked. He will repay them for their wrongdoing and destroy them in their wickedness [Ps. 94:2, 16, 23]. So it will certainly happen, so, my Luther. For God, the just and strong judge, can no longer remain silent about such great wickedness.

3) Fight bravely for Christ, and do not give way to the evils, but face them with confidence. 2) Suffer as a good fighter for Jesus (2 Tim. 2,3), that you may awaken the gift of God that is in you, 3) and be sure that he in whom you have believed will be able to preserve your salvation until that day (2 Tim. 1, 12). I also want to be brave; but the difference between our two intentions is that mine is human, but yours is much more perfect and already depends entirely on divine things. If God wanted, I could see with what kind of eyes those 4) look at you, what kind of faces they make, how they pull together their eyebrows. I imagine all kinds of terrible things, and I believe that I am not wrong; but I hope that it is time for the Lord of hosts to cleanse the vineyard that the wild sows have rooted up and the wild beasts have destroyed [Ps. 80:14]. So much recently in greatest concern for you. Christ keep you! From Ebernburg, April 17, 1521, in haste. 5)

Ulrich von Hütten.

b. Second letter.

Martin Luther, the invincible theologian and evangelist, his friend,

Hail in Christ, the Savior! Who will stand with me against the wicked? Who will stand by me against the wicked? [Ps. 94:16.] My Savior Christ, heavenly Father and Holy Spirit!

1) Huts here has taken yuasrsntks in this meaning.

2) Vir^Λ. ^sn. lib. VI, v. 95: In N6 esckk malis, contra anäsntio ito.

3) The Erlanger Briefw. has äonniin in the text here, but the note: "Is äonurn to be read? cf. 2 Tim. 1, 6."

4) "those" at the Reichstag.

5) Bucer delivered this letter to Luther on April 18, and then immediately returned to Ebernburg.

What do I hear? What horrible things? Is the fury itself no fury compared to their hostile madness. I see that swords and bows, arrows and guns are needed to resist the rage of evil spirits. 6) But you, dearest father, be confident and undaunted. Do not be overthrown. They may scream, roar and rage; give these monstrous beasts the middle finger. More and more I see that every good thing is favorable to you. You will not lack defenders, and you will never lack avengers. 7)

(2) As to what you write, that you have been dealt with secretly, it is not for us to advise you. For we have no doubt that you will choose what will be best and insist on it. Many have come to me, and out of zeal, concerned for you, have spoken thus: If only he did not waver! If only he would answer steadfastly! If only he would not let himself be struck down by any terror! I have always answered to this: You would be a Luther. And I have also met it. For I see that you have answered in such a way that we will not lack. But persevere to the end. May Christ help that the wicked, to their great sorrow, find you so. The caution of my friends, who fear that I would dare something too great, compels me to hold still, otherwise I would have rushed some mob to the walls [of Worms] for those with the hats. But in a little while I must be released; when I am released, you will see that I too will serve in this way the spirit that God has awakened in me. 8) I sincerely desire to see you; love urges me to do so. Tell us about all your things and conditions, and farewell. 9) We have Franz [von Sickingen] fervently on our side. The rest is written to Spalatin. Again, farewell. Before you leave, would you like to see Franz; he wishes that very much. I hear that they will release you in a short time, a certain emperor writes to me. Christ keep you. From Ebernburg, April 20, 1521, in haste, without having read it over.

Ulrich von Hutten.

6) This sentence is missing in the Wittenberg.

7) Instead of this sentence, the Wittenberg edition reads: For the thing which you do is not yours, but that of him to whom the Lord said, Sit at my right hand 2c.

8) This sentence is missing in the Wittenberg.

9) The following to the date is missing in the Wittenberg".

565 Ulrich von Hütten's letter to Emperor Carl the Fifth, in which he emphatically presents to him the great oppressions of Germany by the Roman court and its courtiers, and humbly requests that he not be so taken in by the papal side, and that he paternally ensure general peace, but especially that he hear the innocently accused Luther, who is ready to take responsibility with such joy of conscience, and that his apologies take place.

April 1, 1521.

This letter is found in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, col. 182. We have given the title of a German translation at No. 594.

Translated into German.

To the unconquerable and pious Emperor Carl V,
Ulrich von Hütten wishes Heil!

If you, O emperor, had decided of your own free will to suffer some great and special harm for the common good of Germany, or to put yourselves in obvious danger, we Germans, according to our love for you, would certainly prevent you from doing so with all our might. For we would grieve that we should be helped with your harm or the slightest disadvantage for you. But how much more is it fitting to do this, since you, deceived by error, are going to your doom to our great harm and immense misfortune for the common being! For what else is there in Luther's cause but the oppression of our liberty and the fall of your state, and the desecration of your sovereignty? For this reason, I think, all of us must earnestly endeavor to prevent you from hastening to such a great ruin for the common people and yourselves, and to bring it about, with exhortations, warnings, and also with petitions and entreaties, that you will take such a decision, which will be respectful both to your race and to your high dignity. Not that I think anything is done by you out of evil mind or opinion, but because between a well-meaning conscience and exceedingly harmful motives you cannot discern what you should resolve and do.

2 Therefore, at least for a while, chase the priests away from you, who are not at all suitable to be bothered with in these times, partly because it is known that this kind of people never did your ancestors, the Roman emperors, any good.

partly because we really see that they are now advising exceedingly harmful things. For what could happen to you that is more unjust than what they say, if you, since you have accused Luther, do not give him any room for responsibility? and what greater misfortune and worse example could befall us than if a defender of common freedom were punished? And yet they are pushing you with all their might so that both may happen. Yes, they say that they have already forced an edict upon you by which the world is forbidden to read his books, and even his life is endangered, to great general sorrow; first, because we see that the freedom that is now reemerging is thereby opposed by a great obstacle; second, as it is said, that the unruly people have proposed this burden for him through their council, not because they thought of promoting the common good, but because they only want to exercise their revenge.

What is it to you, then, that the bishops' private hatred should concern you, in this assembly, when the princes and peoples of Germany have come together, to deal with common matters? Has this state ever rendered such services to the common good that the most necessary matters are left undone, and only the questions of the clergy are dealt with? However, even if this should be the case, I still think that because they desire things that are quite unreasonable and highly detrimental to this realm and to all of Christendom, they should not be allowed to do so.

They accuse Luther and cry out about him as a heretic, but they do not see what hard accusations these are. They complain and shout, but in such a way that they want to have him condemned by you unheard, and they lie in your ears with all their might that you should not let him come to any responsibility. Has Germany ever seen anything more unjust? Has it ever experienced greater shame? Not to hear a man accused of such a great crime, when he asks for it; and not to suffer him to apologize or to answer to what is put before him, when he so ardently begs for it? My skin shudders and I tremble and am horrified at the mere thought of such a thing, which is contrary to all ancient usage, custom, law, justice and religion.

5 For if Luther were not the man who restored the evangelical truth, which had not been practiced for so long, and preached it with the utmost diligence and earnestness, who distributed your sovereignty against those who made it contemptible, he would not have been the man who had preached it in the first place.

If a man who has committed a crime is not given room to answer for it, it is not possible according to any law or legislation that one who has committed a crime should not be given room to answer for it. For even murderers are not deprived of their defense. And there is no crime in the world so great that it should not be brought to trial rather than punished.

(6) Therefore it comes about that you see all honest hearts in all classes in disquiet. For as far as Germany goes, there are certainly no pious people who do not take this matter very much to heart. They are astonished at the unusual thing; they are surprised at the unheard-of, unbelievable news; they are almost beside themselves when they consider such an extraordinarily atrocious, despicable, wicked, ungodly thing. Some also show by grumbling and indignation how badly they are disposed to it.

Only the idle priests are exempt from this, and they complain against Luther because he has written and spoken against their statutes, against their excessive power, against their indulgence and dissolute life, for Christ's teachings, for the freedom of the fatherland and for good morals. For they murmur that their gain is destroyed, and their leisurely life interrupted, and their tyranny subdued. Because they interpret this differently, the opinion prevails almost everywhere that all of Luther's teachings contain the worst heresy. Therefore, Pope Leo has sent these envoys from the city of Rome, who, with the help of the bishops and cardinals, are to prevent this innovation from arising for them, and that the authors of such a movement are soon suppressed and subdued unheard, unsworn, unreprieved, and without knowledge of the matter.

8 On the other hand, all pious and brave men, who are an ornament to you at home and your strength outwardly, whose counsel in time of peace and whose power in war can be useful to you, unanimously desire that nothing be done contrary to the laws, contrary to law and usage. Therefore, you must now come to the decision whether you would rather strike before the head those who have always been accustomed to put themselves in danger for their emperors, and are still more than willing to do so, or whether you would prefer to please those who, if you were not happy now, would soon leave you; and whether you would rather harm those who have to protect your kingdoms and lives than deprive them of their completely dishonorable pleasure, who, when you are in the slightest distress, neither help you nor help you.

We know how to give advice. For what do the adversaries seek with Luther's condemnation other than their good life?

9 Therefore look to those whom you can regard as faithful companions in all danger, and make them your friends, and bind them to you with benevolence and gentleness, which can be both an honorable comfort to you in peace and a firm protection in war. But let go of those who are inexperienced and impatient not only in wars but also in all important deliberations, and who can help you nothing in adversity but can only harm you in happiness and prosperity. But these you have now, when everything is well around you, closely associated with you, and they cling to you as loyal friends, but if the tide should turn only a little, and misfortune should break in, you would soon see them running despondently from you as shameful turncoats and renegades. For they are used to be only companions of fortune, and even then not at all faithful.

(10) I could prove with examples, which are not far-fetched, into what misfortune these people have often plunged our princes before, into whose friendship they had crept just as flatteringly as these now, and show how such people's manner and habit should be reasonably suspicious to us.

(11) For if there were nothing else, should it not be considered that, since they are under the Roman Pontiff and are bound to him by oath, they cultivate the friendship of the emperors only to the extent that it is right for him, and do not get involved in anything from which they cannot wriggle again if he calls them back and withdraws them? They often speak and do many things here to please him; indeed, they advise you to do nothing that they do not recognize as good and useful for him. You would see this clearly in their actions now, if they had not taken over your whole mind beforehand. But think better of it. Rip such a great pledge out of the hands of the wrongful owners and give it back to those whose property it should be.

(12) In saying this, I do no injustice to the holy bishops and priests. For if they are such people, they will not want to deal with matters that do not concern them. For they have to take care of the churches, and their office is to benefit everyone with warnings, exhortations and teachings, to harm no one, and to diligently see that no soul is lost through error; which they cannot do if they are at the same time involved in the affairs of the kingdoms. But the exceedingly proud and lecherous people only take the episcopal

They are eager to take on the dignity, but they do not want to carry the burden; they seek the benefit, but they flee the burden; they pursue the profit, but they shun the work. And since they defiantly boast of their title and name, and enrich themselves with money and fortune, they nevertheless leave their work and office behind in such a way that we see that they completely despise what they are.

(13) Then you, O emperor, must also see to it that you do not incur some blame in this matter. For you must leave them to their official duties and not drag them from spiritual to worldly matters, but rather, if they fall into other matters, direct them back to their own and stop them. But as things stand now, you must consult brave men and not allow yourselves to be abused by such weaklings and opulent people. If they are of any use, it seems most unreasonable that Germany should be governed according to their will. For they are generally devoted to pleasure, and indulge in laziness and sloth; in important deliberations little can be done with them. That is why they take and give everything to pure lasciviousness, and although they pretend to be godly on the outside, they are secretly full of all shame and evil deeds. But if they are pious and righteous, as they should be, you owe them honor and respect, but not riches and dominions. And if you give them these, you do wrong, because they are thereby led away from their office.

But there is another thing behind it. You will not retain the love of Germany (which is now very great toward you and which you must try to win more and more) if you do not let it go. You could have noticed how recently people everywhere have become very sad, since they saw you surrounded by so many, not brave war heroes, but by those with the hats and a large crowd of priests at your first entry up the Rhine. For they thought they were seeing something quite unusual and of which they had not been aware, and that the honor and respectability of the German nation would be forfeited immediately and right at the beginning. Nothing was more sensitive to them than this. And since they had heard Aleander's highly improper request soon after, many were about to do something worthy of them, and they would have submitted to it if it had not been beyond doubt to them that you yourselves would be moved by this impropriety.

15 Therefore, you must certainly see both what you allow the Roman Pontiff to do against us and what you allow the Roman Pontiff to do against us.

and what kind of opinion you will get from the people. Remember that you are now taking your first steps, and take care how you start things right, and what hope you give for the future. But you must prevent the Roman companions from usurping our rights, but you must not allow or help them to put a harder yoke on the neck of this nation. Do you want to put him, who tried to prevent you from becoming emperors as much as he could, above the emperors? Yes, do you want to give him the power to rule yourselves? Do you want to cede so much of your sovereignty to anyone, let alone to him who has so clearly shown how he is disposed against you? And you, who are supposed to rule over all, do you want to make yourselves servants to anyone? Where then is the promise you made so beautifully to the princes who chose you as emperor, that you would seek to restore much that had been snatched from the empire? Fulfill at last what Germany expects on account of your promise, and do not let us fall into despair, as if no justice could be hoped for in the future; do not stand in your own way, and do not bring misfortune upon yourselves of your own free will. You have enough misfortune to fear from fate; do not bring upon yourselves the most miserable misfortunes, and do not bring gloom upon yourselves.

According to the love we bear you, we ask that you maintain the majesty in the kingdom and do not betray yourselves to those who trample your majesty underfoot. And if this cannot be preserved, we implore for the sake of your welfare that you at least have mercy on us and do not expose the whole nation, so many noble estates, so many brave men, whose freedom you should seek to preserve, but not to promote their servitude, to the greatest shame at the same time as you. We have been greatly disgraced in various ways in recent years; do not let this happen to you, that you want to serve those over whom you can and should rule, and in such a way that you at the same time impose the utmost servitude on us. For how has Germany been so guilty that it should perish with you and not for you? Lead us rather into obvious danger; lead us into fire and sword; let all nations rise up against us, all peoples break forth, all people's weapons strike at us, so that in danger we rather let it depend on brave resistance, than that we

1) Instead of st in the Wittenberg, read uisi.

so pusillanimous, so unmanly, without weapons and deathblow, like women, subject and serve.

It was hoped that you would remove the Roman yoke from us and tear down the tyranny of the popes. God grant that what follows may be better than the beginning! For although fear has not yet risen to the highest level, there cannot yet be any real confidence in such humiliation, since such a great emperor, the king of so many nations, is so willing to serve that he cannot be forced to do so. For only believe that the Germans would have seen it sooner if someone had found you weaker in the quarrel and had overcome you, that he had forced you to accept unreasonable peace conditions, than that they now see that you have been sent here by two very bad legates from the city (Rome) with extremely imperious orders, with exceedingly imperious orders, that you concede everything, refuse nothing, so that the foreigners despise us, because they see that we are so unfit to rule over others that we allow ourselves the most abject servitude.

18 Your grandfather was criticized for allowing the scribes too much and having too many of them at his court. What will people say of you, who have so many lords and masters, when cardinals with their hats and bishops with their caps swarm around you, since the latter still retained his prestige among his own, however powerful they were.

19 But it would seem that the friendship recently made with the pope would be for the common good, for these Romans have at last once kept faith with those with whom they have made treaties. They may have kept such treaties once, but should you not also think of the Florentine kind, you could still be charmed, especially since they have already been caught in fraud two or three times? But what kind of friendship is this with one who gives a law according to which he owns yours and subjects you to it, so that no equality remains in the least? For how these things of yours have been received by the people, it is not necessary to tell at length. You have already been able to notice by many manifold and clear testimonies that such alliances with those people are not at all dear to us, that we rather have a horror and abhorrence of them, and will never be satisfied with them as long as they take such liberties here, which cannot be permitted by free people. How many such treaties has Maximilia

nus with them, which he often raised again when they expired; and yet, shortly before his death, he testified: that none of the popes, who in his time had been some thirty years after each other, had kept faith with him.

20 But you imagine better things. It may be. I suppose that he would keep everything that has been agreed between you, but it is neither an honor for you nor a suffering for Germany that you should buy peace at this price. For you not only grant him the empire, Italy and Rome, the seat of the imperium, but also consent to his plundering Germany as often as he pleases. Nor do you refuse to pay him money for the annuities or to buy the palliæ. Yes, you allow a fair to be held here with bulls, and allow the Roman courtiers not only to live but also to rule. Shall a friendship made at such a price, a peace made on such terms, be accepted as being for the common good? Thus say they (say you) who are my counselors. I know well that they say it. For in order to enter into such things and to advise, the priests have made themselves about you and have taken you over completely. For they are pleased to let all the Roman knaves go, lest, if they were controlled, their turn should come at last to them also.

(21) But you, how can you excuse yourselves that you torture with edicts those who godly counsel you and want to lead you into better ways (only to help those your friends in all their seeking), and soon after that you intend to punish them with eight and death? For this is what they boast of, and it is contained in your edict. Therefore they wish for happiness, as if Luther were already suppressed, and threaten me with the most terrible things. Whatever you may intend in it, I will not cease to care for your preservation, if you have nothing but my destruction in mind. I will also try to pull you back from the fall against your will, to protect you from the downfall and to save you from the ruin. With me it may go, as God and my fate wants!

22 But I think that at present it depends a lot on how Luther is treated by you, not only because it is extremely shameful to condemn an innocent man, but also because I do not know whether a worse example than this can be given if he is condemned innocently. For who will advise you freely?

When you not only get no thanks for useful advice, but even punishment? The time will come when you will gladly give much for such a counselor. And you must not think that few care for him. For although you do not see many who are pressing this matter with you, you should know that because the Germans always advise their cause with deeds rather than words, that Luther's welfare is very dear to everyone's heart, and now many are grumbling about the fact that you could be induced to announce this edict. And what more do you want to expect from those who talk a lot, from whose sighs and sadness you already see what they want? And even if this were not the case, you should not deprive anyone, let alone one who stands up for your highness, of the right to answer.

(23) If you still have any doubts about the matter, this should teach you what a matter it is that his enemies are so eager to seek his condemnation from you, and this should show you how their consciences must be, since they take such great pleasure in the fact that he should be in trouble; for which reason they also rejoice about the omitted edict everywhere without any secret, and publicly reveal their meaning. For would they pursue the matter so diligently with you if they knew that their accusation was of such a nature that you would have to be satisfied with it even if the defendant were also to answer? And do you not see, then, that they do not ask you both for a proper court to punish a guilty man, and that they aim at violence by which you should suppress an innocent man, desiring this with the highest zeal, that you should not let Luther come or answer his cause, or answer what is brought before him, or that he may clear himself of the crimes laid against him? But would they also have such joy over this edict, if there were something good in them?

(24) Oh, get rid of that perverse generation of yours, which has nothing human about it at all, but fights against the pious with pure rage and fury, in order to have the vices free! And all this in such a way that you (for whose honor and respect we have to take care) are also involved in such disgrace and dishonor. Away with such people!

(25) Let the Romans also leave completely, who have not come here to either make friends with the pope for you, or to otherwise promote the common good, but to help you.

We are only here as idle spectators, spying out all our words and deeds so that they may be carried to Rome. Since the cautious Leo knew that there was danger, he sent you these pawns, which he could easily muck out, two arch-peelers, full of evil plots; one, an exceedingly cunning hypocrite; the other, a daring and baseless villain, but both without good reputation or any virtue and modesty. And they have thought it their duty to act wickedly, wickedly, unjustly, and unjustly in everything with you. And nothing else has been found in them up to now. But what they seek, they have decided, when flattery and cunning do not bear fruit, to drive through with terror and threats. Aleander recently confessed this clearly, and we are to let such people, who carry out such dealings, escape from here with impunity? You almost want to let it happen,' as you can see.

But believe for sure that there are still people in Germany who, even if they have to give you a push for a while 1) (which will always be useful afterwards), intend to do something praiseworthy and glorious. And these, together with all pious people, now ask and implore you with me that you let yourselves be turned away from evil and harmful error, and from such harmful counselors, and that, when you see how Germany is now, and how the people are minded, you incline to those who advise you what is useful and honest, and who, if it is necessary, want to and can carry out the counsel with action.

27 That you also listen carefully to Luther, and do not repel such a man, whom, even if he were guilty, you could well give the wish of so many good and righteous people, from the law and from the laws to which he resorts. For even if he shies away from them, he should still be heard, how much more now that he wants to defend his cause with such joy of conscience. For even if he were suspected by everyone, he should not be denied permission to purify himself. Much more, since all good people know and are aware of his honesty, and since he is accused only by a very few who resent him because of his virtue, you must not allow anything that goes against the laws, the old custom, and common usage. We ask you this for the sake of your imperial promise.

28. and because one knows well what is more about

1) That is, if you had to do something that would be annoying to Emperor Carl.

If Luther's cause hangs in the balance, believe that all of Germany is kneeling at your feet, pleading and beseeching you with tears, and calling upon your mercy, pity and help, so that you will save and preserve it, help it back to its right, free it from servitude and rid it of tyranny. For the sake of the most glorious memory of those who formerly suffered servitude under the Romans, masters of the whole world, do not allow us to be subject to the female softlings. April 1, 1521.

566 Ulrich von Hütten's letter to the clergy assembled at Worms, in which he reproaches them with great frankness for their enmity against the evangelical truth and their vicious life, and exhorts them to reform.

This letter is found in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, col. 178.

Translated into German.

Ulrich von Hutten, Knight, wishes the Cardinals, Aebts, Bishops, Provosts, and the entire assembly of priests who now challenge Luther and the cause of truth and freedom at Worms, that they repent and mend their ways!

If it were because of your wicked intrigues, because of which one can no longer walk safely among the people, I would have wanted to preach what I am writing here heartily and with a good conscience into your ears. But because I now see that you suppress the law by force and trample the laws to the ground, I do not want to appear present, but I do not want to withhold my opinion and testimony of truth from you. And how could I refrain from doing so, since I am firmly resolved to stand by the right, even if I have to die, and to fight to my last breath for the freedom of the fatherland against the oppressors and tyrants.

2 And not only when my turn comes (whom you are now saving to I do not know what new misfortune), but also especially now that I see that Martin Luther, who is so pious and blameless that he could not be rebuked even by you enemies to this day, and who is a preacher of truth and faithful steward of the evangelical doctrine, is being dragged around by you with violence and injustice,

I will be tormented and martyred. Since you are quite fine opponents against me, who, because you do not dare to do anything with thorough scriptural truth and scriptural testimonies, or other good and reasonable reasons, you exchange the shield and seize the Greeks' banner, that is, you take recourse to evil plots, arm yourselves with cunning and trickery, and intend to attack us with edicts by a completely new, unheard-of way of fighting. O a new, unheard-of thing, which is suitable for nothing less than your office and profession!

What need have you of compulsion and force, since you are fighting such a battle in which no one need be compelled? Or what need have you of the emperors' letters and charters, since you have so much holy and irrevocable Scripture to defend yourselves? But you have raised your authority even above the laws and ordinances of Christ, and now you want to win not with the testimony of Scripture, but merely with the prestige of your majesty. For you are bishops and priests, and represent Christ's place here. Therefore, you may not be resisted, nor may anything be said against you, nor even thought. For you also submit yourselves to our consciences, and whatever you write or say shall be regarded as holy and sacred. No reason nor witnesses shall be valid against it. You must be heard, you must be followed, you may lead wherever you want.

4 But we will not follow you any further, since you no longer follow Christ. For if you were to follow him, you would be deprived of riches, wealth, ambition, and indulgence, and you would bear his cross. But because you have departed from him, we will not join you as long as you remain away from him. For that we should not be led into error by blind teachers, a better apostle, Paul, warned us long before, when he commanded that we should follow him and his like, who can be an example of life to us, but not follow those who walk evil, the enemies of the cross; Which end, saith he, is damnation, to whom the belly is their god, and their glory is put to shame, because they are earthly minded; for the walk of the apostles (who are in truth) is in heaven [Phil. 3, 18-20.].

(5) And how aptly the apostle pictured you as a prophet, and set your life before the eyes and hearts of all! Or do you not realize that this is said of you, since you are aware of such a life? and all know and see that you walk according to nothing else but well-being?

You hate the cross of Christ because you avoid everything that is hard and difficult, and never tolerate anything unpleasant for Christ, but live your lives in all softness, idleness and well-being. But how should you want to suffer violence, since righteousness is unpleasant to you? or how should you hear words of reproach, since you cannot bear the sound of truth? Indeed, how should you suffer beatings, torture and death for the sake of Christ, since, if you are only awakened from sleep or your pleasure is disturbed in something, you start a war over it?

(6) Therefore, according to the holy prophet's unbreakable saying and prophecy, damnation must come upon you as your end. For you worship your God, the belly, seek your glory in shame, and since you have no walk in heaven, and expect nothing less than Christ, you turn all your cares and thoughts to earthly things.

7 And although you are such people, you presume to rule over laws and customs. And although everything is quite disorderly and confused with you, you still want to lead the rule, and indeed in such a way that one can not appeal to you. Where are the patient people who can bear this? But you, when will you, since so much unrestraint in wrongdoing and shameful deeds have been committed. Will you be moderate in this? Will you not stop once? Will you ask for nothing? respect no one? I am sure that such security will not bring you any good. For if you do not respect such mischief and are not ashamed of your shame in front of anyone, will you not be afraid of God's eyes, which are always watching over you? and will you not fear the punishment that awaits such deeds? You live in such a way that no one would like to let a chaste wife enter your houses, and yet you want to rule the common people! Can we suffer their rule, whose company we flee?

8. see further, how you have nothing at all of Christ and the apostles about you, and yet call your state spiritual, you who are such carnal men that you drive every rational thought far away from you out of lust for the pleasures of this world, and seek nothing else than what can help your rule, wealth, to get on its feet. But you know how to attain wealth through all cunning and disloyalty, and that to no other end than that you get back even worse what you have gained badly, by striving after nothing so much as

that you fill your insatiable gullet, completely given over to indulgence, inclined to laziness, and frozen in the most shameful idleness, so that one would rather call this a tavern or drinking house than a church.

(9) And yet you are not yet satisfied with all this, but still think to put the city of Rome itself right upon our necks; a yoke heavier than men could bear, and more shameful than men should bear, as if there were no savior of liberty anywhere, nor should there be, or as if we had become such cowardly wimps against you that we would never accuse you of error or urge you to amend.

(10) Take a good look at yourselves and consider your deeds; you will certainly realize that it could not possibly come otherwise than that the least of you will finally take the highest liberties against you in this life of yours. Namely, that you may have money only, not for necessity, but superfluous for opulence and indulgence; that you may live in pleasure, and arrange delights deliciously, and that everything may serve your insatiable avarice, everything be turned to your craving for honor, everything be subject to your desires; so that, I say, you alone may carry out everywhere everything according to your desire: for this the benefit of all must be harmed, the need of all must be broken, and none must keep what is his. Finally, for your cause to stand, the gospel must perish. Who has such an insensitive neck, and is so accustomed to the yoke, that he would not shake it off in the face of such a heap of your knavery, especially when a good opportunity is now offered him? or when men do not want it, and there is neither wit nor understanding left anywhere, will not Christ finally stand by his own?

(11) Shall men recognize you as being in the place of the apostles, since you have nothing of their kind? Shall they call you clerics 1) whom God has chosen as the best, to whom he says: I am your portion, since you do nothing less, think nothing less, than what is apostolic and belongs to clerics? yes, since no one lives more perversely than you, no one believes less that there is a God, no one does right and wrong, and mixes and confuses everything that is holy and unholy? For who would trust you even in matters of money, since you are in the habit of saying that it is church profit when something is obtained by fraud.

1) elsrieos from zcAH/rox, the loos, those chosen by GOD.

and cunning, by violence and iniquity, and all know that the Roman Pontiff also easily releases from an oath?

Therefore, either let yourselves be taken for what your life indicates, or prove in your work, life and deeds, 1) what you want to be called. And then, if the deeds will agree, you shall know that you are priests and not lords, servants of God and not rulers of the world. Your good is heavenly, not earthly. For if you have anything other than the Lord, the Lord will no longer be your portion, nor will you be clergy. In this way you are not at all now. For you do everything wrong and disorderly, since you live on our alms and eat our paternal inheritance unworthily, without any thanks, with contempt for God and man. So dear have we bought tyranny that knaves have been exalted. Before, the people of the world revered the sanctity of the clergy; now we must fear their power and wealth.

But you do not preach the gospel yourselves, nor do you let others preach it, except with great caution, because you fear that you might be touched by a swarm; and to Luther, who has told you the truth, you seek to bring destruction. The rest of us, who out of good knowledge contradict your tyranny, you intend to remove from the way. What is to become of it at last? What kind of evils will you not give rise to? If you were still explaining God's commandments to us and preaching the gospel, but in the meantime lived as you do now, we would murmur and say: Why don't you live like that yourselves? But now, if you could do it right away, you are ashamed to teach us, and yet you are not ashamed to live in the worst way. Why do you still arrogate to yourselves the name of priests and bishops, and want to be taken for clergymen? Can anything be more evil than these names and your life and performance?

(14) Finally, if you want to defy the majesty of the honorary offices, put on the perfection of life, that you boast not of the titles of bishops, but of their burdens. For how long will you reap our bodily goods, since in the meantime you sow us nothing of the spiritual? Do you want to live on our money forever, and even cultivate your shameful life with it? When Paul preached the gospel to the Thessalonians, he worked day and night, so that he would not be a burden to them.

He testifies, as if giving an account of his life, that his exhortation was not made out of deceit, impurity, or deceitfulness; neither did he, in preaching the gospel, seek to please men, but Gods: therefore he had no money or vain ambition in himself, and looked only to instruct and supply them with wholesome doctrines and statutes. Do you do any of these things? And since you know that you do not do such things, but are of quite a different nature and set up, yet you dare to take the place of the apostles, and under such a name arrogate to yourselves rights and liberty which no commonwealth could suffer! You want everything to be free against all, but nothing against you. When will you cease from such sacrilege? When will you put an end to such raving?

Pack yourselves away from the purest springs, you unclean swine! Troll out to the sanctuary, you cursed merchants! Do not touch the holy altar with hands so often defiled. For what has the Lord Christ to do with you, who have become servants of unrighteous mammon? You are after the flesh, and therefore respect only what is carnal. This requires spiritual people who are spiritually minded. What have you to do with our parents' alms, which they donated to the poor of Christ and took from us, their heirs, so that it would go to the churches? Why do you abuse what has been given for godly use, for eating and drinking, fornication, splendor and court, while many pious and godly souls suffer hunger? For what purpose have ye all abounded in splendor and revelry, while they that are better than ye, and ought to be in this place, perish for want and frost? Why do you waste and squander the money of the church, which should be distributed to the poor, in carousing, splurging, and other most wicked wickednesses?

16. Do you want to condemn Luther, the invincible preacher of the divine word, while you have no capable man who could awaken the faith of Christ through teaching or exhortation? You who feast in idleness and commit all frivolity, do you want to put difficulties in the way of him who works with all his strength and most diligently in the vineyard of God? Yes, because you see that he produces fruit, you want to oppress him with iniquity! Thus, you lazy and useless people of an

You envy his diligence and effort. Yes, you persecute him because he teaches the truth, which you have thrown behind your backs, and instead of it you have introduced the popes' statutes, all trivial things, but which bring you all serious things (because they serve for profit). And now, after you have taken up his blameless teachings with new lies, you want to destroy and ruin the teacher himself, who is aware of the best merit, out of envy against his virtue and annoyance over the profit you have been deprived of. For you are afraid that, if the gospel were to come back into pregnancy, your power would fall. For since he teaches temperance and wants us to live pure and holy, and his teaching is already received everywhere, you, who are used to boasting and superfluity, fornication and shameful deeds, and who are drowned in them, realize that danger is coming for you. As indeed must happen. That is why you have had his books, which are full of all good instruction, burned here and there, and forbid the human race to read them, and make your heart's thoughts clear, as you would have it that the Germans would not have a skilful man, and that all virtue would fall and perish.

(17) Where is such a gentle man who should not be enraged at such an abominable wrong? What else have you refrained from wickedness? Since the light of truth has long been darkened and Christ's teaching obscured, this divine light has appeared; will you dim it? These are the shepherds of the Christian people to me! who, when they should pray that the word of God may run and be praised, try to prevent and desecrate it. May the Savior Christ look in from heaven, and judge, and at last bring about that such new, such outrageous insolence and impudence may come upon the heads of those who have devised it!

(18) But to you, the anointed and consecrated, no one dares to lay a hand. For while you distort the words of Christ and the prestige of the holy Scriptures with a beautiful pretext for your protection, and the shield of your mischief and mischievousness, and since you are nowhere concerned about religion, but everywhere about your own profit, you draw the whole religion to yourselves, and place yourselves most insolently and boldly at the head of the whole of Christendom. For you are no longer ashamed to say or do anything.

019 But your deceit shall not prosper you for ever, neither shall your cunning help you for ever.

And perhaps the cause is already wavering in a very dangerous way. You know this very well and see that others also notice how much you fear for your cause. For you show by deed enough that, as long as the documents of truth and faith remain unharmed, your tyranny cannot stand. Therefore I wonder how you could have hoped that you would succeed. Did you not think of God's saying: Heaven and earth and everything will pass away, but Christ's words will not pass away? Therefore, as much as you can, you will never succumb to us. We have Christ as our foundation, and therefore we firmly believe that we are safe from any fall.

20 But we would gladly hold you in high honor, if you worked among us and presented us to the Lord. But since we see you only carousing, whoring, and doing nothing but foolishness, and do nothing in a serious way, should we allow you to judge about faith, of which you have nothing, or about religion, which you do not acknowledge by any work? By what magic art do you think you can so deceive us that we do not even wake up? Paul commands and asks through Jesus Christ that we withdraw ourselves from everyone who walks disorderly; and he also wants Timothy to avoid those who think that godliness is a trade. Since this is clearly before your eyes and resounds in your ears, you still hope that we will never get out of the servitude into which we have fallen. And you think it should always be like this, that we eat the bread of grace among you, in which you are extremely nonsensical people and completely insane in mind and spirit. For do you not see that such things can be moved, but not taken away? For you may shake them, but you can never completely overthrow them. But who can believe that your things will last? For he who can see, though you still hope, yet you stand in fearful dread.

(21) Therefore cease to hold before our eyes a fear so utterly trifling, and desist from terrifying us. We know whom we must not do violence to, and before whom we must show reverence or shun their majesty. We also know what is owed to right priests of God; and how this does not mean at all to offend religion, or to profane the sanctuary, if one uses unworthy people, who are not only without virtue, but also by

I am bold to say that none of you is a bishop, for you have all bought the bishopric, and none of you is worthy of the bishopric. For because you have once aroused my bile, I venture to say that none of you is a bishop, for you have all bought the bishopric, and it has not raised any among you his worthiness, but gold to his baton. You have valued the free grace according to money, and therefore you have no grace and are not bishops.

(22) Even if you had not been involved in this money transaction, and had become bishops only by the laying on of hands, your life is not in accordance with it, and we do not see the works of bishops in you, because you do not comply with what Paul, the blameless instructor of this profession, requires of bishops and priests. For he wants them to be blameless and irreproachable, vigilant, sober, humble, stewards of God, hospitable, diligent in all good works, temperate, godly, righteous, able to teach, keeping above true and sound doctrine, That they may be mighty to exhort by sound doctrine, and to convict the gainsayers, not obstinate, not angry, not contentious, not winebibbers, nor seek shameful gain, nor be covetous, nor have a good report, and not even the suspicion of any evil fall upon them. For he also wants people to have a good opinion of them and not to subject them to blasphemy. And so that you may see how he does not want to suffer evil manners in the bishops, he also demands a righteous and innocent life from their family. If he were to examine the bishops of today, would he tolerate the corrupt way of life in you, since he himself wants the bishops' children and servants to be of blameless morals?

(23) Therefore think how you will know yourselves, and cease from forcing the judgment of the people, and from frightening us, that, though you do not in the least perform the office of bishops, yet we should honor you more than is due to proper bishops. But hear Christ, that if ye shall be guided by his doctrine, ye may also preside over us with fruit. And that ye may be truly holy, not only in name, but also in deed, 1) Forsake the corruptible goods of the world, live moderately here, and let your treasure be in heaven. Instead of the courageous will and good life begin to mourn; instead of insolent and wild

Instead of intemperance, learn fasting and sobriety; instead of cruelty, learn mercy; instead of an evil conscience, learn a pure heart; instead of restlessness and turmoil, learn peace; and finally, learn not to strive softly for good life and good days, but to bear hard burdens freshly, to tolerate insults from others, but not to expel them first.

(24) When you begin to be such people, the glorious names will also be yours: Salt of the earth, light of the world, and the like. Then we will call you fruitful branches of that vine, and grant you the right to loose and bind here, that it may be loose and bound in heaven also. For then we shall not see, as now, that ye seek honor from men, but give it to God, or that ye overbear your brother in trade, or oppress him through envy, but walk faithfully in love, admonishing him, and caring for him with doctrine. Therefore, you will not be unbearable because of robbery, as you are now, but you will be popular and pleasing to all through kindness, service and good deeds. For then it will be seen that you do not harm many, but benefit all.

(25) Seek after such things; let this be your purpose in life. For why do you boast about vain titles and think that it is enough for you to be honored by empty names? This is judged by life and deeds. But you must know, according to Paul's teaching, how to walk in the house of God, which is the church of God, a pillar and foundation of truth. For when he prepares a bishop, he says: "Make an effort to show God a righteous and blameless worker, who rightly divides the word of truth" [2 Tim. 2, 15]. And: "Pursue righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness. Fight the good fight of faith" [1 Tim. 6, 11. f.]. And again, be an example of believers in word, in walk, in love, in spirit, in faith, in purity [Titus 2:7].

But what does he say about himself? [Gal. 1, 10: "If I were still pleasing to men (he says), I would not be Christ's servant." Likewise, how does John speak? [I John 2:16. "If any man love the world, in him is not the love of the Father. For all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the life of hope, is not of the Father, but is of the world." But do not seek (as Jerome warns) the gain of the world in knighthood.

1) dsatl. Lsatitucko vestra was the title of bishops.

Christ. But prove yourselves in such a manner as bishops, that ye be not for a burden, but for a profit; and, as he saith, not that ye be filled, but that we be not left empty, for whom ye must lay up all things, even life, after the example of the right shepherd, who laid down his life for his sheep, and gave you an example to follow.

(27) But why do I bring this up in vain before you, carnal men, who do not accept that which is of the Spirit of God? When I consider this, I cannot help but believe that the dangerous times have come, of which Paul, the seer who never deceived, proclaimed [2 Tim. 3, 2-5.]: "There will be men who think of themselves stingy, boastful, hopeful, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, ungrateful, unspiritual, disruptive, unforgiving, abusers, unchaste, wild, unkind, traitors, sacrilegious, puffed up, who love pleasure more than God, who have the appearance of a godly nature, but deny its power." From these words you see quite clearly 1) what kind of people he has described in advance, who would be a hindrance to faith and religion. Or do you not recognize your life and nature as in a mirror?

28. But as he foretold that you would begin the most wicked pieces, and therefore would have to be shunned, so he also foresaw the outcome of this with the same prophetic spirit. For, he says [2 Tim. 3, 8. f.], "in like manner as Jannes and Jambres resisted Mosi, so do these also resist the truth; they are men of broken senses, unfit to believe! But they will not persevere, for their foolishness will be revealed to everyone, just as that one was. And that is why I have often reminded you that such all-too-cruel insolence and intemperate tyranny will finally and inevitably lead you to destruction. For everyone already sees and recognizes that your boldness, born of deceit and mischievousness, is getting infinitely out of hand, and that with the greatest injustice you are taken for leaders, who should improve others with the example of life, and yet are for the most part notorious for lewdness and the most shameful immorality.

29 But there you have devised the deceitful counsel that no man may bring anything against your morals. That is why you first attacked Luther; if he should be condemned, you certainly hope to be condemned with me.

to become active. But it is quite different with me. For I even hope for victory, not to mention that I should despair of my salvation. But who shall believe of you that you will open the way of virtue, since you close it before the truth? But it will not remain hidden, but will emerge, even against your will, as you can already see with your eyes and grasp it with your hands, that even the stones and sticks themselves, if we were silent, would proclaim it 2c.

And soon after that further:

(30) Did it slip your mind because of intoxication and drunkenness that, when I had recently given you a mild admonition, you immediately shouted against me that I had blown the war trumpet? So unfamiliar was the thing to you, and so unreasonable did it seem to you. That is why you had no hesitation to accuse that mathematician at a respectable meeting as a kind of desecrator of your majesty, because he had caught you in a bird's net, which I don't know who wanted to draw. You are such delicate gentlemen, who are quite sensitive and do not want to suffer the least injustice. You should not be described, not painted, nor somehow depicted in stone. If the least is done, it shall be a crime to death.

(31) And since you want to preserve this, you nevertheless live so exceedingly dissolutely and shamefully that, as you yourselves must judge, you must perish. First you ate away what was on the outside; now you have even come to our marrow. The Christian people will no longer tolerate such oppression, which torments the church of God, because in many places they already call you a ruin of their fortune, a corruption of morals and a plague of life. But you, puffed up by more than Pharisaic conceit and pride (as if what is given to everyone's heart and senses, as it were, could be overcome by any stubbornness), do not stop threatening and inflicting death, and if you knew anything else worse, on Luther, who paves the way for truth and therefore becomes immensely popular with every kind of people, in the grimmest and most terrible way.

(32) Suppose he had erred, though that is the least of your griefs, whether a man believe or speak wrongly or rightly, and you would never have taken up the matter if it had not concerned your power and indulgence; but suppose he had erred, should you therefore rush against him hostilely, as against an enemy, or should you not be against him?

1) Instead of odLeurs in the Wittenberger will read non 06seure.

should you have admonished him lovingly as a brother? But where (as long as you were involved in the matter) was the slightest trace of love to be seen in you? Where could a pure heart and an honest mind be perceived in you? Did you not go straight to him and do everything without any reason? Did you not, in order to condemn him innocently, bring against him many things that you had invented and lied against him? Have you not cunningly sought to cut him down and put him on one side to please the Roman pope? Do you not still, since so many honorable people speak against it, deal with the fact that he is condemned unheard, unproven, without accusation and witnesses by the Emperor Carl and declared guilty?

Verily, excellent teachers of life, who treat others with all honesty and gentleness! Is this what it means to be a bishop or a Christian? When others afflicted us, you should comfort us. How it goes against it so wrongly! From whom one should hope all good, they do us all kinds of evil, and offend, afflict and torment us. Shall I not say to you, then, with Ambrose, a saintly and respectable pious man: You have an empty name, but abominable misdeeds; high honor, but shameful life; a godly estate, but ungodly works; a spiritual robe, but unspiritual conduct; a high echelon, but nasty missteps. In the church you have a higher chair, but your conscience is found the lower; you pretend to a deaf voice, but you have a dog-like mind; you show a sheep's coat, but have wolfish cruelty, so that one would say to you with the prophet [Isa. 29:13.], "This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me."

(34) Should not this also rhyme with you? Or is there a measure of what might be said of your life and conduct from the very certain and unmistakable Scriptures? But this will go in one ear and out the other, like everything before. You are so absorbed in Luther that you neither see nor hear before him. This is what envy has done, this is what fury has blinded you, this is what anger has made you completely senseless. Even if I were to overlook everything else about you, the torture you have devised for good heads would be quite unbearable. For what is more base than that one banishes good heads? to burn books? to dampen the sciences? to kill the Scriptures? Will you then also give us the consolation of study and the

Take the fruit of the fruit of the womb? Will you forbid us to speak together and be friendly with each other? You immoderately 1) fierce and barbaric people! If you said this in front of the mob and sewed it among the people, then you would have to 2c.

And soon after:

(35) Now you are in the ears of the emperor, who has filled you with wicked doctrines and exceedingly impious and unholy suggestions, and you have already wrung from him an edict condemning our cause in advance.

But rage, and use your fortune, and spare no one with words and deeds, as you think fit; rage, storm, push, ravage, throw to the ground, and tread under foot, and go forth all fierce and senseless! The time will finally come for us, too. But beware, since you are already the rulers of the youthful emperor, where you are leading such a noble heart astray, since you will infallibly have to give an account to God of all such doings one day. One knows well how he is minded, and how he has long resisted the exceedingly unjust desire. But tired by much persistence, even compelled by threats (for you have become so bold!), he finally, partly to get rid of the complaint, partly to avert the danger, granted and gave what he could not give, and even if he could, he should not give it.

37 You rejoice over this, wish each other happiness, and triumph as if Babylon had been conquered, while we are not greatly distressed about this, as little as about what you still threaten further, as misery, banishment and death; all worthy rewards (as it seems to you) for the fighters of freedom. For even if you bring it about that he cruelly executes the raised eight, and takes away our property, fatherland, even our lives, you still have to fear many things for yourselves, both in the meantime and in the future. 2c.

And soon after:

(38) Learn, you mortal men, in the midst of the most beautiful glimpses of your happiness, to fear its changing form. It cannot last long, which so blindly submits. But perhaps God wills it so that you bring about your own destruction sooner than others intend to inflict it on you: and you yourselves give cause to persecute you sooner than others seek it. 2c.

1) Instead of *extremae* in the Wittenberg, read "extrem".

And soon after:

But I warn you again, because happiness is now too abundant for you to think that it could change, and to keep your desires and wills in check. You have now reached the highest. You must now no longer think of growth, but henceforth only of the fall. For all who stand high can easily fall. Do not then let your ambition go too far; set a measure and a goal for your money ambition, and let the indulgence decrease. For where will it finally go with such covetousness? Where will the money ambition have limits? Will you not once go into yourselves and think, not where you want to go, but from where you have come? Turn back to the right way, turn back also from your error; if you still can, improve yourselves! It has always been better to go back than to run dangerously forward. Be not enemies of the pious, but avengers of the wicked. Serve others, do not desire to have more and more for yourselves. Act in such a way that we can expect medicine from you, but do not have to fear poison. Control your desires, follow reason, 1) and stop cheating and mischievousness. Those who have been blind for many years will not always have the staar. You see that the air of freedom is blowing, and people, out of frustration with the present, long for a change of the present state.

40 If you consider this, it will be very beneficial for you. But if you continue to defy your good fortune and persistently pursue Luther as before, you will also bring your fate upon yourselves at the same time (for I seem to foresee what will happen). But remember that the avenging eye of God always looks at the lower things and that the judgment hovers over you from above. Know that through the condemnation of an innocent man you will at the same time lose your heads.

D. What high chiefs and other distinguished persons and deputies from the Diet of Worms have been present.

567: List of the princes, bishops, lords, counts and embassies who attended the Diet of Worms.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 1036; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 4376; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 716; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 571.

1) Wittenberger: nationl instead of: rationi.

Roman Imperial and Christian Royal Majesty in Hispania, Sicily and Jerusalem 2c., Emperor Carol the Fifth.

Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz and Magdeburg, Elector 2c, Cardinal.

Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, Elector.

Archbishop Reinhardt 2) of Trier, Elector.

Count Palatine Ludwig beim Rhein, Elector.

Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector 2c.

Margrave Joachim zu Brandenburg, Elector.

Archduke Ferdinand zu Oesterreich, Imperial Majesty's brother.

Duke Frederick of Bavaria.

Duke Henry of Bavaria.

Duke Wolfgang of Bavaria.

Duke Hans zu Bayern, zum Hundsruock.

Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria.

Duke Ludwig of Bavaria.

Duke Hans of Saxony 2c.

Duke George of Saxony 2c.

Duke Bugslau 3) of Pomerania.

Duke George of Pomerania.

The Landgrave of Leuchtenberg.

Duke Ludwig zu Bayern, zum Hundsruock, the Younger.

Duke John Frederick of Saxony 2c.

Duke Hans of Saxony, the Younger.

Margrave Joachim the Younger of Brandenburg.

Margrave Casimirus of Brandenburg.

Margrave Hans of Brandenburg.

Duke Erich of Brunswick 2c.

Duke Henry of Brunswick the Younger 2c.

Duke William of Brunswick 2c.

Duke Otto of Brunswick and Lüneburg.

Duke Philip of Brunswick, to the Grubenhagen.

Margrave Philip of Baden.

Duke Christiern of Holstein.

Duke Albrecht of Mechelburg.

Count and Prince Hans von Anhalt.

Duke Hans of Walachey.

Count and Prince Wolfgang zu Anhalt.

Count Wolfgang, Prince of Henneberg.

Count Bertold, Prince of Henneberg.

The Duke of Alba.

The son of the Duke of Alba.

But a son of the Duke of Alba.

Duke Sfortia of Milan, Duke Maximilianus of Milan's brother.

Count Georg von Württemberg und Mimpelgarten, Duke Ulrich von Württemberg's brother.

2) Otherwise he is called Reichard or Richard.

3) This is Bogislav.

Margrave William of Arsthot, of Croy, Lord of Stifers.

Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

The Count of Giving, the brother of the Duke of Sophoy.

Duke Henry of Mechelburg.

Count Wilhelm von Henneberg.

Margrave Ernst of Baden.

Archbishop Christoph of Bremen 2c., Administrator at Verden, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg.

Archbishop Matthes of Salzburg, otherwise called Burck, Cardinal.

Bishop Matthes of Wallas, the Swiss Cardinal.

Bishop George of Bamberg.

Bishop Conrad of Würzburg.

Bishop George of Speier.

Bishop William of Strasbourg.

Bishop Hans of Hildesheim, Duke of Engern, and Westphalia.

Bishop Erhard of Liège.

Bishop Ernst of Passau.

Bishop Franciscus of Minden, Duke of Brunswick.

Bishop Louis of Tud.

Bishop Peter von Trieft.

Bishop Peter of Palent.

The Archbishop of Panorm.

Margrave Frederick of Brandenburg, Provost of Würzburg Cathedral.

Duke Henry of Bavaria, Provost of the Cathedral of Mainz and Aach.

Mr. Jerome, Bishop of Brandenburg 2c.

The Bishop of Augsburg.

The Bishop of Trent.

The Bishop of Camerack, Margrave of Arsthot.

The Bishop of Worms.

Then Lord William of Croy, Cardinal, Archbishop of Toled, Primate in the Kingdom of Castile, Bishop of Camerack, Abbot of Affliaen, Abbot of Hohenberg, and Coadjutor on St. Peter's Mountain in Gend, blessed, who came with Imperial Majesty to Worms, died there on Thursday after the Three King's Days. May God have mercy on him and on all the souls of the faithful.

The provost of Cologne, a duke of Lauenburg, the bishops of Hildesheim and Münster brother.

The abbot of Weißenburg, Mr. Rhüdiger.

Mr. Hartmann von Kirchberg, Abbot of Fulda. The Abbot of St. Gall.

The Abbot of Morbach.

The Duke of Cleve.

The bishop of Almeria of Hispania, Her

Ferdinand's personal physician, who also died and was buried in Worms.

The Pabst's message Marinus Caracciolus, the birth a nobleman from Neapolis.

The King of Hungary Message.

The King of France Embassy.

The King of England's message, Mr. Cutbertus Tunstallus.

The King of Denmark Message.

The King of Melice Message.

The Venetian message, a Cornarius, and following a Contarenus.

The message of the Duke of Urbin.

The Marquis of Mantua's message.

A count of Eisenberg near Hesse.

A Count von Witzstein.

But a Count von Witzstein.

A Count of Büren.

Count Franciscus of Waldeck.

A Count of Being.

Count William of Neuenaar.

A Count of Westerburg.

A gentleman from Meseritz.

Imperial Majesty Grand Master.

Count Hoyer von Mansfeld.

Count Heinrich von Nassau 2c.

Count Wilhelm von Nassau.

Count Philipp of Solms.

Count Otto von Solms.

Count Heinrich zu Schwarzburg zu Arnstedt.

Count Heinrich von Schwarzburg zu Sondershausen.

Count Helferich of Helfenstein.

Count Ludwig von Helfenstein.

A Count of Schwarzburg, canon of Cologne.

Count Adam of Reichlingen.

A Count of Waldeck near Hesse.

The Count of Leisneck.

The Count of Honstein.

Count Philip of Reineck.

Count George von Wertheim.

The cathedral dean of Cologne, a sovereign and lord of Plauen.

Count Florius of Isselstein.

The Count of Titonibus.

A count of Hainau.

Mr. Christoph von Eitzingen, Mr. Michaelis von Eitzingen's son, who almost resembles [the] Roman Imperial Majesty and is of one age and one size.

Mr. Wolf von Schönburg.

Mr. Vladislav from Swiwo 2c.

A count of Nogarolis of Vicenz.

A Count of the Hoie.

A Count of Barbey.

But a Count of Barbey.
 Count Philip of Mansfeld.
 Count Heinrich von Nassau. 1)
 Count Wilhelm von Nassau.
 Count Philip of Nassau.
 A Rhine grass.
 But a Rheingraf.
 A Count of Leiningen.
 But a Count of Leiningen.
 A Count of Schaumburg.
 A count of Eisenberg, by the of Trier.
 A count of Pitscht.
 Count Gumprecht of Neuenaar.
 Count Günther von Schwarzburg.
 A count of Eisenberg, also near Trier.
 Count Albrecht of Mansfeld.
 A Count of Wettich.
 But a Count von Wettich.
 Count Siegmund von Gleichen.
 Count Ernst von Gleichen.
 A Count of Stone.
 Mr. Heinrich Reuß, Lord of Plauen and Cranchfeld.
 A Count of Rennenberg.
 Anarus, Lord of Wildenfels.
 But Mr. Anarus von Wildenfels.
 A Count of Neuengarten.
 A Count of Honstein near Brandenburg.
 Count Heinrich von Schwarzburg, Count Balthasar's son.
 A count of Zollern.
 Schenk Friedrich von Limburg, died here.
 But a Schenk von Limburg, his son.
 Count George of Henneberg.
 A Count of Ortenberg.
 Count Hans von Canusch 2c.
 Count Siegmund von Luppken.
 But a Count von Luppken.
 Count Georg von Montfurt.
 Count Hans von Montfurt.
 Count Hauge of Montfurt.
 A Count of Castel.
 A count of Oberstem.
 A Count of Sultz.
 A Count of Königstein.
 Count Bernhard von Eberstein.
 Count Michel von Wertheim.
 Count Wilhelm von Eberstein.
 Count George of Königstein.
 Count Christoph von Eberstein.
 The Lord of Rogendorff.
 Mr. Johann Hannart, 2) Burgrave of Lambeck.

1) This and the following have been mentioned before.
 2) The Wittenberg offers: "Hannart", the Jena: "Jannart".

Count Hans von Hardeck.
 Mr. Cyprian von Serentein 2c.
 An Ungnad.
 But an Ungnad.
 A young Count of Nassau, with Count Henry of Nassau the Rich.
 The Count of Frankenpan.
 A Count of Werden.
 Mr. Maximilian von Siebenbergen 2c.
 A baron von Zimmern.
 A Count von Bleß.
 The Count of Reppin.
 Count Hans von Eppstein.
 Count Boto von Stolberg.
 But a Count of Stolberg.
 But a Count of Stolberg.
 A Count or Lord of Wertich, 3) of the Archbishop of Cologne 2c. Brother.
 Mr. Hans von Schwarzenburg, the elder.
 Mr. Hans von Schwarzenburg, the younger, the elder's son.
 A gentleman from Degenberg.
 A gentleman from Losenstein.
 But a gentleman from Losenstein.
 Cologne.
 Worms.
 Augsburg.
 Nuremberg.
 Erfurt.
 Oppenheim.
 Weissenburg.
 Lübeck.
 Goslar.
 Esslingen.

E. Luther's standing and interrogation before the Roman Emperor and the entire Imperial Assembly.

1. from the first audience.

Luther's report of the official at Trier, Johann von Eck, public address to him in the imperial assembly, together with Luther's answer, and what Schurf said there; how furthermore, after the first audience was over and before the beginning of the other, many of the nobility visited him in his inn, and what they said to him.

See No. 550.

3) The Jena has on the edge: Widda.

After a few days I was summoned to the imperial council before the emperor and all the princes, at six o'clock in the evening. Then D. Eck, chancellor of the bishop of Trier, spoke on behalf of the empire and said: Martine, do you confess that these books are yours? Now all my books lay one after the other on a bench. Where they might have gotten them, I did not know; I would have soon said yes. But D. Hieronymus Schürf shouted loudly in the kingdom's council: *Legentur tituli librorum*, and when one read the titles, the books were all mine. Then I said: "Most gracious emperor and most gracious princes and lords, the matter is important and great, I cannot give an answer from the books this time; I ask that I be given time to consider it. This was done, and immediately the kingdom's council disintegrated.

In the meantime, many of the nobility came to my inn and said, "Doctor, how are things? They say they want to burn you, but that doesn't have to happen, they would all have to perish with you. That would also have happened.

Spalatin's report of the first audience, which also states that Prince Frederick had first thought that the emperor's confessor, Glapio, would address Luther.

From Spalatin's Dark, p. 39.

The following Wednesday [April 16], Käy. Maj. summoned them, the princes, princes and sovereigns of the empire, between four and five hearings to the palace or the bishop's court, where chap. Mat. Now it went on until evening, and although Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector, considered it to be so, Käyr. Mat. Confessor would have used the word, it has nevertheless been confessed to Doctor Johan Ecken, Official of Tryer, who has first asked Doctor Martinus in a great pressure and consequence: whether he confesses to the books that were issued in his name. 1) Secondly, whether he wanted to recant or not? Then Doctor Martinus, by appointment of Doctor Hieronymi Schurff, asked about the means of the books. As the official of Tryer has read some book titles, from a book printed in Basel, Doctor Martinus has agreed to this.

1) The brackets are here, as in many other places in old prints, instead of the speech marks.

and asked, since this was the most important thing in heaven and on earth, that he be given a consideration, with a humble request to do his answer, if you want. For Christ himself said: "Whoever reproaches me before men, I will also reproach myself before God, my Father, and all his angels and saints. The official said to Tryer: "Although His Majesty does not owe him to do so, as this grace is unworthy of him, he does not want to be a part of it. Mat. as the benevolent emperor and lord, have allowed him to take his consideration, and on the following day at the same hour to give his answer.

2. from the second public audience.

570 Luther's own account of the official's repeated address to him at Trier, and what he answered, how this other audience finally proceeded, and what happened when Luther was led home by two of them.

See No. 550.

When I was called back to the kingdom's council, there was a large number of people in the hall, because everyone wanted to hear my answer, and there were many burning torches up there, because it was night. I was not at all accustomed to the hustle and bustle. But when I was called to speak, I started and said: "Most gracious emperor, most gracious princes, princes and lords! The books that have been presented to me are mine, and there are some books among them that are textbooks that interpret the holy scriptures; I confess that they are mine, and they are righteous, good books, and there is nothing evil in them.

The others are quarreling books, since I quarreled with the pope and adversaries; if there would be something evil inside, I could well change that.

The third are books in which I only dispute about Christian doctrine; these are only Disputations. These two kinds of books, namely the textbooks and disputations, would be good and right if I wanted to stay over them, as God would have it.

So while I was talking, they asked me to repeat it again with latei-

But I was sweating a lot, and I was very hot because of the commotion, and that I was even standing among the princes. But Herr Friedrich von Thun said to me: "If you cannot do it, that is enough, Herr Doctor. But I repeated all my words in Latin; this pleased Duke Friederich, the Elector, exceedingly.

When I had said this, they let me go, and two were given to me to lead and accompany me. Then there was a commotion: the noblemen shouted whether I was being led away captive, but I said that they were only escorting me. So I returned to my hostel and did not return to the kingdom's council.

Spalatin's report of this other Audimz.

From Spalatin's *Annules*, p. 41.

On the following cathedral day [April 17], Doctor Martinus Widerumb appeared, after four hours, in a great throng in the Palatinate before the Royal Court. Mal. and the princes and sovereigns of the empire, and gave his answer first in Latin, then in German. After that, Kayr. Mat. and the princes, through the Official of Tryer, urged him to make a contradiction. For this, Doctor Martinus humbly asked, because he could not contradict with God and a good conscience.

In the end, the official of Tryer said that if he did not object, Kay. Mat. and the princes and sovereigns of the empire would decide what they should do against such a kezer. To this Doctor Martinus replied: God help me, for I cannot contradict him. And so he went back to the inn, so courageous, confident and happy in the Lord, that he told Spalatin before others and me: if he had a thousand heads, he would rather have them all taken from him than contradict him.

F. What the Emperor, at the instigation of the papists, communicates to the imperial estates as his resolution after this public interrogation of Luther.

572 Emperor Carl V's personal rescript to the princes and estates of the empire, in which

he announces to them his resolution against D. Mart. Luther and his doctrines and exhorts them to follow him. April 19, 1521.

This document is found in Latin in Lünig's *spie, eeelesiust.*, Theil I, p. 379 and in Goldast's *eonstit. imp.*, vol. II, p. 142.

Translated into German by M. A. Tittel.

It is well known to you that I am descended from the Christian emperors of the German nation, from the Catholic kings in Spain, from the archdukes in Austria and the dukes in Burgundy, all of whom have shown themselves faithful to the last breath of the Roman Church and have always been brave defenders of the Catholic faith, of the holy ceremonies, conclusions, statutes and godly customs for the salvation of souls. Who, in their death, as it were by natural impulse and by a right of inheritance, handed over and bequeathed to us the holy Catholic statutes, of which we have now spoken, into our hands from theirs, so that we follow in their footsteps and also leave our lives over them. And we, as the righteous successors of our ancestors, have lived in such a way by God's help until this day. Therefore, we remain firmly resolved to protect and safeguard everything that both our forefathers and I have held until now; but especially that which my forefathers concluded both at the Costnitz and in other spiritual meetings (synods).

2. But since it is evident that only a few brothers are mistaken and allow themselves to be deceived by their own delusions, which are otherwise in conflict with the opinion of all Christendom, both of those who lived a thousand years before us and of those who are still alive today; and there is so much underneath that all Christians must have been mistaken up to now: I am determined to stake all my kingdoms, empire, dominions, friends, body, blood, and life and soul on it, so that this ungodly undertaking does not spread any further, because it is likely to bring great disgrace to me and you, especially to you, who are the excellent or highly famous German nation, to whom it is a special reputation, honor and privilege, a true grace, that we are called and praised lovers of justice and protectors of the Catholic faith. If, therefore, not only heresy, but even the slightest suspicion of heresy or diminution of the Christian name were to linger in the minds of men at this time, it would be an eternal disgrace and reproach to our descendants.

Since we all heard Luther's stubborn answer yesterday, I open my thoughts to you: that I am sorry that I stood so long to proceed against this man and his false teachings, and that I do not want to hear him in anything else, whatever he may bring forward. I have therefore ordered that he be brought home immediately in accordance with the order, and that he be careful, in accordance with the public escort, not to preach publicly anywhere, nor to continue to present his false teachings to the people, nor to cause any further noise or disturbance through him. For, as I have said, I have firmly decided to proceed against him as an obvious heretic, and therefore request of you that you decide in this matter what is due to true Christians and what you have promised to do. Written by his own hand on April 19, 1521 .

G. Of a repeated interrogation of Luther before some princes, who, after having asked for an extension of his license, made another attempt, albeit in vain, to bring Luther to recant, not publicly, but privately.

Luther's own account of the interrogation before several princes, of the conference with the deputies from Trier, and of the last private interview with the Elector at Trier.

See No. 550.

After that I was summoned to two small special committees. In one was the Bishop of Trier, Margrave Joachim, and Duke George, and others. But Doctor Uhe [Vehus], the chancellor of Baden, talked to me for a long time, wanted to persuade me to report the whole matter to the emperor and the estates of the empire, and told me thirteen reasons why I should do it, and said a lot about the authority of the church and other aversions.

Now there were some who wanted to teach me how I should answer. But Friederich Thun said: It is not necessary, he will speak well.

I told him these articles one after the other on my fingers; although I was unaccustomed to jurisprudence and court oratory, I still refuted them all, and said: I could suffer everything, the pope, princes, item, the power of the church, and would do everything only what I should; only from the holy scripture I could not depart, there I could forgive nothing of it; because it would not be mine, but of our Lord God. Then the margrave said, "Doctor, as I understand you correctly, is this your opinion that you cannot depart from the holy scriptures? Then I said: Yes, I stand by it. Then they let me go away again, and they also went away from each other.

After a few days, they sent Doctor Vehus and Doctor Peutingen to me, and let me continue to act with them. But Duke Frederick did not want me to deal with them alone; he sent his advisors to me, Doctor Philipp and Friederich von Thun, who were at the plot. The two doctors had a well-considered oration with me, tried on me what they could, I should hand over my books and cause to the emperor and prince. But I said: I would like to be under the emperor's power, but I could not leave the writing. But when they continued, I said, "This is my opinion in a nutshell: Before I wanted to hand over my cause to the emperor, I wanted to recite the escort.

Then Friederich von Thun said, "That is enough and highly offered; he became angry with the two, did not want to listen any longer, and went away. But Doctor Philip remained there; then they continued to ask me to do it. But I said, "I don't want to do it; I'll put it to you myself, if the emperor should be a judge of my cause, what would not happen? How could I protect or handle myself, or defend my cause, if I had given the Holy Scriptures out of my fist? The emperor has too many bishops who have already condemned me. And so nothing was done.

Not long after, the Bishop of Trier sent for me again, talked to me alone and said: Dear Doctor, my Doctores tell me you will be satisfied with what the Emperor will say in your matter; thought he wanted to catch me soon. But

I said, "My lord, I can suffer anything, but I cannot hand over the holy scriptures. The bishop said: "My doctors told me much differently; how could I have passed so badly if I had soon gone to the emperor and reported it to him! But how do you think, doctor, that the matter should be dealt with?"

There I had no other advice than Gamaliel gives in Actis Cap. 5, 38. 39.: one should let the thing go for itself; if it were from men, it would not stand long; but if it were from God, trust, they will not be able to suppress the teaching.

This action, and especially the fact that the priests were so lax about it, greatly annoyed Duke Frederick, as a wise and prudent prince; and after I had been in Worms a fortnight, I left again and was caught on the way. So it happened without my thoughts. The fault is not mine, but theirs. They wanted to go through with their heads and thought they could not fall; the devil also guarded it, the Pabst's regiment, and wanted to defend it, but Christ made a hole in it. For the devil also knows well that he must let himself be visited by Christ, and has now often experienced this.

Section Six of Chapter Seven.

Of Luther's fearless and confident courage before and at the Diet of Worms; how fervently and devoutly he had prayed there, and how the faithful God had publicly honored this faithful confessor of his, after he had not been ashamed of his word and gospel, but had publicly honored Christ by the unashamed confession of his truth, and had also publicly honored him again by the joyful shouting of the people who had frequently gathered at his return to his quarters.

A. Of Luther's undaunted courage and devout prayer.

574 Luther's excellent answer to Spalatin when the Elector of Saxony had Spalatin ask him whether he wanted to go to Worms if the Emperor's order was given? Wittenberg, Dec. 21, 1520.

The original of this letter is found in the Oo6. Ootüan. 122, col. 15 and thereafter in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 196; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 534 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 23. German twice in Walch, namely here and vol. XXI, 735. We follow the Erlanger Briefwechsel.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the learned and pious man, Georg Spalatin, princely Saxon court preacher, his friend in the Lord!

Hail! Both from Allstädt 1) I have the copies of the letters, and from Kindelbrück 2) I received your letter today,

1) in Saxony-Weimar, where this letter also went.

2) in the administrative district of Erfurt, in the former Thuringian district.

in which you request that I answer what I will do if I am called by Emperor Carl, 3) without danger to the Gospel and public truth, because you see that the adversaries are doing everything to hasten this deal.

But I, if I should be called, will, as much as I care for myself, let myself be brought there sick, if I could not come in health. For one must not doubt that I will be called by the Lord when the emperor calls me. Furthermore, if they should pursue the matter by force, as is probable (for they do not let me be called because they wanted to be instructed), then the matter must be ordered to the Lord. For he who preserved the three men in the furnace of fire of the king of Babylon [Dan. 3:23 ff] is still alive and reigning. If he will not preserve, it is a small thing for my head, if it is compared with Christ, who was subjected to the highest shame and the most severe punishment.

3) Compare the correspondence between Emperor Carl V and Prince Frederick, No. 520 to No. 524 in this volume.

The gospel has been killed to the annoyance of all and the destruction of many. For here there is no need to consider any danger, any welfare, but rather to see to it that we do not expose the gospel we have once begun to the ridicule of the wicked, and give the adversaries cause to boast against us, that we dare not confess what we have taught, and fear to shed our blood for it. May Christ, according to his mercy, avert such cowardice in us and such boasting in them, amen.

Although it must be so [Ps. 2, 1. 2.] that the kings of the land and the lords contend with one another and rage with the nations and the people against the Lord and his anointed, yet the Spirit teaches in the same Psalm [Ps. 2, 12.] that it will be well with those who trust in him. And not only this, but [Ps. 2:4] the Lord will also laugh at them and mock them. It is certainly not up to us to determine whether my life or my death will be more or less dangerous for the gospel and the common welfare. You know that the truth of God is a rock of astonishment [Isa. 8, 14], which is set for the fall and resurrection of many in Israel [Luc. 2, 34].

For our care, however, the only task left now is to ask the Lord that Carl's government not stain its first works with my blood or anyone else's, in order to protect godlessness, and I would rather (as I have often said) perish at the hands of the Romans alone, so that he and his would not be involved in this matter. You know what misery came upon Emperor Sigismund after Hus was killed, that nothing happily came to him after that, that he died without descendants, and after that also the son of his daughter, Ladislan, perished, and in one generation his name was erased, but his wife Barbara became a stain for queens, 1).

1) Sigismund left only one daughter Elisabeth, married to Emperor Albrecht II, whose son Ladislaus Posthumus, King of Hungary and Bohemia, died on November 23, 1457 without descendants. About the dissolute life of the second wife Barbara, Countess

and other things, which I believe you know. But if it must come to pass that I too shall be delivered not only to the popes, but also to the Gentiles, let the will of the Lord be done, amen.

Behold, there you have my counsel and my mind. You may expect everything from me, but not that I will flee or recant. I will not flee, much less recant; in this may the Lord Jesus strengthen me. For I could do neither without danger to God's salvation and the salvation of many. I will send back the copies and in due time I will send the letter to the prince 2) as you have prescribed in the copy. I have hitherto meant that all that is mine should be brought to this court as soon as possible by the hands of others; therefore take now as much as is printed. For the German is now printed after the Latin. 3) Fare well and be strong in the Lord. Wittenberg on the day of St. Thomas the Martyr (as many believe) [Dec. 21], 1520.
Martin Luther.

575 Luther's letter to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, in which he offers to appear in Worms under safe escort at the Emperor's command. January 25, 1521.

This letter is found in Latin in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 301 and in the Wittenberg edition (1551), toru. II, toi. 1628; in German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 1018; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 3968; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 612; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 566; in the Erlangen, vol. 53, p. 56; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 548; and in Müller's Staatscabinet, Theil VIII, p. 281. The German letter (which is probably the original) is found, as Seckendorf, 8i "t. 8ut8, li8.1, x>. 148, § 90, handwritten in the archives at Weimar in ^etis 6ornitiuruln IVornmat.,Dit. Handlung mit D. Martin Luthern, toi. 13.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord,
Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector and
Vicar of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave of
Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, my most
gracious Lord and Patron.

von Cillh, compare Aschbach, Kaiser Sigismund, vol. II, 379; IV, 391. (Erl. Briefw.)

2) This is the next number.

3) The text: "Grund und Ursach aller Artikel" 2c., in this volume No. 448.

JEsus.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! E. Churf. Gn. is my poor prayer and humble service 1) always in obedience before.

2nd Most gracious Sir, E. C. F. G.'s gracious indication of what Roman Imperial and Hispanic Royal Majesty, my most gracious Lord, concerns and thinks in my matter, I have heard everywhere with humble thanks and favor; which graces against Imperial Majesty and E. C. F. G. I am grateful for. Maj. and E. C. F. G. I thank most humbly. And I am heartily pleased that Imperial Maj. Maj. wants to take to His Imperial Majesty the matter which, God willing, is God's, common Christianity's, and the whole German nation's, and not some man's, much less my own. Maj.

Therefore, I am once again, as I have always done before, according to my manifold requests, and especially the one that has gone out in print before, 2) whose copy E. C. F. G. I hereby send, humbly obliged to do and leave everything that I may do with God and Christian honor, or to do and leave with honorable and Christian and frugal causes of the holy divine Scripture.

4 Therefore, with all humility, requesting E. C. F. G. to take action against the Roman Emperor. Majesty. Most humbly request that I be graciously provided with sufficient assurance and free safe conduct from all violence, of which I have to take notice, and to order that the matter be referred to pious, learned, understanding, unsuspicious and Christian men, spiritual and secular, who are well grounded in the Bible, and have and know understanding and discernment of the divine and human laws and commandments, together to diligently interrogate me, are commanded, for God's sake, to do no violence against me until I am found to be unchristian and unjust; as a secular head of holy Christendom, that my adversaries, the popes, have in the meantime been freed from their raging and un-

Christian actions against me, with burning of my books, and grim reenactments (*conatibus* == reenactments) after my body, honor, salvation, life and blessedness, although unheard and unconquered; 3) and if I had done something against this, for the salvation of the divine evangelical truth rather than of my own vain and unworthy person, or if I were urged and caused to do something for this, I would be graciously excused from such necessary opposition, and to have myself in gracious protection and command to save the divine word, also to be most gracious and gracious lords. 4) Lords; as then to the aforementioned Imperial Maj. Maj. and E. C. F. G., I am committed to this and all other Christian imperial and princely virtues and graces. Virtue and Graces, as to my most gracious and gracious Lords.

5. For in humble obedience I am prepared, if I obtain sufficient assurance and a free escort to and from my custody, to appear at the next Imperial Diet at Worms before equal, learned, pious and unsuspicious judges, and with the help of the Almighty to so show myself and answer for myself, that only men shall know in truth that I have hitherto done nothing out of free, thoughtless, disorderly will and for the sake of temporal and worldly honor and use, but everything that I have written and taught, according to my conscience, oath and duties, as a poor teacher of the Holy Scriptures, to the praise of God. Scripture, to the praise of God, to the salvation and blessedness of common Christendom, for the benefit of the entire German nation, for the eradication of dangerous abuses and superstitions, and for the unification of all holy Christendom, from so many endless, innumerable, unchristian and damnable tyrannical diminishment, burdening, and blasphemy, 5).

3) In all German editions: "ihres rabenden 2c. Vornehmen ... abstellen". According to the Latin, instead of "abstellen" it would read: "abstehen"; u suo proposito uesistant - abstehen von ihrem Vornehmen. Since this seems to us to be the correct reading, we have put it into the text.

4) "gn." is to be resolved by: gnädigster, and refers to the Churfürst; the "allergnädigster" goes to the emperor.

5) All these "nouns" are plural in Latin.

1) In Latin this is given by the plural: liumiliu otкоиu.

2) No. 433 in this volume.

6. ew. C. F. G. together with the Roman Imperial Majesty. Maj. have a Christian eye and understanding of the highly distressed state of the whole of Christendom; that is I, Imperial Maj. Maj. and E. C. F. G., through divine clemency and grace, with my poor prayer to God, always, as the poor subject Capellan, in all humility owe and willing. Date Wittenberg, on the day Conversionis 8. ?auli [25. Jan.], in the thousand five hundred and one and twentieth year.

Ew. C. F. G.
obedient subject
Capellan, Martinus Luther.

Luther's earnest prayer, which he made at the Diet of Worms.

This prayer is found in Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1420.

B. What honor Luther received at Warm.

577 Spalatin's account of how Luther received such great or greater honor at Worms than one of the princes, but how Elector Frederick had been immensely astonished at Luther's great courage.

From Spalatin's p. 48.

It is certain that God honored the Doctor Martinum at the Diet of Wurmb's in such a way that he was much more admired and respected than all princes and lords. Thus, it was one and all days in his hostel, as long as he was in the city of Wurmb's.

So I, Spalatinus, above other graves and lords, saw myself with him in his hostel Landgrauen Philipps zcu Heßen, Hertzog

Wilhelm von Braunnswig vnd Count Wilhelm zcu Henneberg.

My most gracious Lord Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector Lo., highly praiseworthy and of blessed memory, was so astonished by the Christian courageous answer of Doctor Martinus before Kay. Mat. and the sovereigns of the realm in Latin and German, that his Elector. His Grace sent for me, Spalatin, in Doctor Martinus' hostel before his supper, and how his Electorate wants to take water, and how his Grace wants to take water, and how his Electorate wants to take water, and how his Electorate wants to take water. They beckoned me to follow them into their chamber, and as I entered, his Electors said to me, with the water, that they would take it. Grace said to me, with great astonishment: "What has the priest, Doctor Martinus, said before the Emperor and all the princes and rulers of the empire in Latin and German? He is much to my liking; and so I was graciously allowed to go back to Doctor Martinus.

578 Luther's report of the visit of the Landgrave of Hesse and his conversation with him.

See No. 550.

The Landgrave of Hesse first came to me in Worms; but he was not yet on my side, and came riding into the courtyard, went to me in my chamber, wanted to see me. But he was still very young and said: "Dear Doctor, how are you? I answered, "Sir, I hope it will be all right. Then he said, "I hear, Doctor, that you teach that when a man grows old and can no longer perform his wife's duty as a wife, then the wife may take another husband. But I laughed too, and said: Oh no, my lord, your princely grace should not speak so. But he soon left me again, gave me his hand and said: "If you are right, Doctor, God help you.

Section Seven of Chapter Seven.

Luther's dismissal from Worms and his return journey under the imperial escort, and what happened on the way.

Of Lucher's farewell, which the emperor had issued through two deputies.

579 Spalatin's report of how Luther had predicted his departure from Worms, and the emperor had given him his farewell through two deputies, the official of Trier, D. Joh. Eck, and the imperial secretary, Maximilian Transsilvanus, with the order to travel home within 21 days, but henceforth not to preach, teach, or write, and what Luther had said in response.

From Spalatin's Annalss, p. 46.

So Doctor Martinus left the archbishop in Tryer, and went next to Hanssen von Minquitz, knight, who was lying dead in a crane in Wurmbs, and as he, after faithful Christian consolation, wanted to leave him, he blessed him with other words, such as: I will leave again tomorrow. Then I grabbed him by the cap he was still wearing and said, "Doctor, you are a good man to say you will leave tomorrow. But you have no final farewell. Then he, the good priest, said to me: You will see, I will leave tomorrow. So he went back to his hostel, and his companions and his company, until of course Johann Petzensteinner, of Nurmberg, also an Augustinian, had gone from him to look around in the city of Wurmbs, who perhaps also suspected that they had not long been to Wurmbs' hostel. And of course not much three hours after the conversation with the archbishop came to Tryer because of Kay. Mat. above-mentioned official to Tryer, Doctor Johann Eck and next to him. Her Maximilian Transiluanus, Kay. Mat. secretary, as a notary, and others, and spoke these words in the lateen, that Kay. Mat, princes and rulers of the Holy Roman Empire had graciously sought to soften him in many ways. But because nothing has helped, he is to return to his guard, and should be forgiven until one and twenty days after the death of Kay. Mat., with the appendix: that he shall go to the

no longer be allowed to preach, learn, or write. However, some of Doctor Martinus Luther's assistants came back. Shortly thereafter, as he had not long since turned away from them to the other rooms of his hostel, Doctor Martinus gave this Christian answer in Latin, the Romans. Kaye. Mat, princes, rulers and sovereigns of the holy kingdom have so graciously heard him, and have so graciously given him their glide, for which he, as the most humble and faithful chaplain, expresses his most humble and faithful thanks. He also wants to have nothing reserved for him, neither alive nor dead, nor disgraced, but only to freely practice and confess God's word.

Such answer hett im Kay. Mat. Council, secretary, and servant, also appointed by Emperor Maximilian, so well that after that Mr. Johann Stabius, only a noble man, also known to Doctor Martino, praised so highly that he was allowed to say to me, Spalatin, and others about Wurmbs: That he thought that Maximilian Transiluanus had said such a farewell, and that Doctor Martinus' final thanks and answer was much better than Doctor Martinus himself had said.

B. Luther's letters to the emperor and the imperial estates sent back when the imperial herald accompanying him was dispatched.

58V. D. Martin Luther's letter to Emperor Carl V, after his departure from Worms, sent back from Friedberg, April 28, 1521, in which he first of all repeats everything that happened at Worms recently, then states concise reasons why God's Word does not submit to human judgment, furthermore thanks him humbly for the escort he was given, and asks that the Emperor not let him be oppressed, suffer violence, and be condemned by his opponents.

Luther wrote this letter in Latin, and according to Seidemann in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 21, the original is in the possession of the canon D. T. G. Keil in Leipzig. Magnifying glasses on the address by Spalatin's hand: "1521. Die-.

This letter was not handed over to the emperor because there was not one among such a large number of great people who could have handed it over. Handwritten it is in the 60a. Solan. ii. 122, toi. 18.17. The first printing has the title: Xä. On. Eurolnni V. Anstrlnrn Imp. 6a68.

äoetoris Martini OntiEri, AnZnstinianiani Epistoia, post abitioneni 6X eonventn linperiaii M'ormiaciae M. D. XXI. In qnarr 86nt6ntiarn etiam Oieetoridns Orincipidus, 6t reiignis iinpsrö oräiniftns iline scripsit, 86<l Oassari latins 6t oräinidns Mrmani66. One sheet in quarto without location. Sodann in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 316; in the Wittenberg edition (1561), torn. II, toi. 168 d; in De Wette vol. I, p. 589 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 129. A German translation of this letter is found in the Weimar archives in Spalatin's handwriting, which is said to have been made by Luther himself (so Förstemann "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 76 and Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 20) or perhaps by Spalatin (so the Erl. Briefw., vol. III, p. 129). It seems to us that Spalatin provided the translation of this letter made by Luther himself for the purpose of addressing it also to the princes, princes and estates of the empire, with the necessary changes in title, in order to adapt it to the emperor as recipient. Both letters (the next one and this one) are almost word for word identical, so that Förstemann did not consider it necessary to print the following letter separately, but added it to this one in note form. The variants are mostly insignificant and do not affect the meaning. In another very good and accurate translation, this letter is found in the German Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. II3d; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 449d; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 727; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 590 and in Walch. We consider a reproduction of Förstemann's text superfluous because of the great similarity of the same with the next following number, and reproduce the above-mentioned translation with the necessary improvements according to the first printing, which is reproduced in the Erlanger Briefwechsel 1. 6.

Translated from Latin.

To the most noble and invincible lord, Carl V, elected Roman Emperor, always Major of the Empire (Caesari Augusto), King of Spain, both Sicily and Jerusalem 2c, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy 2c, his most gracious lord.

Jesus.

1. grace and peace with all subjection, through Christ our Lord. Most glorious and invincible Emperor, most gracious Lord! After E. kais. Maj. has ordered me with a public safe conduct to Worms to inquire my mind about the booklets that have gone out publicly in my name, and in all humility before E. kais. Maj. and the entire empire there.

seemed to be: as if E. kais. Majesty has held it against me in particular and had it indicated whether I recognized the aforementioned booklets as mine? And whether I wanted to revoke them, or persist in them, or not?

2. But I, since I recognized them as mine (as long as nothing of my adversaries or misleaders had been changed or altered in them), have humbly indicated in all reverence that I would be of a mind, after having kept and confirmed my little books with clear and public testimonies of the holy Scriptures, that it would not be proper for me, nor would it be right for me to deny God's word, and thus to revoke my little books; and have therefore humbly asked E. kais. Maj. would in no way permit that I be urged to such a revocation, but rather that my booklets, either by E. Majesty himself, or others, whoever they may be, even the very least (who could), and that the errors, which some claim to be in them, be punished and rebuked with divine, evangelical and prophetic writings; Also, out of a Christian spirit, I have humbly offered that, if I were convicted of any error, I would recant everything and be the first to throw my little books into the fire, burn them, and trample them underfoot.

But about all this I was asked and encouraged to answer simply, clearly and explicitly, whether I wanted to recant or not? To this I again most humbly said: Because my conscience would be decided and imprisoned by the holy scripture, which I have put on and introduced in my little books, I could not recant anything without better instruction.

Then some princes, princes and other estates of the empire negotiated with me that I wanted to submit my booklets to your imperial majesty and the imperial estates' knowledge and judgment and make them available; which the chancellor of Baden and Doctor Peutingen diligently sought from me, and in which they labored and worked hard. But I offered myself as before, if I would only be instructed otherwise by divine scripture or public causes, I would gladly yield.

Finally, I wanted to put and trust some extracted articles to the knowledge of a general concilii. But I, as one who has always and with all diligence, humbly, willingly and ready to do and suffer everything that would always be possible for me, could not attain this some (which is, after all, a Christian request), that God's word would remain free and unbound to me, and that I would submit my little books to E. kais. Maj. and the imperial estates in such a way, or also to trust the decision 1) of a council, that nothing contrary to the Gospel of God would be either subjected by me or defined and recognized by them. This is what the whole deal was and is based on.

For God, who is a proclaimer of hearts, is my witness that I am completely willing and ready in all submissiveness to please and be obedient to your imperial majesty, whether by life or death, by honor or disgrace, by gain or loss. For so I have often offered myself, that I still offer myself, and do not except anything, but only God's word, in which not only man lives, as Christ says Matth. 4, 4, but which also the angels desire to behold, 1 Petr. 1, 12. The same, because it is above all things, should also be completely free and indeed unbound in everything, as St. Paul teaches [2 Tim. 2, 9], and it is never in my will nor in the will of some men to subjugate it and put it in danger, no matter how great, numerous, learned and holy men may be.

7. so that St. Paul, Gal. 1, 8. may also freely say publicly, without all shyness, and repeat twice: "If we also, or an angel from heaven, preach the gospel to you, other than what we have preached to you, let him be accursed"; and David says [Ps. 146, 3.]: "Do not rely on princes, they are men, they cannot help." Nor can anyone subject himself, as Solomon says [Proverbs 28:26], "Whoever relies on his

heart, he is a fool," and Jeremiah Cap. 17:5: "Cursed is the man that trusteth in men."

For in temporal matters, which do not concern God's word and the eternal heavenly goods, one owes it to the other to believe and trust, because there is no harm in submission, danger and loss of blessedness, since these must be abandoned in the end. But in God's word and eternal goods, God does not suffer such danger that a man should subject himself to them and make a mighty home for himself. For He wants all men and everything to be subject to Him, as He alone has the honor and glory that He is true, yes, the truth itself, but all men are liars and false, as St. Paul, Rom. 3, 4, excellently deals with.

9 And this is not unreasonable. For the same faith, submission and humility is actually the right worship and adoration, which, as St. Augustine says in the first book of the Enchiridion 2), should not be shown to any creature. For this reason, St. Paul considers neither the angels, nor himself, nor without a doubt any saint, whether in heaven or on earth, worthy of such faith and trust, even cursed. Nor would they suffer it, much less desire it. For to trust a man in such a way in matters concerning eternal bliss is nothing other than to give the creature the honor that is actually and solely due to God.

(10) Therefore, I most humbly request that Your Imperial Majesty not think that this reservation of the word of God comes from an evil suspicion, nor understand it ungraciously. For it is taken from the aforementioned sayings of the Holy Scriptures, to which all creatures should give way in good conscience. St. Augustine says that the prestige of the Scriptures is greater than all men's understanding can grasp and comprehend.

(11) For that my mind and trust in Your Imperial Majesty is righteous and pure, the latter can well notice and understand from the fact that I am under Your Imperial Majesty.

1) The old translator offers: "also without Oerterung eines Concilii", thus seems to have read *sine etiam Concilii Nctcrminations* instead of: *sive etiam Concilii deterininutioni*. The former reading is really found in the Wittenberg edition. Our reading is in Förstemann 1. c.

2) There seems to be a wrong citation here (Erl. Briefw.).

I have obediently appeared in the presence of your Imperial Majesty's escort, and have not worried or feared anything, although I knew that my books had been burned by the adversaries, and in the meantime a mandate against me and my books had gone out publicly under your Imperial Majesty's name, and has been posted in many places, which would not have unreasonably deterred a poor monk and drawn him back, where I would not have provided and still fail to provide all good to God Almighty, to your Imperial Majesty and to the estates of the realm.

12. Although I have not been able to obtain by any means that my books would be refuted by the Holy Scriptures, and I am forced to walk away from them unconquered, and the whole deal, as I have said, has been and is based on the fact that the erroneous articles that are supposed to be in my books, as they speak of them, have not been wanted, nor can they be proven, or published with the Holy Scriptures, nor have they been put off or promised that my books should be examined and discussed according to God's Word: Nevertheless, I thank your Imperial Majesty in the most humble manner that they have kept the public escort to Worms for me, and have promised to keep it until I am safely in my custody.

(13) And once again, for the sake of Christ, I most humbly ask your Imperial Majesty not to let the adversaries suppress me, nor to suffer violence and condemn me, because I have now offered myself so often, as is proper and fitting for a Christian and obedient person. For I am still quite willing and ready, under your imperial majesty's escort, to present myself before unsuspicious, learned, free and impartial judges, secular or ecclesiastical, by your imperial majesty, by the estates of the realm, by the Concilia, by the Doctores, or whoever else may or will, to instruct me, and to submit my books and teachings to all with pleasure, to tolerate and accept their examination, knowledge, and judgment, nothing excepted, but only the public, clear, and free word of God, which shall be just above all, and shall remain the judge of all men.

14 Therefore, I also ask most humbly, not for my person alone, as I am an unworthy, despised person, but in the name of all of Christendom, which has also moved me to send back this writing. For I would like with all my heart that Your Imperial Majesty, the whole Empire, and the noble, high-souled German nation be advised in the very best way, and that all be blessed in God's grace, with all welfare. So far, I have sought nothing but God's glory, common and everyone's welfare and bliss, and have not considered my own benefit in this, not even yet; God grant, the adversaries condemn me or not. For since Christ, my Lord, prayed for his enemies on the cross [Luc. 23, 34.], much more should I be diligent, ask and plead for your majesty, for the whole kingdom, and for my most beloved 1) overlords, and the whole German nation, my dear fatherland, to whom I pledge all good, according to my trust, with joy and confidence in Christ, my Lord.

15 I hereby entrust myself to the protection and protection of your imperial majesty, which God the Lord graciously and blessedly governs, guides and sustains us, amen. Given at Friedburg, on Sunday Cantate [April 28] Anno 1521.

Your Imperial Majesty's most subservient
bitter Martinus Luther.

581 Martin Luther's letter to the princes and estates of the empire, sent back from Friedberg after his departure from Worms, April 28, 1521.

This letter is, as already mentioned in the previous number, a translation by Luther himself of the letter to the emperor, which he also addressed in German to the princes, princes and estates. This letter is handwritten, by Spalatin's hand, in the Weimar archives, and is subsequently published by Förstemann in his "neue Urkundenbuche", p. 76 ff. first in the form of notes to the letter to the emperor. The first print was published in Wittenberg by Johannes Grünenberg under the title: "Copia ainer Missiue, so D. M. Luther after his ab-

1) Wittenberger, Aurifaber and De Wette: edurissimis; Erl. Briefw.: elarissünis.

scheydt zu Wormbs tzuruck an die Churfürsten, Fürsten, vn Stede des heylligen Römischm Reichs daselbest versam- let geschriben hat." At the end: "Geben zu Fridburgk" 2c. 1 sheet in quarto, in the title border a convoluted 4. 6. Without indication of the place. After that, a large number of reprints (nine are given in the Erlangen correspondence), three of which have at the end: "Fridberg in der Wetteraw." Three other editions, one of which bears the printer's mark of Martin Landsberg in Leipzig, have at the end: "Freyburg in Meyssen"; a Basel edition has at the end: "Frygburg"; a Low German translation has at the end: "Fridborch". Furthermore, this letter is printed together with "Handlung so mit doc- tor Martin Luther Vff dem Keyßerlichen Reichs tag zu Worms ergangen ist" 2c. in three different editions, one Basel and (presumably) one Strasbourg and one Augsburg. In the Gefimmt editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 115 (not 113, as De Wette and after him the Erlangen angebm); in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 452; in the Altenburger, vol. I, p. 729 (not 727); in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 593 (not 590); in De Wette, vol. I, p. 594; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 66 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 137. In Latin Uebersetzung in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 319 b and in the Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, fol. 170. - On June 10, 1521, Luther wrote to Spalatin: Excusas IsZi msas Uterus aa oraines iraperii aatas in reeessu IN6O, 86-l IL6ndc>8U8 (I have read in print the letter addressed to the estates of the empire on my return, but full of errors). The Erlanger Briefwechsel says Vol. III, p. 135: "This letter was printed without Luther's knowledge and inaccurately, about which he complains in the letter to Spalatin of June 10." Nevertheless, the Erlanger Briefwechsel reproduces the text of the first printing that aroused Luther's discontent, without caring in the least about Spalatin's manuscript found in Förstemann i.e.. This text, however, is nothing better than the one reproduced in the editions according to other prints until then. Luther's criticism undoubtedly refers to the first printing, which is not only "inaccurate", but "full of errors". In the same, as can be seen from our notes, there are such things as: "to provide for him" instead of "to set in motion"; "to move" instead of "to commit"; "on it" instead of "may"; "wölch" instead of "because I"; "to deny" instead of "to embarrass" [refute! 2c., and so that the nonsense resulting from such readings would not be all too great, has then been changed in the text with the greatest arbitrariness. We give the text after Förstemann, although the gathering of the notes and the text was a very arduous work.

To the most reverend and most worthy in GOD, most illustrious, most noble, most highborn Electors, Princes, Archbishops and Bishops, venerable Prelates, noble and well-born Counts, strict, honorable Knighthoods and Nobles, and all other Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, now assembled at the Imperial Diet at Worms, my most gracious, gracious and favorable Lords.

JEsus. 1)

Most gracious, gracious and favorable lords! Your electoral, princely and other graces and benefits are always preceded by my submissive prayer and service.

2nd Most gracious, gracious and favorable gentlemen! After Imperial Maj. Maj. has summoned me to your free, safe and strict escort to Worms, to receive from me information about my books that have gone out in my name, I have appeared as the most submissive chaplain before Imperial Maj. Maj. and the estates of the Holy Roman Empire in obedience.

3 Thus, Imperial Majesty has firstly ordered me to indicate whether I want to confess to the books in question and withdraw them or insist on them. Maj. first of all ordered me to indicate whether I had confessed to the books I had touched and wanted to revoke them, or whether I wanted to insist on them or not. I have, after a humble confession of the books that I have made, and which have not been altered by my detractors or in other ways, and which have been changed to my detriment, allowed myself to be humbly questioned: Because I have affirmed my writings with the clear, loud word of God, it is most burdensome to me, also unreasonable and impossible, to deny God's word, and to revoke such my books in such a way.

4. and humbly requesting that Imperial Maj. Maj. will not allow me to enter into any such contradiction, but will inspect my writings and books, by himself or by others, even the fewest who are able, and prove the errors that are to be found in them by divine, prophetic and evangelical writings; with Christian inheritance, if I were proven to have erred, I would revoke all errors and be the first to throw my books into the fire and trample on them with my feet.

(5) To which I am requested to give a short, correct answer, whether I want to recant or to remain on my decision? Therefore, I answered again humbly: because my conscience is bound by such divine Scripture as I keep in my books, I cannot recant in any way without instruction from the holy divine Scripture.

1) "JEsus" is missing in the first printing, but is in Spalatin's manuscript; on the other hand, the preceding address is missing in Spalatin.

(6) Consequently, several princes, princes, and some of the estates of the Holy Roman Empire have acted with me, saying that I should and wanted to put my books on the authority of the Emperor and the estates of the Holy Roman Empire. Maj. and the estates of the Holy Roman Empire; as the Chancellor of Baden and Doctor Peutingier of Augsburg also objected to me. So I offered myself again, as before: where I would be instructed by divine scripture or bright and clear causes.

7. finally, that I should trust some articles, drawn from my books, to the judgment of a council; and I have been willing at all times and in all ways in submission to do and leave everything that is possible for me; it has finally come to a head only because I have not been able to raise this Christian standard, that God's word would be free and unbound, and that I have placed my books on Imperial Majesty and the Holy Empire and Estates or on a future council's judgment and determination, so that nothing contrary to the holy word of God would come from me in them. Maj. and the Holy Roman Empire and Estates, or a future council's recognition, judgment and determination, so that nothing contrary to the Holy Word of God would be given by me therein, or decided, spoken and recognized by them.

8 For God, who searches all hearts [1 Chron. 29, 9], is my witness that the Emperor's Majesty, the King, is the one who has the power to rule the world. Majesty. I am completely willing and resolved to render obedience in all things, whether living or dying, doing or not doing, honor or dishonor, good or harm; I have also offered myself to do so many times, and offer myself again, reserving nothing but the holy word of God, in which not only man's eternal life (as Christ says in Matth. 4, 4.), but also the joy and delight of angels [1 Petr. 1, 12.], which should and must be free and unrestrained over all things, as St. Paul teaches [2 Tim. 2, 9.], and is not in any man's power to enter into it, 1) or to put into drive 2) however great, much, learned 3) and holy they may always be, that also St. Paul Gal. 1, 8. may twice call out and cry out: 4) "If even one angel

from heaven, or even we ourselves, would teach you otherwise, let it be forfeited"; and David in the Psalter [Ps. 146:3.], "Ye shall not trust in princes, in the children of men, in whom is not salvation."

(9) Neither should anyone trust in himself, as Solomon says: "He is a fool who trusts in his own heart," and Jeremiah Cap. 17, 5: "Let him be destroyed who trusts in a man."

(10) For in temporal matters, which do not concern God's word and eternal things, we are obliged to trust in one another, considering that the same things, which we must let go of, are harmless to salvation. But in God's word and eternal things, God cannot suffer us to trust or consider freely in one or many men, but only in Himself, who alone has and should have the honor and name of being true and the truth Himself, but all men are vain, as St. Paul masterfully introduces in Romans 3:4. And this is right, for such trust and worship is the right worship and the true service of God, as St. Augustine teaches, which should not be offered to any creature.

For this reason, St. Paul does not want any angel from heaven, not even himself, nor without a doubt any saint in heaven or on earth to be considered worthy of such trust or to be regarded as such. Nor would any saint tolerate, much less desire, to trust a man in things pertaining to eternal blessedness, which is nothing other than making an idol out of creatures and placing them in God's own right glory.

For this reason, I humbly request that Your Electoral, Princely Grace and Favor will not understand such a reservation on my part in disgrace, or as having arisen [from] evil distrust, but rather from the above-mentioned Scripture, which everyone is obligated to obey. For my submissive trust and strong confidence in Imperial Maj. Maj. and Your Electoral and Princely) Graces and Favors, may be easily gauged from this, that I, at Imperial Maj. Maj.'s request and escort; although my books had previously been burned by my patrons, and

1) In the first printing: "move" instead of: "begeben" in Spalatin's handwriting.

2) In the first print: "to provide for him" instead of: "to set in motion".

3) Förstemann: "vilgelert". Our reading is according to the Latin.

4) Thus Spalatin's handwriting. In the first printing: "darauf zweimal rüst und gesagt".

including 1) a mandate against me and my writings, in imperial name. Maj. name, posted on many ends, which should have driven back such a poor monk, if my heart was not set on God, Imperial Maj. Maj., E. churfürstlichen and princely graces and benefits, and the whole realm, had provided and still fails to provide all graces and benefits submissively.

Because I 2) have not been able to find a way to publish my writings through the divine word, 3) and thus have had to resign, and the only defect has been that one has not wanted to prove or publish the erroneous articles that should be in my books with divine writings, nor allow, grant, or put me off and promise that my books should be investigated and recognized on the basis of the holy word of God, I nevertheless offer Imperial Majesty E. C. F. and other graces and favors my most humble thanks to their gracious granting and free, secure, and punishing of the Holy Spirit. Maj., E. C. F. and other graces and favors most humbly thank you for your gracious grant and free, secure, punctual escort, which you held for me in Worms, and which you have graciously offered to hold in my custody until further notice.

14 And once again, for the sake of God, it is my most humble request to E. C. F. Gnaden und Gunsten that E. C. und F. Gnaden und Gunsten will graciously request me against Kais. Maj. graciously forbid that their Imperial Maj. Maj. will not allow me to be raped, persecuted and condemned by my abnegators beyond my manifold previous and present subservient and Christian entreaties, for I am once again obliged in subservience, upon Imperial Maj. Maj. sufficient assurance to appear before unsuspicious, impartial, learned, ecclesiastical and secular judges, by Imperial Maj. Maj., the Empire, the Conciliation, the Doctors, or whoever is able or willing to do so, to have me instructed, to submit my doctrine and books to everyone, and to suffer and accept knowledge, nothing excluded, but only the holy, free and clear Word of God, which shall hover above and remain judge of all men.

(15) Therefore, not only for my own sake (in which nothing is at stake), but for the sake of the salvation of common Christendom, I humbly beg; which has also caused me to send back this humbly written letter of mine. For I would like from the bottom of my heart that Kais. Maj., the Holy Roman Empire and the entire German nation would be helped, and they would be blessed in God's grace, which I have hitherto sought next to God's honor and the common blessedness of all Christendom, and nothing at all mine, and seek again, even if I were condemned by my detractors.

16 For since Christ, my Lord and God, prayed for His enemies on the cross [Luc. 23,34.], how much more do I pray for Imperial Maj. Maj., E. C. F. graces and favors, and the whole holy empire, my most beloved lords, authorities and German nation, to whom I pledge myself of all graces beforehand, on previous and present Christian inheritance, humbly and consolingly, I should care, pray and ask.

17. order me hereby in E. C. F. Graces and Favors in all obedience, which E. C. F. Graces and Favors the Almighty God, for our salvation and comfort, graciously command us all, Amen. Given at Friedburg, on Sunday Cantate, in the year 1521.

E. churfürstlichen, princely graces and
favors subservient chaplain
Martinus Luther.

C. Luther's sermons on his way back from Worms at the request of good friends, although against the imperial order, and the students' uproar against the clergy in Erfurt.

582 Luther's report to Spalatin, how he had preached publicly on the return journey, when, at Hersfeld, at the request of the abbot, who did him immense honor, although he reminded the abbot that he could easily lose his abbey by doing so; also at Eisenach, although the pastor protested against it before a notary and witnesses.

1) under it" - meanwhile.

2) In the first printing: "Wölch" instead of: "Weil ich" in Spalatin.

3) In the first printing: "verleugnen" instead of: "verlegen".

Luther's report in the same letter about how the students in Erfurt stormed the houses of some priests at night out of displeasure that the dean of the Severistift, a zealous pope, had publicly led M. Draco away from the choir under the pretext that he was under ban because he, along with others, had gone to meet Luther on his arrival in Erfurt.

See Appendix, No. 68, § 2.

A piece of a letter from Luther to Melanchthon in which he testifies to his serious displeasure with it. Around the middle of May 1521.

This letter, which Luther wrote from the Wartburg, is found in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 329 with the remark that this fragment was found in Spalatin's library; further in Ströbel - Ranner, p. 15; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 7 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 158.

Newly translated from the Latin.

I hear that in Erfurt violence is being carried out against the houses of the priests; I am surprised that the council allows it and looks through its fingers, and that our Lang is silent about it. For although it is good that those ungodly people who do not desist are kept in check, such a manner brings disgrace to our Gospel and causes it to be rightly rejected. I would write to Lang, but cannot yet. For such a show of favor by people against us is very annoying to me, for we see clearly from it that we are not yet worthy servants of his word before God, and that Satan mocks and laughs at our nobility. Oh, how I fear that it might be the fig tree in the likeness, of which Matthew 21 1) predicts that it will only bud before the day of judgment, but will not bear fruit. It is true, but it is only leaves and words, because we do not do as we teach.

1) Rather, Luc. 13, 6. ff.

Section Eight of Chapter Seven.

The first part of the book is a description of the sharp edict of Worms, which was written after Luther's departure, as well as that of many princes and rulers, at the instigation of the bloodthirsty papists, and which was published to the great displeasure of many imperial estates, and by which Luther was put under guardianship.

A. From the outgoing sharp edict itself.

585 Emperor Carl V's Edict against Luther's Books and Doctrine, His Followers, Abstainers and Successors 2c. Worms, May 8, 1521.

This edict is found in Walch's old edition twice in the 15th volume, namely here, and once again printed in full in the writing "Zwei kaiserliche uneinige und widerwärtige Gebote den Luther betreffend" (mit Luthers Glossen), Col. 2715 ff. (in this volume no. 747, in Walch by printing error 647). Likewise duplicated in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 118d and p. 190 d; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 456 and vol. II (1585), p. 399 d; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 736 and vol. II, p. 762 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 596 and vol. XIX, p. 303. We leave this document here and refer to no. 747.

586 In the same year, Emperor Carl V issued an order to the University of Vienna to burn D. Mattin Lntner's books. Given at Worms, November 25, 1521.

This writing is found, with the indication: "verdeutscht," in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 123; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I. Bl. 555; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 924 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 602, also in Lünig's spioil. eecües. eontm. II, x. 252.

Carol by God's grace elected Roman Emperor, all-time ruler of the Empire 2c.

1st Worthy, devout, dear faithful! Although we are not displeased that we have noted from your letter that you have in our honor the execution or execution of the papal bull,

against Brother Martin Luther's books, until you could find out what our mind and opinion was in it, and what we had decided and decreed for that reason: Nevertheless, it would have been agreeable to us if, after the lawful promulgation of the bull in question (as your letter from the meeting of the Faculty of Theology in your university, which has the merit of having happened), you too would have given us your consent,) you also ordered the above-described books, which are a tinder and cause of great discord, rebellion, sedition and danger in the Church of God, to be burned with due fire, and reminded and admonished the people of God to beware of them most diligently. This could have been done by you with good advice and reason, even without anyone's risk or harm. For first of all, as often as the faith is dealt with, it behooves the Roman bishop and the Holy Apostolic See to judge and pass judgment; consequently, it is not in accordance with the truth that you should not have heard long ago that both of the aforementioned books in our Netherlands, Burgundy, also in Cologne, Trier, Mainz and other places in German lands, have been destroyed by papal authority and by our decree or command with public and due fire.

Finally, since your university or high school has always been a fruitful mother not only of the very best doctrine, but also of Christian godliness, you could easily have recognized and noticed that Luther's and other Lutheran writings are contrary to Christian love and customs, which grew upon us from our forefathers and ancestors, and that they have already aroused a great deal of evil in the Church of God, and (one should strive against this) would bring and cause even more trouble. However, since we believe that such delay on your part is only due to the fact that you have shown us (the founders and protectors of your university's forefathers) due honor, we praise such your mind and your loyalty towards us.

(3) But because we consider that it will be very good, useful, and beneficial that this pestilential fruit of the Lutheran heresy be eradicated, we earnestly command you, and will that this letter of ours be read in a common congregation or assembly of your university, and that Luther's books against the pope and papal see, as well as other honorable persons, disreputable pamphlets be condemned and forbidden to be proclaimed, and with the ordinary order kept, as in such matters.

The law provides that the person who is to be burned in a public fire is to keep the fire.

You will do your duty, and it will be a pleasant thing for us. For we want you and all others to know that we are willing, by virtue of the imperial dignity, and also by our nature, to use all our goods and assets, and also to work with the utmost diligence, so that the holy papal see and the entire Christian church will not suffer any harm, damage or harm in our reign, but will flourish, increase and be strengthened in the greatest peace, harmony, tranquility and unity. That we have graciously wished to inform you, so that you, informed of our will and mind, may know now and in the future what you should do in this or similar matters. Given in our imperial city of Worms 2c. on the 25th day of November, Anno 1521. of our empire, the Roman of the other, but of the others of all in the sixth. 1)

Carolus.

By the order of imperial and Christian majesty.

Maximilianus Transylvanus.

To the worthy, our dear devotees and faithful, N.
Rector, Magisters and Doctors of our University
of Vienna.

B. Of the displeasure and displeasure that some great people have testified about this sharpness used against Luther.

587. letter of the knight Joh. von Rechenberg, Silesian Oberamtsdirector, to the Elector of Saxony, in which he inquires whether it is true that such a decree, of which he has enclosed a printed copy, was made at Worms with the unanimous consent of the estates. August 31, 1521.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 252.

Illuminator, Highborn Elector, Most Gracious Lord, my entire willing dignity to your Electorate beforehand. Lord Elector, I have recently heard how the Imperial Majesty has issued a serious edict against D. Martin Lutter and his followers through Germania, and how they are required to do so through

1) In the editions: "im Fünfften," which, as can be seen by comparison with the edict, is not correct. See No. 747.

The Elector's Grace of Brandenburg has been publicized and carried out in the manner stated in an open publication, as well as in such a royal edict and proclamation. The same shall be done by the common council of the kingdom, so that it may be possible for the people who adhere to this law to have a shocking trial, because it is my wish and that of the Christians to know about this case. Hirwegen ych Ewer Kursürsthtlichen Gnoden dinstlichs Sfleis wyl gebettenn habenn, ewer Kurfürstliche G. wollen mich gedochter Keyserlichenn Majest. commiſion, nebenn der eyntrechtigenn foxwylligunge der sthtennde des reychs, durch ewr Kurfürstliche Gn. I have decided on what I would like to keep as a matter of course for the authorities of the kingdom, not to stand in their own syndicates, and I am sure that our Electorate will be satisfied with this, as unknown to me, 1) will not let me be a Christian prince with the right to keep this matter. That I want to continue with my ganntz willign dinst ken [against^ Ewer K. F. G. allzeyt geflieſſen sein zw fordiennen. Gnedigister K.F. vnnd Her, wu Ach dißenn Drugk auff dem margk fundenn, het yt yt mich nicht erwegt, Ewer Kurfürstlichenn Gnodenn zu schreyben. But because his F. G., Margkraff Jochachinn, his Electoral G., the Illustrious Prince sund] Herr KarlIn, Herzuge zw Musenberg yn schlesien zur Olſe, Graf zw Glotz, foyt [Vogt] Inn Ober Laushnitz, disenn Drugk zugesertigkgett, vnnd der genannten Furst mir Geshrybenn, weil ych gewest bey meym gnedigenn Hern Herzugk Jörge sein Fürstlichen Gnodenn, from the Gehert or Sust dorfarenn, ob dißer beshließ, wy der Drugk zw Frangk wort ausgegangenn, von ewer Kurfürstlichen Gnoden vnnd alln sthtenden eyntrechtiglich forwylliget, byt yt ewer K. F. Gnodenn vmb eyynn Gnedigen vndericht. y shigke ewer K. F. G. neue Zeytung aus Vnnngern, die wend der allemechtige Gott zwm bestenn. ewer Kurfürstliche Gnodenn zu dienen als meyn Gnedigen Hernn nach formoegennheytt befint y ich mich wylich. Given on the Sunday after St. John's Day [Aug. 31] in the 21st year of the Free State.

E. KurFurstl. G.

W[ill]

Hannß Rechenbergk von
Windische borau, Rytter vff Freinstat,
ßhlawe und Wartenbergk.

1) in Cyprian: "vn-known".

To the Illustrious, Huchgebornn Furst vnnd Hernn, Herr Fryderychn, des Heyligenn Romischenn reychs ertz marßhaigk vnd KurFurst, Hertzog zu Sachsen, Landgraſſn vnn Doryngenn vnnd Marggraſ zw meyßen, meynn Gnedigiſn Hernn.

588 Prince Frederick of Saxony's answer that he had left Worms due to indisposition before the decisions on all matters concerning the empire had been made. Sept. 5, 1521.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p. 255.

By the Grace of God Friderich 2c.

Greetings to you, dearest, dearest one. We have read all the contents of your writings of the date of the Feast of St. John on the Sunday after his Ascension, and we have also published the newspapers which you have mentioned to us, for your kind favor, and we hope that the Almighty God will grant you mercy, and send it with the same newspapers, for the good of the common Christianity, everywhere for the best. Maj. commission, in addition to the consent of the Stend of the realm, of which he has sent you a letter, we wish to inform you by our letter 2c. We do not wish to reproach you for the fact that, at the recent Diet at Worms, we had decided on the weakness of our sovereignty, and on account of the insufficiency of the matter, a few days before, and before the matter of the realm had been decided on everywhere, we do not wish you to do so. Then we are inclined to be gracious to you. Datum Lochaw Dornstag nach Egidy [5 Sept] Anno Domini XXI.

To Hansen von Rechenbergk Knight.

Luther's report of this edict to Melanchthon, in which he also reports that Hartmuth von Kronberg had terminated his service to the emperor because of this edict, which had brought him 200 gold florins annually.

See Appendix, No. 69, § 4,

590 D. Mari. Luther's instruction to the confessors about his forbidden books.

This text is duplicated by Walch, namely here and in the 19th volume. Since we have already included it in our edition, Vol. XIX, 808, we omit it here.

Chapter Seven, Section Nine.

From the writings in which the actions from the Diet of Worms have been described.

591 D. Mart. Luther's summary report to Count Albrecht of Mansfeld of the action taken with him at the Diet of Worms. May 3, 1521.

Two different single printings of this letter have appeared. One, perhaps an Augsburg print (in two editions), is entitled: "Ain Mißsue so D. Martinus Luther nach seim abschhd zu Worms, Ain gebornen Grausten seinem verdrauten, Vnd liebgehabten zu geschriLen hat, seiner Handlung halben, Die sich vor Kay. May. And before princes, and sovereigns of the empire, have loused. - In jar. MDXXI." 3 leaves in quarto. The other by Martin Landsberg in Leipzig: "Geschichte vnd handelung Doctor Martinus Lütter belangede, dh mit hm auff gehalten ersten Reichs tagk Caroli des funfften Römische Keyzers tzu Wormbs gehalten, vnd durch doctorem Martinu selbst dem Hochgebornen Herren, herre Graffen von Manßuelt tzu geschrieiben Anno .M.D. xxi." 3 leaves in quarto. Duke Georg of Saxony sent a copy of this print to Counts Gebhart and Albrecht of Mansfeld on Sept. 8 (Seidemann, "Beiträge zur Res.-Gesch.", p. 53 and p. 177 f.) with the request: "ob solche Schrift von gemeldten Doctor Lütter an euch geschrieben sei, uns darnach zu richten". Count Albrecht's answer was evasive, but he admitted that "Doctor Luther has written to us several times, the thorough contents of which we have forgotten due to disregard, misplaced, or even partly lost". On a supplement to this letter, Count Albrecht writes: "We have also received reports that the same letter has been printed with changes, but we do not know why. In the collections, our writing is found: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 117; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 455; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 732; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 585; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 602; and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 71. The regest of this letter in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 144 has the wrong date: "May 9."

Noble and gracious Lord, E. Grace be my poor prayer and service always before. Gracious Lord! Mr. Rudolph von Watzdorf has ordered me to write, by way of an appointed messenger, the story (so I should call it) that happened to me in Worms. First of all, they did not wait for my future at Worms, therefore they sent a ban against me and condemned me in free imperial escort before I came and was interrogated. I was condemned before I arrived and was interrogated, after which they hurriedly dismissed me.

I was asked before Imperial Majesty whether I wanted to keep my books or revoke them. I have given my answer to this, as I respectfully inform Your Grace. Your Grace be informed. Immediately, the Imperial Majesty, embittered against me, issued a serious mandate with her own hand, 1) and let it appear to the imperial estates how she intended to act against me, as befits a Christian emperor and bailiff of the faith against a stiff-necked, obstinate heretic, but would like to keep the escort 2) before her.

3) Some of the empire have shot out to graciously and kindly remind me beforehand that I should submit my books and the matter to the imperial majesty and the empire's estates; and there I am summoned before the bishop of Trier, 3) Margrave Joachim, Duke Jörg of Saxony, bishop of Augsburg, German Master, bishop of Brandenburg, Count Jörg of Wertheim, and two of several cities.

4th Then the Doctor, Chancellor of the Margrave of Baden, stood up, and truly gave me a skilful, well-formed admonition that I must confess that the Official of Trier, who spoke before Imperial Majesty, had given him the right of audience. Maj. spoke to him about the

1) Although the individual printings and according to them De Wette and the Erlangen read: "gesellet", but the Wittenberg and the Jenaer: "gestellt", which seems to us to be the correct reading. For one makes a judgment, but not a mandate, still less "with one's own hand". We consider "gesellet" to be a misprint.

2) At De Wette and in the Erlanger: "hold out".

3) The "Bishop of Trier" is Richard, Churfürst zu Trier. He is named in Spalatin's Annals, p. 44: "the Archbishop of Trier, Lord Reich hardt, born of Greifenklau"; "the Margrave" is Joachim of Brandenburg; the "Bishop of Augsburg" is Christoph of Stadion; the "German Master" is the last German Master, Dietrich of Clem, son of the city mayor Wenzel of Cleen; the "Bishop of Brandenburg" is Hieronymus Scultetus, currently Bishop of Havelberg, as can be seen from no. 567, not his successor in Brandenburg since Oct. 1520, Dietrich von Hardenberg; "Count Jörg von Wertheim" requested a Protestant preacher in 1522 (see appendix of this volume, No. 93); the "two of several, cities" are Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg and Hans Bock, Knight of Strassbourg; the "Chancellor of Baden" is Hieronymus Vehus; "the Official of Trier" is Johann von Eck.

may not hold water; and has been the opinion:

5. it is not the opinion that one wants to enter into dispute with me, but to do a gracious, faithful, brotherly admonition out of Christian compassion to me, namely, that I should consider what mischief and turmoil would arise from it, and also that much trouble and offense would arise from it; and to hold the authorities in honor, to let up on many things for the sake of brotherly love, and to do the best in all things. Even if the authorities were sometimes mistaken, their power would not be lost, but they would still be obliged to be their subjects, and the like.

6 I have replied to this: I may and will submit myself and my books not only to Imperial Majesty, but also to any lesser person. Majesty, but also to any lesser person; but I reserve the right that nothing contrary to the holy gospel be recognized and decided. I have also never taught that one should despise authority, be it good or evil. Neither do I challenge the pope, nor the council, because of their evil life or work, but because of false doctrine. For in false doctrine hearken unto violence and obedience. And have namely condemned the article displayed in Costnitz: *Tantum una est sancta, universalis Ecclesia, quae est numerus Praedestinatorum*. I did not want to let this article be condemned; for it is an article of our faith, since we say: "I believe one holy Christian church."

(7) Likewise, the aversions in works are to be shunned, but in doctrine they must remain. For the word of God always vexes the great, the wise and the holy; just as Christ himself was made by God in *signum contradictionis*, and set as the fall of many in Israel [Luc. 2:34]. Therefore, in brotherly love, I could not indulge in anything further, except as much as would be acceptable to the gospel and faith.

Since nothing was done to me with this, my Lord of Trier has taken me specially to himself, along with D. Hieronymo 1) and Licentiate Amsdorf, and the Official with D. Cochleas, 2) Dechant at Frankfurt, with me.

1) Prospecting.

2) Cochleas - Cochläus.

before his grace alone let me bribe. 3) But it was a wicked disputation, that they tried me with sharp words, but did not reach the goal. I said: The pope would not be a judge in matters concerning God's word and faith, but every Christian man would have to watch and judge, just as he must live and die by it. For faith and the Word of God are the property of everyone in the whole community. I based this on St. Paul [1 Cor. 14, 30]: *Revelatum assidenti si fuerit, prior taceat*. From which saying it is clear that the master should follow the disciple, if he has better in God's words. And the saying remained and still stands, that they said nothing against it. 5) So we departed from there.

9 After that, the Chancellor of Baden and Doctor Peutingger were again ordered to act with me, to submit my books to Imperial Majesty without any reservation; for I should provide the best to them. Maj. without any reservation; for I should provide the best to them, they would conclude Christianly. Since they pressed me hard here, I put it to their conscience whether they wanted to advise me that I should trust so freely in Kais. Maj. and others, since they had already condemned me and burned my books. Whether I would not have a just cause to be concerned, and would have made the reservation that they would not decide anything against the holy gospel; and whether the cause would be nothing, yet the holy scripture would have been buried, trusting in men, as Jer. 17, 5. says: *Maledictus, qui confidit in hominem*. So we parted. But I wanted to submit with the addition that they would not resolve against God. They did not dare to add it.

After that, my Lord of Trier let me demand to see him alone; for his Lord had indeed shown himself to be quite good and more than gracious in this matter, and would have liked to have done it well. I answered as before, and did not know how to answer otherwise; so he left me alone. Soon after that the official came with a count and

3) "bestechen" in the old prints, in the Wittenberg and in the Jena. The expression is taken from the tournament. In the newer editions: *gestehen*.

4) Thus the Wittenbergers and the Jenaers. De Wette and the Erlangeners: "a loose disputation".

5) Thus around Augsburg print and in the editions; in the Leipzig single print: *aufbrachten*.

Emper. Majest. Chancellor, 1) as a notary, and sent me a message from Imperial Maj. Maj.: because I did not want to turn away from my undertaking, I was to depart from there and be escorted for twenty days. Maj. then wanted to do what was due against me.

11. so I thanked imperial maj. Maj. and said: Sicut Domino placuit, ita factum est; sit nomen Domini benedictum [Job 1, 21].

They also bound me not to preach or write anything among the ways; I said: I want to do everything that pleases the Emperor. Maj. pleases, but I will leave God's word unbound, as St. Paul says: Verbum Dei non est alligatum [2 Tim. 2, 9].

13 So I am divorced, and now in Eisenach, beware, they will blame me, I have broken the escort with preaching, in Hersfeld and Eisenach. For they are looking for it. I hereby humbly submit to Your Grace. Hastily written in Eisenach. Die sanctae Crucis [May 3] MDXXI.

E. G.

Capellan Martinus Luther.

592 Detailed description of the action of D. Martin Luther before the Imperial Majesty and the Estates of the Holy Roman Empire at the Diet of Worms in 1521.

This writing is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, fol. 164; in the Jena (1566), tom. II, fol. 411 d and in the Erlanger, opp. var. arg., tom. VI, p. 5. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 107; in the Jena (1564), vol. I, p. 440d; in the Altenburg, vol. I, p. 718; in the Leipzig, vol. XVII, p. 574 and in Walch. There are very many individual printings available about this "plot" under very different titles, of which the Erlangen edition, vol. 64, p. 374 lists ten. The first writing described there, which is printed there with the note that it is "missing in Walch", has the title: "Doctor Martini Luthers öffentliche verhöf zu Worms im Reichstag, Red vnnd widerred, am 17. tag Aprilis im jar 1521. beschehen." Six quarto leaves. All other editions described there are smaller, with the exception of one, to which the letter to the Elector (No. 581) "Copia ainer Missive" 2c. is attached, which comprises ten leaves. From this it follows that Walch's assumption, Vol. XV, p. 116, that in the writing: "Römischer Kai. Mt. interrogation speech

The following is a summary of the treatise of the Augustinian Order of Wittenberg, in the presence of the princes, rulers, and sovereigns of the Holy Roman Empire, which was presented at the Council of Wittenberg. M. D. 21. Jare." our writing may be contained, is invalid. For our writing comprises in the Jena edition almost eight folio leaves, in the old edition of Walch, vol. XV, almost 23 columns, which are equal to an equally large number of pages in the Erlangen edition, while the writing printed there I. c. occupies only seven pages. In terms of content, too, our writing indisputably deserves superiority over that one, and in our opinion Walch would have been quite justified in not bringing it even if it had come to his attention. Walch also mentions a single Latin edition in quarto under the title: Xetu st res Mstae D. Martini Imtdsri in eoruitis principuru Vornmatiae 1521.

Anno after the birth of Christ our Lord and Savior in 1521, Tuesday after Misericordias Domini [April 16], Doctor Martinus Luther, of the Augustinian order, came to Worms, where he remained until Friday after Jubilate, or after 2) St. George's Day [April 26], after he was required by Emperor Carol the Fifth, King of Hispania, Archduke of Austria, 2c. who held the first Imperial Diet in the same imperial city in the first year of his imperial rule.

2 After D. Three years ago, Martin had publicly disputed in the University of Wittenberg in Saxony a number of propositions and books against indulgences, the papacy and the Roman bishop's tyranny; which, however, had been torn up, condemned, and burned in various ways by the papists, but had not been disputed by anyone, neither with sacred Scripture nor reasonable causes, and things began to get outrageous, because the rabble and the common man took up the cause of the Gospel against the clergy and the papists, and wanted to defend it:

Therefore, at the suggestion and insistence of the Roman legates, it was considered good that Luther himself be required. Since the Imperial Majesty, the Majesty, the churals and princes sent him an honorary retainer 3) and gave him an escort, he came to the same request and moved into the German Court there for lodging; there he was visited and addressed by many counts, barons, knights, and the nobility, clergy and secular, until far into the night.

2) The first "after" is Conjecture of the Jena edition in the margin, the second "after" we have inserted. The time determination, how long Luther had stayed, is missing in the Latin editions. In Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 68u, in Spalatin's "Bericht über die Handlung" 2c. both "nach" are written.

3) "Ernhold" - herald. See St. Louis edition, Vol. XIV, 734.

1) The Emperor's Chancellor, formerly the Emperor Maximilian's Secretarius, is Maximilian Transsilvanus or Siebenberger. Cf. no. 579,

But many, both the repugnant and others, would not have provided for his arrival at all. For even though he was required by the imperial honorary with a public escort, but because a few days ago, before he arrived, his books had been condemned by publicly posted mandate, no one thought that he would come as he had already been condemned by such untimely judgment. And since at Oppenheim, when he first learned of this, he was advised by many of his friends that he should not set out on the journey himself, because he saw that the beginning of this matter, contrary to the given guidance, was so bad, he gave them this answer with great joy: Well, because I am required and called, I have certainly decided to go in, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, even if I knew that there were as many devils in it as there are tiles on every roof.

The next day, after he had arrived, on Wednesday [April 17], the honorable Ulrich von Pappenheim, hereditary marshal of the empire, came to Doctor Martin early before dinner. Majest. early before dinner, sent to Doctor Martin, and indicated to him the same order that he should appear in the afternoon at four o'clock before kaiserl. Majesty, the princes and other estates of the empire, and to hear why and for what he was called and required, which D. Martin accepted with due reverence and honor.

6th And as soon as four o'clock had struck, on the same day, the said von Pappenheim and Caspar Sturm, the honorary holder, who had led D. Martin from Wittenberg to Worms, came, required and gave him the escort through the German Court, up to the Palgrave's inn, and was thus led through secret passages to the Town Hall, so that he might be escorted by the people, who were much on the way, so immediately to the Imperial Majesty. Majesty. The people who had gathered on the way to the Imperial Majesty's inn would not harm him. Although there were many who ran up to it and wanted to enter, the guards drove them away by force; many climbed onto the roofs and houses to see Doct. Martinum.

7 When he now stood before the Imperial Majesty, the Princes and all the estates of the Empire. Majesty, the princes and all the estates of the empire that were present at the imperial diet, he was reminded by von Pappenheim that he should not speak unless he was asked.

8 Then the imperial orator, D. Johann Eck, common official of the bishop of Trier, began with a high and audible voice to speak first in Latin and then in German by order of the imperial majesty. Majesty, to speak first in Latin, then in German, on this opinion, and to hold Doct. Martin, as follows:

9 Martin Luther, the holy and invincible imperial Majesty, out of concern and advice from all the estates of the Roman Empire, has summoned you to appear before her Majesty. Maj. has, out of the concern and counsel of all the estates of the Holy Roman Empire, summoned you here before Her Majesty's See and required you to ask these two articles. First, whether you confess that these books (to which a large volume and bundle, written in Latin and German, was shown) are yours, and whether you recognize them as yours or not? Secondly, whether you want to revoke them and what is in them, or persist and insist on them?

10 Before D. Martin answered, D. Hieronymus Schurff, who had joined him and was standing by his side, called out loudly and said: "Show the books by name. Then the official from Trier told the names of D. Martin's books that were printed in Basel, among which was also the interpretation of several Psalms. Item, the booklet of good works. The explanation of the Lord's Prayer. The Sermon of Threefold Righteousness, and other Christian books that were not books of controversy.

After this, D. Martinus gave this answer to it in Latin and German:

From kais. Majesty, two articles are held against me. The first, whether I want to recognize all books that have my name as mine. The other, whether I want to defend or revoke those that have been written and issued by me so far. To this I will recently answer correctly, as much as I can.

First, I must recognize the books now mentioned as mine, and can never deny anything of them. But what follows from this, that I should indicate whether I also want to defend or revoke everything at the same time? Since this is a question of faith and the salvation of souls, and concerns God's word, which is the highest and greatest treasure in heaven and earth, and which we should all rightly hold in all honor, it would be presumptuous and dangerous of me to indicate something thoughtless, since I could affirm and say for certain less than the matter requires, or more than would be in accordance with the truth, imprudently or thoughtlessly; which both would bring me into the judgment which Christ has passed, saying: "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father." For this reason, I ask Imperial Maj. Maj. most humbly and most humbly to give me time to think about it.

that I may answer correctly to the questions put to me without detriment to God's word and without danger to my soul's salvation.

Thereupon the princes had their say, which the official of Trier presented in such a way:

11 Although you, Martin Luther, could now have understood sufficiently from the imperial mandate and command what you are required to do and why, and therefore would not now be worthy of being given further and longer time to consider; nevertheless, Imperial Majesty, out of his own kindness, allows you one more day, so that you will be present tomorrow at this very hour; but in such a way and with this condition that you will not express your opinion in writing, but orally. Maj. out of his own kindness allows you one more day to make up your mind, so that you will appear tomorrow at this very hour; but in such a way, and with this condition, that you will not state and present your opinion in writing, but orally.

After this, D. Martin is led by the Ehrnhold back to his hostel. Here shall not be passed over with silence, that D. Luther, as he went to hear the imperial order, and was now in the hall, where the princes were seated, was verbally admonished by some, one here, the other there, that he wanted to be confident and courageous, act manly, and not be afraid of those who could kill the body, but not the soul; but rather wanted to be afraid of him who could destroy soul and body, and throw them into the infernal fire [Matth. 10, 28.]. Item [Luc. 12, 11. 21, 12.]: "When ye stand before kings and princes, consider not what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that hour."

The following day, on Thursday [April 18], at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Ehrnhold came, led Doctor Martin to the Emperor's Court; there, because of the princes' business, he stayed until six o'clock, and waited among a large crowd of people, who themselves were pressing and shoving. When the princes were seated and D. Martin stood before them, the official began to speak thus:

14 Yesterday evening, Imperial Majesty appointed this hour to you, Martin Luther. Majesty appointed this hour for you, Martin Luther, because you publicly recognized and accepted the books we told you about yesterday as your own. But because you asked for time to think about whether you would consider some of them null and void, or whether you would consider everything you professed to be right and approve it, which is now over; although by right you should not have obtained a longer time to consider, because you have known for such a long time what you were required to do, and the cause of faith should be so certain to all and sundry, and each one should be so reported in it, that at whatever time it is sought and desired by him, he will have the same certain and constant reason,

If you are such a great and skilled doctor of the Holy Scriptures, you could give cause and account for it. Well, then, give a final answer to the Imperial Maj. Maj. Seek the kindness of which you have experienced in the time of reflection you have attained: Do you want to defend your recognized 1) books all at once, or do you want to revoke something? The official said this in Latin and German.

15 To this Doctor Martin also answered in Latin and German, though in the most submissive and humble manner, not shouting very much nor violently, but speaking in a fine manner, demurely and modestly, yet with great Christian joy and constancy, and in such a way that the adversaries wished and desired that he had spoken more despondently and timidly than they had provided for and hoped for, after he had asked for time to think things over, that he would have revoked and recanted.

Now his answer 2) is as follows:

Most Sublime Emperor, Most Illustrious, High-born Prince [and] Princes, Most Gracious Fund Gracious Lords. I appear as the obedient one at the appointment set and appointed for me yesterday evening, and by God's mercy, I ask Your Imperial Majesty to give me the honor of your presence. Majesty, and princely graces would graciously hear this just and true matter (as I hope), and if, out of ignorance, I would perhaps not give any one his due title, or would otherwise not show myself with gestures according to court custom, graciously give me credit for it, as I have not been at court, but have been confined in the monastery, but am confined to the monastery, and cannot testify of myself otherwise than that in what I have taught and written with a simple heart up to now, I have looked and sought only God's glory and the benefit and blessedness of the believers in Christ, so that they would be taught righteously and purely.

Now, most gracious Emperor, most gracious princes and lords, in response to the two articles which were held before me yesterday by your Imperial Majesty, I would like to ask you. Maj., namely, whether I can accept the above-mentioned and under

1) agnitos - those recognized by you.

2) As Spalatin reports, Luther delivered the following speech first in Latin and then in German. The speech "Doetoris Martini vor kay. Mayt." 2c. is found in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 69, and agrees completely in content with the one given here, which seems to us to be the German original, but is much more awkward in expression. Also, that relation in Spalatin's manuscript is not complete, but breaks off at the point we have indicated below.

I have given my submissive, clear and correct answer to the first article on which I still firmly insist and want to insist forever, namely that such books are mine and have come out from me under my name. I have given my humble, clear and correct answer to the first article, on which I still firmly insist, and want to insist forever, namely, that such books are mine and have gone out from me under my name; unless perhaps something in them has been changed by my favorable malice or untimely cleverness, or has been maliciously tweaked out; for I do not recognize anything else for mine, except what is mine alone, and written by me alone, without some man's interpretation, however skillful he may be.

But what I will answer to the other article, I ask most humbly, E. kais. Majesty, your high and princely graces may well accept and consider that my books are not all of the same kind. For there are some in which I have taught about Christian faith and good works in such a bad, simple and Christian way that even the adversaries themselves must confess that they are useful, harmless and worthy of being read by Christian hearts. Yes, even the papal bulla, though it is swift and violent, nevertheless renders some of my books harmless, even though it condemns them by a monstrous, unnatural judgment. If I now begin to revoke them, dear, what else would I do but to condemn the truth, which both friends and enemies confess at the same time, as one among all men, and to contradict only the unanimous confession 1) of all?

The other kind of my books is, in which the papacy and the papists' teachings are attacked and touched, as those who have devastated Christianity in body and soul with their false teachings, evil life and annoying examples. For no one can deny and dissimulate, because experience testifies, and all pious hearts lament, that through the pope's laws and the doctrine of men, the consciences of the Christian faithful are most dreadfully and miserably entangled, weighed down, and martyred, even the goods, causes, and possessions, especially in this highly famous German nation, with unbelievable tyranny.

have been exhausted and swallowed up, and are still being swallowed up today in an unseemly manner, while they themselves in their own books and decrees set and teach, as Dist. 9, L 25, H. 1, L 2, that the Pope's laws and teachings, which are contrary to the Gospel or the sayings of the fathers, are to be considered erroneous and incompetent.

If I were to revoke them, I would not do otherwise than to strengthen their tyranny and open not only the windows but also the doors and gates to such great impiety and godlessness, as they would rage and rage much more freely than they have been allowed to do so far, and by such a testimony of this revocation of mine, their tyrannical regime, in which without which all bravery, mischievousness and malice is practiced unashamedly and unpunished, would become much more unpleasant and intolerable to the poor common man and mob, and yet would be strengthened and confirmed, especially so vaunted that such would be ordered by me from Your Imperial Majesty and the whole Roman Empire. Majesty and the entire Roman Empire. O, what a great cover of shame of all kinds of mischievousness and tyranny, dear God, I would then become!

The third type of my books is the one I have written against some private and individual persons 2) who have taken upon themselves to protect and defend Roman tyranny, and to falsify and dampen the godly doctrine taught by me. Against them, I freely confess, I have been somewhat more vehement and strident than befits the occasion of religion and profession 3); for I do not make myself a saint, nor do I dispute not about my life, but about the teachings of Christ.

It is also not my place to revoke them, because such a revocation would once again lead to tyranny and all kinds of ungodly beings ruling with my approval, gaining the upper hand, and raging against God's people much more violently and cruelly than has ever happened before.

2) Here Spalatin's manuscript offers: "wider etliche sonderliche und vngemeinen Personen"; in contrast, the Erlangen edition, which is based on the same relation (vol. 64, p. 380): "wider etlich Sünder und ungenehme Personen".

3) Profession - monastic vows.

But because I am a man and not God, I cannot help or defend my books in any other way than my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ has done in his teaching; who, when asked about his teaching before Annas the high priest, received a blow from the high priest's servant, saying, "If I have spoken evil, prove it to be evil" [John 18:22 ff].

If the Lord, who knew that he could not err, did not refuse to hear testimony against his teaching, even from a lowly, vile servant, how much more shall I, who am earth and ashes, and can easily err, desire and wait if anyone will bear witness against my teaching.

1)

Therefore, by the mercy of God, I ask Your Imperial Majesty, churlish and princely graces. Majesty, your sovereign and princely graces, or whoever can do it, be he of high or low standing, will bear witness and convict me with prophetic and apostolic writings that I have erred. Then, if I am convinced, I will be quite willing and ready to recant all error and be the first to throw my little books into the fire.

From this, I think, it appears clearly and publicly that I have sufficiently considered and considered the distress and danger, the nature and the discord, which is to be awakened by causing my teaching, of which I was strongly and severely reminded yesterday. It is truly the greatest pleasure and joy for me to see that discord and disunity arise for the sake of God's word. For this is God's way, course and happiness, since Christ the Lord Himself says [Matth. 10,34.35.]: "I have not come to bring peace, but the sword, for I have come to stir up man against his Father" 2c.

For this reason, it must be considered how wonderful and terrifying God is in His judgments, lest perhaps that which causes disunity and discord should be avoided.

If we start with persecution and blasphemy of the holy word of God, out of trust in our power and wisdom, we will cause a terrible flood of sin, insurmountable danger, both physical and spiritual harm and damage. Moreover, it is also to be feared that the government of this most noble and kind young man, Emperor Carl (in whose majesty, next to God, there is great hope), would not only gain an evil, unfortunate beginning, but also a means and an end.

I could explain and illustrate this trade with examples from the holy scriptures further and more abundantly than Pharaoh, the king of Babylon, and the kings of Israel, who then brought themselves into the greatest harm and destruction, because they wanted to pacify and preserve their kingdoms with their cleverest plots and riddles. For it is he who seizes the witty in their wit and cleverness, and turns back the mountains before they realize it [Job 5:13, 9:5]; therefore it is necessary to fear God. But I will now refrain from brevity 2c.

I do not say this in the opinion that such great heads need my instruction or remembrance, but that I should not have nor want to withdraw from the German nation, from my dear fatherland, my due service, and I hereby wish to express myself to Your Imperial and Princely Majesty. Maj., chur- and princely. 2) that they will not be moved by my adversaries against me without cause. In order to forbid them with my poor prayer to God, I will always be willing to do so with all humility.

When he had said this, the imperial orator began as if he were somewhat moved. Orator began as if he were somewhat moved, and said: he had not answered the matter, nor should there be any doubt, nor should there be any dispute about it, which had previously been defined in conciliation, finally decided and condemned; therefore, in the case of

1) Here Förstemann breaks off Spalatin's relation of this speech, while in the Erlangen edition the following is also found: Förstemann's text senselessly adds to the preceding: "meyner abgunstigen vbelmeynung vervnglimpfen vnd in vngnaden bringen". These words are in fact the end of the speech. The intervening part is therefore omitted.

2) The following words, as much as we can conjoin to the incomplete relation in Förstemann and the erroneous text of the Erlangen edition, will read in Spalatin's handwriting approximately like this: ssie wollten mich gegen ihnen nicht lassen durchl meiner Abgunstigen Uebelmeinung verunglimpfen und in Ungnaden bringen. In Latin: ns patiantur stnais sckvsglriorim ms sins eansa sidi rscckci invisum.

sought him, he wanted to give a simple, round and correct answer on whether he wanted to revocir and revoke or not?

To this D. Luther said:

Because Your Imperial Maj, chur- and F. G. desire a bad, simple, correct answer, I will give one that shall have neither horns nor teeth, namely thus: Unless I am overcome and convicted with testimonies of the Holy Scriptures, or with public clear and bright reasons and causes (for I do not believe either the pope or the conciliar alone, because it is evident and obvious that they have often erred, and have been repugnant to themselves), 1) and I am thus convinced with the sayings that have been put on and introduced by me, and my conscience is caught in God's word, 2) then I cannot and will not revoke anything, because it is neither safe nor advisable to do anything against the conscience. Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise, God help me, amen.

16 This answer of the doctor was accepted by the Electors, Princes and Estates of the Empire for deliberation. After diligent consideration, the Trier official began to refute it:

17 Martine, you have answered more immodestly than befits your person, indeed, it serves nothing at all to the matter. Among the books, you make various distinctions, but in such a way that all of them neither do nor serve anything in answer to the question posed. If you had recanted the books in which a large part of your errors are contained, then Imperial Majesty would undoubtedly, out of her own goodness, neither tolerate nor permit that the others, as good as they are, be persecuted.

(18) But you revive and stir up again what the whole common council at Costnitz, which was assembled there from the whole German nation, has condemned, and you want to be overcome with the holy Scriptures; in which you are completely mistaken. For what is the use of a new disputation?

1) According to the Latin, the following reads like this: "I am overcome by the scriptural passages which I have attracted, and my conscience is caught in the words of God; I can neither revoke nor will I revoke anything, because" 2c. - The Erlangen edition (Vol. 64, p. 382) offers at the corresponding place: "it is then also a matter of fact that I am overcome by the Scriptures which are led and written by me" 2c.

2) In the text: "be"; in the Jena the conjecture "is" in the margin; in Latin: est.

What should we do about the things that were condemned by the church and the churches a hundred years ago? Perhaps, then, one should indicate and give cause for every piece and article. For if one who contradicts the conciliarities and the opinion of the church were once to be overcome by writings, we would have nothing certain or conclusive in Christendom. 3) And this is the reason why every piece and article is condemned. And this is the reason that Emperor Maj. Maj. desires a simple and correct answer from you, either yes or no, whether you want to defend all of yours as Catholic and Christian, or revoke and recant some of it?

19th Then D. Martin, Imperial Maj. did not want to allow that he would be urged against his conscience, which was overcome and imprisoned by the holy scripture, to recant something without public arguments and proofs of those who speak against it. The answer he would give would not be incorrect or sophistical, but simple, bad and right; he would have no other answer than the one he gave before. Unless the adversaries "explicated" and loosed his conscience, which was caught by the errors (as they are called), with sufficient reasons of the holy Scriptures, otherwise he could not get out of the nets in which he would be entangled. It would not immediately be true everything that the Concilia ordered; indeed, they would often have erred, and decided repugnantly to themselves. Therefore, the adversary's argument would be useless, because he would be able to show and prove that the concilia were in error, and he would not be able to retract what was so diligently and publicly expressed in the Holy Scriptures.

20 The official did not answer, but with very few words, namely: one could not prove that Concilia was mistaken. But D. Martinus offered himself and said that he could and wanted to prove such.

When it began to get dark and gloomy, everyone went home. The Spaniards, however, laughed at and despised the man of God, D. Martinum, when he left the imperial guardhouse for his inn. Maj. from the guardhouse to his inn.

On the Friday after Misericordias Domini [April 19], after the princes and estates, who were in the habit of being in the Imperial Council, had gathered together, the Emperor sent them a document 4) with this content:

3) "with writings" (scripturis), that is, with passages of Scripture.

4) This is the Emperor's own rescript, No. 572 in this volume.

23 Our ancestors, who were also Christian princes, were nevertheless obedient to the Roman Church, which Martinus now considers. And because he has undertaken not to deviate from his errors even a single finger, we cannot depart with honor from the example of our ancestors to protect the old faith and to help the Roman See. But him, Martin Luther, and those who adhere to him, we want to pursue with the ban and the eight, and other ways that are open to exterminate them. But we do not want to break the given and ascribed escort, but we want to make sure that he will safely return to the place from which he was required to come.

24 This decision of the emperor was discussed by the princes, princes and estates of the empire on Friday all afternoon, together with the whole of the following day on Saturday. Martinus has not yet received a reply from the Emperor. Majesty.

In the meantime, he was visited by many princes, counts, barons, knights, from the nobility, clergy and secular (not common people): they were always in and around the courtyard, where he was staying, and could not get tired of seeing him. Also, two notes were posted, one against D. Martinus, the other (as one thought) for the doctor. Although it was thought by many people of understanding that it was deliberately and dangerously ordered by the enemies, so that they would have cause to cancel the escort, which the papal legates sought with diligence.

26. Monday after Jubilate [April 22], before dinner, the Archbishop of Trier let D. Martin Luther know that he wanted to appear before him early on Wednesday at six before noon to name a place again. On St. George's Day [April 23], in the evening about Essen, the Archbishop of Trier's Capellan came by order of his lord to D. Martino and requested that he appear the following day, at the appointed hour, at his lord's inn.

On Wednesday after St. George's Day [April 24], D. Martinus came to the archbishop's inn at Trier, where he was accompanied by his chaplain and the imperial honorable; he was also followed by those who had come with him from Saxony and Thuringia, and by several other very good friends. [They] 1) appeared before the Archbishop

of Trier, [before] Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony, the Bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, the German Master, Count Georgen of Wertheim, Johann Bock of Strasbourg, D. Vehus and D. Peutingern.

28 Then D. Vehus, chancellor of the Margrave of Baden, protested that he was therefore not required to dispute with him, but only that they, the princes, out of Christian love and special grace, had obtained from Imperial Majesty a gracious and brotherly admonition. Majesty to graciously and fraternally admonish him.

29 Then he said that although the Conciliarities had decreed many things, they had not decreed anything unpleasant. And since they had erred, their authority and power had not fallen, least of all so that every man would strive against them according to his own mind. He brought in many things from the Centurion and Zacchaeus [Matth. 8, 8. Luc. 19, 6.], that the one had taken Christ into his house, the other had asked that he not enter; likewise from human statutes, ceremonies, ordinances; these were all established and made to curb the vices and to control the will, according to opportunity and change of time; and that the church could not do without human statutes, nor could it do without them; by the fruits a tree would be known. However, it was said that much good came from ordinances and laws, and that St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and others had been many saints in the churches.

30 Secondly, that his books would arouse and cause great agitation and unspeakable indignation, that the mob would misuse the booklet of Christian liberty to throw off the yoke and strengthen disobedience. Now it would be much different, because since the believers had one heart and mind [Apost. 4, 32], therefore one would have to have laws and order.

(31) About this it should be considered, because he wrote many good things, and doubtless of a good spirit, as, of threefold righteousness, of good works, and other things, that the devil, by stealth and deceit, would deal with it, that all his books should be eternally damned. For from those which he wrote at the last, it would truly be seen, as a tree is not known by the blossom, but by the fruit.

32. then he said from the 91st Psalm, v. 5. 6. of the devil or pestilence, so in the midday ver-

talk and protest". - In the old German editions, the text here is quite badly in order. Walch has set it right. Also in Latin Vuorästatt stands Vuso (Vehus).

1) In Latin, the thread of the context is: "where before the Archbishop of Trier 2c. V. Vehus began to

derbet, of the pestilence that creeps in darkness, and of the arrows that fly by day 2c. Summa, the whole speech was mainly based on rhetoric and oratory to admonish and move him (M.), he wanted to consider respectability, honor, welfare, good law, justice and order, and on the other hand the great danger of conscience, common and special salvation and benefit; he repeated and generally urged in the beginning, middle and end, that this admonition and reminder was done by the princes out of inclined will and special graces. At last, he let himself be heard in the resolution of several words of warning, and said that if he persisted in his presumption, the emperor would proceed against him and expel him from the empire, and admonished him to consider and ponder this and other things.

To which D. Martinus gave this answer: "Most noble and illustrious, highborn princes, most gracious lords! I thank you, as humbly as I can, for your graciousness, the most gracious and kind will, from which this admonition and reminder emanates. For I realize that I am far too poor a man to be admonished by such great princes and lords.

34 After this, he said freely and publicly that he had not rebuked all the conciliar churches, but only the one at Costnitz, mostly because it had condemned God's word. Which would be evident from the article of John Hus, which condemns all there, namely: The Christian church is a common bunch of those who are provided for salvation. This article would have been condemned by the Concilium at Costnitz, that would be certain; and subsequently the article of our faith: "I believe in a holy general Christian church. Therefore he said: he would not refuse to give up life, limb and blood, only that he would not be pushed to revoke God's word. For to defend the same, one must be more obedient to God than to men [Acts 5:29].

(35) He could not prevent the trouble of faith here either. For there would be two kinds of trouble: one of love, the other of faith. The adversity of love is in the outward life and conduct, but the adversity of faith or doctrine, which is in the word of God, he could not now avoid or prevent, since it was not in his power that Christ should not be a stone of adversity, as it is written in Luc. 2:34, Ecce hic positus est in ruinam, etc. If the sheep of Christ are fed with the pure pasture of the gospel, if the faith in Christ is righteous, and if the sheep are not a stumbling block, then the gospel is a stumbling block.

If the church had been preached, and if there had been pious and Christian leaders or ministers in the church who faithfully carried out their office, there would have been no need to burden the church with the statutes of men.

He would know that one should be obedient to the authorities, even to those who live evil and wickedly. Likewise, he would know that one should give way to one's own mind and thoughts, as he had taught in his books and writings, and would most obediently like to do all this; only that he would not be forced to deny God's word.

37 When D. Martinus escaped, the princes discussed and deliberated. Martinus escaped, the princes discussed and deliberated what answer they wanted to give him. And when he was called back in, the Chancellor of Baden repeated what had been said before and admonished him that he wanted to submit his books and writings to Imperial Majesty and the Empire for judgment. Maj. and the empire to judge them.

38 To which D. Martinus answered humbly and demurely: he did not want to suffer that it would be said of him as if he had shunned the imperial majesty, the electors, princes and estates. Majesty, the princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire and fled. For he not only wanted to have Her Majesty and graces, but also the very least, willingly and gladly, most diligently and most precisely, examine and consider his books; only that such be done by God's word and holy scripture. But God's word would be so clear and public for him that he could not deviate, unless he was told and taught better things by it. For St. Augustine also writes that he had learned to give this honor only to the books that are called canonical or biblical, so that he believed that they were right and true; but the other teachers, however holy and learned they were, he believed so far away, if they wrote what was right and true.

39 Moreover, St. Paul wrote in 1 Thess. 5:21 that we should test everything and accept what is good; and Gal. 1:8, 9: "Even if an angel comes from heaven and preaches otherwise, let him be accursed," and let no one believe him.

40 For this reason, he humbly asks that they do not urge his conscience, which is bound and captive to God's word and holy scripture, to deny it, and that they be commanded to do so, and that they work and bring about this matter, especially with the Emperor. Maj. that he would not be forced to do anything contrary to his conscience; otherwise he would do everything most willingly and obediently.

41 As he spoke this, the Elector, Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, asked him if he could

would have said that he would not give way, that he had been overcome by the Holy Scriptures? Doctor Martinus answered: Yes, most gracious Lord, or with clear and public causes and reasons.

So they parted, the other princes went to the town hall, but the archbishop of Trier summoned D. Martinum to his chamber, along with his official, Johann Ecken, and Cochläum. With D. Martino stood D. Hieronymus Schurff, and he Nicolaus von Amsdorf. There the official began to argue and dispute, as a sophist and canonist of the pope's cause to defend; that from the holy scriptures heresies had always arisen, as the Arian, from this saying in the Gospel: "Joseph did not recognize his spouse until she gave birth to her first son" [Matth. 1, 25.].

43) Then he went on to say that he would support himself to overthrow this proposition: The Catholic Christian Church is the whole bunch of saints; he wanted to make wheat out of the tares and members out of the dung of the body. This and such ridiculous, useless and childish things he claimed. Doctor Martinus and D. Hieronymus Schurff refuted it, but modestly and sensibly, as if it neither served nor did anything. From time to time, D. Cochläus also chattered among them, and supported himself in persuading D. Martin that he wanted to desist from his presumption, and henceforth abstain completely from writing and teaching. Finally, they left each other.

44 On the evening of the same day, the Archbishop of Trier informed Doctor Martino through Mr. Amsdorf that Imperial Majesty had extended the escort for another two days. Maj. had extended the escort for another two days, so that he might act with him (D. M.). Also on the following day D. Peutinger and the chancellor of Baden would come to him, indeed, he himself wanted to deal with him; as happened. Both, D. Peutinger and the Chancellor of Baden, came on Thursday, St. Marx's Day [April 25], early before dinner; they agreed to talk to D. Martinum, that he wanted to heed the Emperor and the Empire badly and without any condition, to recognize and judge about his books.

45 To this Martinus answered and said: he wanted to do everything gladly, to suffer and be satisfied, if they only acted according to and from the holy scripture, and let it be master and judge; otherwise he did not want to get involved in anything, nor did he want to consent to it. For God said through the prophet, Psalm 146, 3: "Do not rely on princes, they are men, they cannot help"; item, Jer. 17, 5: "Cursed be he who relies on

Trust in men" 2c. Since they pressed so hard and so vehemently, he said, "In short, he did not want men to know or to judge God's word.

46 So they went away, but they asked him to consider and give a better answer, and after noon they wanted to come again; as they came again, but in vain, because they reported as much as before. At last they sought that he would at least put his cause to the knowledge of a future council. Which Doctor Luther was satisfied with; but with the condition and the decision that they would submit the articles drawn from his books to the Concilio itself, but in such a way that they would be spoken of and judged from the holy Scriptures, and the contradiction would be presented and proven with the same testimonies.

47 Then they went and told the archbishop of Trier: D. Martinus had offered to submit his books in some articles to the Concilio. Martinus had offered to submit his books in several articles to the Concilio, and in the meantime to keep silent about them. This, however, Martinus had never taken into consideration or thought, since neither admonitions nor reprimands could ever persuade him to either revoke his books, which he had preserved and fortified with clear and public testimonies of Scripture, or to submit and submit them to the knowledge and judgment of men, since he would prove from Scripture and with public, certain reasons and causes that he had erred.

For this reason, God, by special grace, sent for the Archbishop of Trier to summon D. Martinum and to hear him himself. When he heard that it was much different than Peutinger and the chancellor of Baden had reported to him, he said that he did not want to take much notice of it if he had heard him himself; otherwise, he would have gone to the emperor immediately and reported to him what the doctors had reported.

The Archbishop of Trier, however, dealt most graciously with D. Martino, first of all alone, both as far as the Emperor's and the Empire's, as well as the Council's decision was concerned; in which conversation D. Martinus did not hold anything against the Archbishop. Martinus did not hold anything against the archbishop, saying freely: it would be impossible to trust and submit such a great, important matter to those who had touched him in public with new mandates, condemned his books, and approved and confirmed the pope's bulla.

50 Secondly, the archbishop called one of his (D. Martini) friends to him, requested through him from D. Martino, he wanted to indicate himself where he was.

with which this matter could be advised and helped? Martin answered: "There is no better counsel nor help," he said, "than that given by Gamaliel, as St. Lucas testifies in Acts 5:38, 39. 5, 38. 39.: "If the counsel or the work is of men, it will perish. But if it is of God, you will not be able to stop it. Such is the wish of the Imperial Majesty, the He would know for certain that if his actions and deeds were not of God, they would perish in three or even two years.

(51) Then the archbishop said, "What would he do if the articles that were to be submitted to the Concilium and placed at home were to be withdrawn? Luther answered, "If only they are not the ones that the Concilium at Costnitz condemned. The archbishop said: "I fear it will be the same ones. Said D. Luther: So I cannot and will not remain silent, as I am certain that God's word is condemned by such a decree and decision. Therefore, I will let go of it before life and limb, stump and stem, because I have surrendered God's clear and true word.

When the archbishop saw that D. Martinus did not want to submit God's word to man's knowledge. Martinus did not want to submit God's word to man's knowledge, he graciously let him come from him. But when the doctor asked him to help him, he asked Imperial Majesty to grant him a pardon. Maj. a gracious farewell, the archbishop said: he wanted to do it well and let him know again.

Not long after, the official of Trier, in the presence of the chancellor, who had been secretary to Emperor Maximilian, of high noble memory, came to D. Martins. Martins to his inn, and showed him, by order of Emperor Maximilian, Secretarius. Majesty: Because he had been summoned by the Emperor's Majesty, the Elector. Majesty, princes, princes and estates of the empire so often and in many ways, but in vain, and he nevertheless did not want to take this to heart, did not want to improve himself, nor to go to the unity of the church, nor to compare himself with it, then Imperial Majesty, as an advocate of the church, would have to order him to go to the church. Majesty, as an advocate and bailiff of the Catholic faith, would have to proceed and continue. Therefore, Her Majesty's order would be that he should return safely to his custody within one and twenty 1) days from then, in public escort, which should also be kept free for him; but that he should not arouse the people on the way, neither with preaching nor with writing.

When Doctor Martinus heard this, he spoke with great humility and modesty: "As it has pleased the Lord, so it has been done, let the name of the Lord be praised [Job 1:21]. He then went on to say: "Before all things, he thanked the imperial majesty, princes, princes and estates of the empire most humbly and most humbly, as he always could, that they had heard him so graciously, and that the free and secure escort had been given to him, and should be given. For he would not have desired anything else in it, except that a reformation from the Holy Scriptures, for which he so diligently asked, be undertaken and made; otherwise, for the sake of Imperial Majesty and for the sake of the Empire, he would not have wanted it. Otherwise, he would gladly do and suffer anything, life and death, honor and disgrace, for the sake of imperial majesty and the empire, and reserve nothing for himself, but only the one word of God, to freely confess and testify to it. Finally, he wanted to present himself to His Imperial Majesty and the whole Empire. Maj. and the entire empire in the most humble manner.

55 Therefore, the next day, that is, Friday after Jubilate, April 26, after he had blessed his lords and friends, many of whom had come to him, and had taken a little soup and breakfast, he departed at ten o'clock before noon, with those who had come there with him and had led him. But Caspar Sturm, the Ehrnhold, followed him after several hours, found him at Oppenheim, and escorted him by verbal order of Emperor Carl.

May the eternal, merciful God preserve the godly man, who is awakened by God to purify the Christian doctrine again, and to enlighten the glory of Christ, for the long life of His Church, comfort and improvement, and awaken many others besides him, who preach the word of the Gospel with great power, amen.

**593 D. Mart. Luther's letter to Lucas Cranach about his interrogation at Worms and future imprisonment.
Frankfurt am Main, April 28, 1521.**

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 118; in the Jena edition (1564), vol. I, p. 454 d; in the Altenburg edition, vol. I, p. 731; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVII, p. 595; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 588 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 64.

To the careful master Lucas Cranach, painter at Wittenberg, my dear father and friend.

1) Thus the Latin editions. In the German ones: twenty.

JESUS.

1. my service, dear Gevatters Lucas! I bless and command you God; I let myself be imprisoned and hidden, do not yet know where. And although I would rather have suffered death at the hands of tyrants, especially at the hands of the furious Duke Georgen of Saxony, I must not despise the advice of good people until his time.

2 My future at Worms was not taken care of, and you all know well from the ban that came against me how I was escorted. I thought Imperial Majesty should have assembled a doctor or fifty, and honestly overcome the monk; so nothing more is done here, but this much: Are the books yours? Yes. Do you want to revoke them or not? No. Then lift yourself up. O, we blind Germans, how childishly we act, and let the Romanists ape and fool us so miserably!

3 Give my greeting to my godmother, your dear wife, and that she may be well in the meantime. The Jews must sing once: Jo, Jo, Jo! Easter Day will also come to us, so let us sing Alleluia. There must be a little time of silence and suffering: "A little you do not see me, but a little you see me," says Christ [John 16:16]. I hope it will be the same now. But God's will, as the very best, be done in this, as in heaven and earth, amen.

4) Give my regards to Master Christian 2) and his wife, and I would also like to thank the council for the shipment. If the Licentiate Feldkirch 3) is not enough for you, you may send Mr.

1) Luther was probably the godfather of Cranach's daughter Anna, born in 1520. She later married Caspar Freund, who died as mayor of Wittenberg in 1574.

2) "Master Christian" is the goldsmith Christian Döring or Aurifaber, the partner in Cranach's printing business. He had provided the cart to Worms and had been paid for it by the council. He received for it, according to the Wittenberg treasury account of 1522, "six shocks [groschen], seven weeks of three horses each a day 2^a groschen.

3) "Feldkirch" is, according to Seidemann (De Wette, vol. VI, p. 645), Bartholomäus Bernhardt von Feldkirch, according to the Erlanger Briefwechsel (vol. III, p. 129), Johann Doltsch von Feldkirch, Canonikus at the Allerheiligenstifte in Wittenberg. The latter is probably correct, because

Ask Amsdorf to preach, he will do it with pleasure. Goodbye, herewith all of you commanded to God, who will protect all of your understanding and faith in Christ from the Roman wolves and dragons with their followers, Amen. At Frankfurt am Main, Sunday Cantate [April 28], Anno 1521. D. Martinus Luther.

594s. Ulrich von Hütten's letter to Wilibald Pirkheimer, alderman of Nuremberg, in which he also briefly relates what happened to Luther at the Diet of Worms. The I. May 1521.

This letter is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1551), toru. II, col. 176 and in Burkhardt's oominont. (Io Huttoui katis 8,6 Illsrit., Theil II, p. 205. Also published in German together with Hutten's letter to the emperor (No. 565) under the title: "Ein Sendbrieve, so Ulrich von Hütten an Kayserl. Majestät gethan, bebstliche Botschaft betreffende, vast lustig zu lesen. Another missive written by the above-mentioned von Hütten to a prominent citizen of Nuremberg, concerning Doctor Martinus Luther's departure from Worms, in which the great malice that the Romans have wrought can be seen in brief.

Translated into German.

Ulrich von Hütten, knight, sends his greetings to Wilibald Pirkheimer, Rathsherrn in Nuremberg.

I had heard from some emperors that Luther had been called to responsibility. But they lied. There is nothing to it. For they only asked him in the assembly: whether he wanted to revoke some of his writings? He answered steadfastly that he wanted to revoke them if he was proven to have written erroneous things. He was asked again if he did not want to recant, because many things he had written had already been condemned. He asked: one would not want to force him to a most unreasonable retraction, that he would condemn against conscience what he knew 4) to be perfectly right. When they pressed him the third time: whether he would not recant? because that was all the emperor and the princes wanted to know, he answered: that he neither could nor would recant what he could prove with the testimonies of the most truthful Scriptures.

At that time Bernhardt was provost at Kemberg (see Appendix, No. 79 in this volume). A third Feldkirch, who is also called Joh. Doltsch, prokessor oratoriae, can probably not be considered here.

4) Instead of 86utiÄQT, read koutiat.

This has been enough to condemn the man of God to the highest. Dearest God, where is this going? I truly believe that at these times one will see in particular whether Germany has princes or whether it is ruled by beautifully dressed image pillars. For those clergymen who give advice against Luther surpass everything there is in ungodliness and knavery. His last letter to me brought tears to my eyes, in which he wrote me how unfairly he had been treated. Among them was also this, that he had received his farewell with the prohibition to preach the word of God on the way. O, what an utterly detestable evil! O shameful deed that deserves the irreconcilable wrath of God! To fetter the word of God! To block the mouth of an evangelical teacher! Behold the Christian princes. What will the foreigners say to this? I am ashamed of my fatherland.

They have chosen Johann Eck, the official of Trier, a completely unlearned sophist, to speak. He has spoken so vehemently against Luther that it is firmly believed that he has some of the pope's money, which, as they say, has been used for bribes, in the amount of many thousands of gold florins. The ungodly wretch has dared to attack the pious evangelist with invectives, of which some people give this interpretation, that the adversaries had taken this advice, so that, if he had been provoked in such a way, they would have wanted to force an insult out of him, about which it would have come to his neck afterwards. Behold the ungodly wiles.

4 Some legal scholars argue that the emperor should not give Luthern a free escort, nor could he do so without injustice. Dear people! Do you not think that they should all be chased out of Germany in one day, together with their unjust justice? The godless bishops would like to be able to imitate their forefathers, who set such an example at the Costnitz Concilio with the burning of John Hus! It is said that the emperor decided to protect the pope and the Roman church with all his might. Evil instigators have incited him to do so. Therefore, there is great rejoicing among the clergy. They want to win in a short time. For they think that the matter is finished, but they do not know, the wretched people, that they are far from being finished, and that the last act is still left.

(5) Someone posted a note saying that four hundred noblemen had conspired for Luther, and added to it: Covenant

shoe ! Bundschuh ! O great and foolish people! They want to help Luther with this and harm him beyond measure. But some think that the enemies have done this to make him hated. This seems very likely to me.

Awaken the courage of your people. For I still have some hope for the cities, because of the love of freedom, which is especially great among you.

Luther obviously acts on a divine impulse and has nothing to do with any human counsel, relying entirely on God. But no one has ever despised death as joyfully as he. Let Christ keep his evangelist, at least for a while, until true godliness has taken root a little in the minds of men. When he leaves there [Worms], an exceedingly horrible edict will follow (as is written to me by friends), which I fear will be opposed by a good part of Germany. So heated are the parties! Herewith enough in the shortness of so many things. Write me also something that you have not done for a long time; and farewell. From Ebernburg, May 1, 1521.

594b. Extract from one of Hutten's pamphlets. April 1521.

This writing follows in the Latin Wittenberg edition 1. e. immediately after the previous letter, but has nothing to do with it. The title of the writing from which it is taken is: luvsetiva in Oarckinalss, Lxi8eopo8 st 8a66rckot68, 4,utksrulin ^Vorinatias in oneilio Osrnranias inipuZnant68.

Ulrich von Hütten also writes in his invsetiva against Hieronymus Aleander, the Roman Pope Leo X's envoy, among other things the following:

You have spoken to an honorable man, whom you do not trust, but with the audacity with which you are accustomed to think that the Germans have no brain in their heads and that there is neither reason nor wit in them: Even if you Germans throw off the papal yoke (so you said), the pope will nevertheless know how to retain his sovereignty and his empire. Although it has already come to such a pass that you will soon fall by your own bullet. For he is able to do so much through his wisdom that as soon as you will subject yourselves to such, it is certain that you will atone for this misdeed through a ruinous defeat. You accuse this yoke as a heavy one, which you will only exchange with another, far heavier one.

But the divine vengeance is already upon you, so great theurung, so many years of pestilence, the internal discord of the princes. [1] So you admit that it is a yoke, measure the sovereignty of the pope according to the command and the rule of the popes, and do not deny that he has them with

1) "Huts" is written in the margin.

He also clearly indicates that he will disrupt Germany, instigate war among the princes, and interprets natural events as punitive judgments. This you do, I say, and yet hope to obtain here in Pabst Leo X's name everything you desire! 2c. In the month of April, Anno 1521.

Section Ten of Chapter Seven.

Luther's Patmos, or how the Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony, on his return journey from the Diet of Worms, had Luther, who had been put under guard and was in great danger of his life, picked up on the way by disguised persons and brought to safety at Wartburg Castle, and what happened to Luther there.

A. How it happened with his removal on the way and the removal to the Wartburg.

595: Des Mathesius' report of Luther's enlistment on his return journey from Worms.

From Mathesius' third sermon on "Dr. Martin Luther's Life," St. Louis, 1883, p. 43.

When Doctor Luther left the Emperor's Herold of Oppenheim and peacefully arrived at the Harz Mountains on the Landgrave's escort through Hesse, and had to travel from there through a forest to Waltershausen, he got rid of some of his companions who accompanied him through the forest, and he sent the others to order the inn. However, not far from Altenstein, he came to a hollow way, where two noblemen, the one from Steinberg and Captain Prelops, attacked him with two servants, and when one of them got word from the carter, they were ordered to stop, and attacked D. Luther with disguised impudence. Luther with disguised impudence, and pull him out of his wagon; the one servant blows the wagoner and drives him away, so Ern Amsdorf leads away, until they surround the prisoner with a horseman 2) and help him onto a horse, which they lead for several hours in the forest along the bridle path, until the night overtakes them. They also tie one on a horse, so that they can take a prisoner.

2) Gepner - riding coat.

would bring with them. So they come almost at midnight to the castle Wartburg near Eisenach, harmless in the cross week; there one holds the prisoner well and honestly that even the waiter is surprised about it.

Luther's own report of this to Spalatin.

See Appendix, No. 68, § 7.

Luther's declaration against Melanchthon that he had gone to Wartburg more out of obedience to his authorities than of his own free will.

See Appendix, No. 69, § 1.

Luther's report of this to Amsdorf and Gerbel.

See Appendix, No. 70, § 3 and No. 71, § 2.

599 Another report to Johannes Agricola, Eisleben, in which he says that he is a strange prisoner who likes to sit there because God wants it that way, but with reluctance because he would like to publicly defend God's word.

See Appendix, No. 72, § 2.

B. About Luther's physical condition, about the very good treatment he had at the Wartburg, but also about his very painful illness.

Luther's report to Spalatin, how his host at the Wartburg provided for him very politely, kindly, and abundantly, and how he might have gotten such a body ache from it that he had no rest at night. However, he thanks God for the cross sent to him, but thanks Spalatin for the medicine sent, and reports what effect it has had.

See Appendix, No. 73, §§ 8.10. No. 74, §4. No.76, § 4. No, 77, §§ 1. 4 and No. 78, § 4.

601: A report from Luther to Melanchthon about his condition in solitude, in which he says that he is kept too well in food and drink, while he was used to living badly in the monastery; that he therefore could not pray and study properly, sits too idle, and is not spared the temptations of the flesh, therefore, if things do not change, he intends to travel to Erfurt soon to ask the doctors for advice.

See Appendix, No. 69, § 5 and No. 75, §§ 1. 2. Compare No. 78, § 4 and No. 76, ss 4. 6.

C. About Luther's state of mind, since not only did the idle way of life become very burdensome for him, but Satan also attacked him fiercely with temptations and all kinds of terrors.

Luther's report to Melanchthon on his state of mind and soul in solitude.

See Appendix, No. 79, § 6.

Luther's report to Gerbel and Spalatin about the satanic temptations he had to endure in his solitude, and how not one devil but many were around him in his solitude and attacked him.

See Appendix, No. 71, § 3 and No. 80, § 7.

D. What Luther deals with in his Patmos) especially from his Bible translation, which he started there and continued afterwards.

Luther's report to Spalatin on how he spends his time in his Patmos reading the Bible in the basic languages and what he intends to write.

See Appendix, No. 68, § 4. No. 74, § 4. Compare No. 81, § 10.

Luther sends the explanation of the 68th Psalm, which he wrote in solitude, to Melanchthon with the request that he share it with good friends and, if possible, have it printed.

See Appendix, No. 79, § 2.

Luther reports to John Lang that he is willing to translate the New Testament, and because he has heard that Lang is also dealing with it, he exhorts him to continue.

See Appendix, No. 82.

Luther's report to Spalatin that he had translated the entire New Testament in his Patmos and was now reviewing it with Philip Melanchthon, for which he requested Spalatin's help, sent him a sample of his translation soon afterward, and wrote that he expected the promised gems and wanted to send them back.

See Annex, No. 83, § 2, No. 84, No. 86, § 1 and No. 87, § 1.

Luther's letter to Amsdorf concerning this and the Old Testament translation.

See Appendix, No. 85, § 4.

Luther informs Amsdorf that he, along with Duke John, is the only one who has the honor of receiving the sheets from the press one by one, since no one else has had the least to do until everything has been together; he also states that 10,000 sheets are printed daily by three presses.

See Appendix, No. 88, §1. Cf.No.89. No.90. No.91. No. 92, §2 and No. 93.

Luther's other report to Spalatin and Wenceslaus Link of his work on the Old Testament.

See Appendix, No. 94 and No. 95, § 5.

Luther's request to Spalatin to provide him with the actual names of the birds of prey, the wild and creeping animals, in order to be able to use them in the translation of the books of Moses.

See Appendix, No. 96, §§ 2.3.

E. How Luther faithfully cared for the University of Wittenberg and its preservation in pure teaching and in a flourishing state during his absence at that time.

612 Luther's admonition to the Wittenberg professors, his assistants, not to follow the advice of the court, since for political reasons they did not want to have his writings printed or discussed, but to anticipate them, as he had done. July 13, 1521.

See Appendix, No. 75, § 20.

Luther testifies to his displeasure that his Wittenberg colleagues have been forbidden by the court to dispute on confession, and that papal law is still being read publicly in Wittenberg, namely by D. Jonas, and adds the wish that the princes would one day take it into their hearts to abolish the jurisdiction and censures of the pope in their lands.

See Appendix, No. 77, § 2 and No. 78, §§ 2. 3.

Luther's request to Spalatin that Melanchthon sometimes preach a German sermon to the common people of Wittenberg, who had a great desire for the preaching of the Gospel.

See Appendix, No. 76, § 7. Compare No. 97, § 4.

615. Luther's declaration to the Wittenbergers, how happy he is that Wittenberg is flourishing in his absence; reminding them that they should send a Silas or Paul or Barnabas from their Antioch to other places as well, and thus make up for the lack of others with their abundance, because the harvest is great and the workers few; As he himself testified to his desire to go either to Cologne or Erfurt, or to another place where God might call him, because it was uncertain whether he would come to Wittenberg again, and they could now do without him there.

See Appendix, No. 75, §§ 17-19. No.76, §7. No.77, §

§2. No. 78, § 1 and No. 81,? 10.

F. How Luther's whereabouts have finally become known, which Divine Providence has so sent, because it was soon time anyway that this Elijah or John should now soon come forward again before Christian Israel.

616 Mathesius reports how Luther sometimes went for a walk to the nearest monasteries and visited his friends, but was not recognized, except once at Reinhardsbrunn. His secret visit to Wittenberg.

From Mathesius' fourth sermon on "Dr. Martin Luther's Life," St. Louis, 1883, p. 50.

Because our doctor continues with his studies and writing in his Clause, and becomes weak, good friends advise him to go for a walk, to change the air, and to move around for his health. That is why he is taken to the countryside, and at times he goes to the strawberries on the castle hill. Finally, he is given an honorable servant, a discreet horseman, whose faithful and equestrian advice and admonition he later often praised, because he forbade him to lay down his sword in inns and not to walk over the books from hour to hour, so that he would not be mistaken for a scribe. Thus Luther came, but unrecognized, to several monasteries.

At Martsal 1) he comes to his friends; but the Junker Georgen (for so the horseman called him) they did not know.

1) Maybe "Marksuhl"?

At Reinhardsbrunn, he was acquainted with a conversation; when his courtier noticed this, he reminded his squire that he had to be at his appointed place of business in the evening, so he hurriedly set off again. But because his church and preaching seat in Wittenberg were constantly on his mind, as he said at one time over the table, sitting in deep thought: Oh, who would be in Wittenberg! he also undertakes a journey, and arrives in Wittenberg safely in November, 1) and stays with his journeyman, Ern Niclas Amsdorf, where he lets some of his good friends stay, and as he had discussed and rejoiced with them for several days, he secretly returns to Wartburg. In the meantime 2) it comes out through a chancery clerk that a prince and several great women are looking for him, but cannot see him.

1) Rather, at the beginning of December. See St. Louis edition, Vol. XIX, 560, note.

2) Around the middle of July, while Luther's secret visit to Wittenberg falls in the beginning of December.

Luther's own account of his secret visit to Wittenberg.

See Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XIX, 560 ff.

Luther told Spalatin that Amsdorf had written to him that a scribe of Duke John had reported to a woman in Torgau that Luther was at Wartburg Castle and that the talk was now almost everywhere.

See Appendix, No. 77, § 3.

619 Another report to the same, that Duke John now knows his whereabouts, since the innkeeper at Wartburg has secretly discovered it to him.

See Appendix, No. 76, § 4.

The eighth chapter.

Of the good and bad changes that occurred during Luther's stay in his Patmos, especially in Wittenberg and Saxony, and Luther's return to Wittenberg caused by the latter. From all events between Carlstadt and Luther, until Carlstadt's complete escape and departure from Saxony, and the subsequent transition to the Swiss.

First Section.

What good changes have taken place in Wittenberg and Saxony in the meantime.

A. From the case of the mass and the monastic vows.

1. how the Augustinians, at the lonvent or chapter held in Wittenberg at the beginning of 1522, abolished the private or angle masses by joint resolution, and declared the monastic life to be free.

620 Luther's writing on the abuse of the mass.

This writing is found in Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XIX, 1068.

Luther's earnest reminder to Spalatin not to withhold and suppress this writing of the mass sent to him, as well as that of monastic vows and against Mainz, out of court politics, otherwise his spirit would become very bitter and irritated to write even more vehemently, because he definitely wanted his things to be printed.

See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 560 f.

622 The resolutions of the chapter or convention of the Augustinians in Meissen and Thuringia held in Wittenberg at the beginning of 1522, in which they abolished the mass in the fourth article.

This writing is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1550), tona. I, toi. 201 b; in the Jena (1566), tora. II, col. 470 b. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 134; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 1; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 15 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 239. We leave the old excellent translation.

JEsus.

We, the Vicarius, Piores and Brothers of the Order of St. Augustine, assembled at Wittenberg, have decided on the vows, the begging and other articles of the Order as follows.

(2) In which opinion, since we follow the Scriptures, we do not want to allow ourselves to be hindered by some human reputation or statute, for it is right that God's words should also be given to all creatures. But those who do not yet understand such freedom, or do not consent to it through their power, we let them rule in their mind. We know that we have to give an account of our opinion before God, so we are certainly not afraid to answer men as well.

(3) But since our opinion is to serve the simple consciences, we do not want those who use the word of God to prevent the harmful liberty of their carnal will to have recourse to our decision; and we admonish everyone who reads or hears this, just as St. Paul admonishes the Galatians Cap. 5, 13, that he is free if he does not need liberty for carnal will, but that it is on every man's conscience. For what does not flow from faith is sin, Rom. 14, 23. Therefore, brethren, do not be deceived; God is not mocked, Gal. 6, 7.

In the first place, we leave it to each one, as his conscience feels, to remain or not to remain in the monastery, since what believes in Christ is neither Jew nor Greek, Gal. 3:28, neither monk nor layman, and the vow that is contrary to the gospel is not a vow but an unchristian thing.

5 On the other hand, since Christian liberty is a spiritual liberty, which is not attached to food or clothing, it seems good to us that those who remain in our monasteries should keep to the clothing and customary practices, so that we may be able to offer to everyone just

or all kinds of things, according to the example of St. Paul 1 Cor. 9, 21. f.

6. to the third, but we want to have the essays tempered, both in custom and practice, so that no one's faith will be damaged by it, or it will be done against love. For the kingdom of God is not eating or drinking, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit, Rom. 14:17.

In the fourth place, we do away with begging, which the Scriptures have so often forbidden, 1 Thess. 4, II. 5, 22: Every man shall work with his hands, be quiet, and eat his own bread. We also do away with the commissioned masses, since St. Paul wants us to shun all evil forms (or appearances).

In the fifth place, as much as is possible in our monasteries, choose those who are skilled in teaching the Word of God publicly and specifically, and let the others work to earn food for the brethren, as was the way of the ancient fathers.

In the sixth place, because we want to moderate the essays, it seems good to us that our brothers in monasteries should be subject to their superiors out of free love, so that we may walk among ourselves and before everyone without offense, lest cause be given to the adversaries to blaspheme the holy gospel.

623 Joh. Aurifaber's report on what changes the Augustinian monks at Wittenberg made in their monastery life during Luther's absence, how they dropped the corner masses and began to distribute Holy Communion in both forms; also about the commission ordered to investigate the matter by Chursachen.

This writing is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 179; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 256 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 237.

1) While D. Martin Luther was still at Wartburg near Eisenach in his Patmos, when the Augustinian monks in the monastery began to change the monastic life, so that they would stay in the monastery or go out; item, they needed their clothing and ceremonies out of love, and not out of necessity; they also dropped the corner masses, and no longer wanted to serve the Lord's Supper to the laity in one form, but in both forms, as Christ would have instituted. And when the Elector of Saxony appointed commissaries for this purpose

The monks, who were ordained by D. Justus Jonas, Philippus Melancthon, Nicolaus von Amsdorf and Johann Doltz von Feldkirch, and who found the monks' nobility grounded in God's Word, approved it. And to strengthen them in this, D. Martin Luther wrote to them from his Patmos the little book on the abuse of the mass.

Since some monks had immediately taken off their caps, he wrote for their instruction, comfort and protection the booklet of the monastic vows, 1) in which it is indicated that one may well leave monasticism with a good conscience.

3 Against these two little books a barefoot monk at Würzburg, called Caspar Schatzgeier, wrote and wanted to become a knight to Luther. But he was soon beaten over the mouth by him, so that he did not get back on track with his loose grimaces.

In this year, the Archbishop of Magdeburg Albrecht, Cardinal, through his council, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, also wrote to Luther, seeking to persuade him to spare and do what he could out of Christian love for the great lords. But Luther met him with a serious writing. 2)

And because Luther heard that things were bad in Wittenberg and that many innovations had been made, he secretly left his Patmos and came to Wittenberg to Nicolaus von Amsdorf's house, quietly asked his well-known friends to come before him, investigated every opportunity, and when he found it to be right, he hurried back to his Patmos and immediately wrote a comforting booklet with an interpretation of the 37th Psalm to the church in Wittenberg. 3) In it he admonished them to stand firm in God's word. Psalm to the church at Wittenberg, 3) in which he exhorted them to hold fast to God's word.

6) This was followed by the innovation and noise of Doctor Andreä Carlstadt, canon of Wittenberg, against Doctor Luther and his teachings, with the iconoclasm and other things, which Luther brought back from his Patmos against Wittenberg. How to read of such innovation rst in this tomo. And such gave Luther's doctrine a hard blow, as there was disagreement and discord about the doctrine among the theologians themselves at Wittenberg.

7 In his arrival wrote D. Martinus Luther, on the Friday after Invocavit [March 7, 1522], to

Prince Frederick, 4) and indicated the cause of his return, with the added promise that no harm should befall his presence because of his princely graces; then he stood up and preached against such innovation, as such seven sermons 5) are printed in this tomo.

8) Such fanaticism and iconoclasm is also stirred up in Zwickau and Alstädt, out of incitement by Thomas Müntzer and Claus Storcken, who wanted to storm and destroy the papacy with their fists, and such deceivers have not been brought back to rights by Luther's teaching, instruction, pleading, exhortation and refutation of their error.

In addition to this storm of the red spirits, the persecution against Martin Luther and his teachings was not left out. For serious and swift mandates from high potentates, princes and lords, ecclesiastical and secular, went out in the beginning of the 1522nd year. As, from Duke Henry of Brunswick the Younger; item, from Bishop Philip of Freisingen and Naumburg, also from Bishop John of Meissen. Duke George of Saxony issued a bloodthirsty letter against him, as can be found in this section.

10. And although all this, as heresy and persecution, brought the man of God much challenge, shocks, great work and trouble, also weakness of body, God through the Holy Spirit nevertheless raised him up, strengthened him, comforted him and made him joyful, so that he continued with his teaching, and also penetrated, so that neither the highly respected doctors, nor high schools, nor any papal clamor or ban, much less worldly power and tyranny, could drive him in and overcome him.

In this year, the King of England, Henry the Seventh, 6) also wrote against Doctor Martin Luther, and attacked his teachings severely, to which Doctor Martinus answered seriously. And since this sharp writing offended many people, D. Martinus Luther therefore let his responsibility go out in print on Thursday after Bartholomew, in which he distinguishes verba officii, official words, and verba CONVICIi, evil words, 7)

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1500.

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 554.

3) St. Louis edition, Vol. I V, 306. However, this interpretation did not go out, as Aurifaber says here, after his secret visit to Wittenberg (which took place in the first days of December), but on August 12, 1521.

4) No. 648 in this volume.

5) There are eight sermons. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Col.4ff.

6) Rather: the eighth.

7) The writings alluded to in this K are found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, cols. 134. 238. 280 and 350.

12) This year, on the fifteenth of June, he had an apology printed to Claus Storni, mayor of Magdeburg, why he had to write so harshly against the pope, cardinals and bishops.

13. The Holy Roman Empire's princes and estates held a Diet at Nuremberg this year, at which the new Pope elected at that time, Adrianus, the sixth of that name (as all other popes, his ancestors, had done before), delivered his message orally and in writing to the estates, but especially to Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector, with great earnestness, that they wanted to silence Luther and either bring him to renounce his intended doctrine and return to the right path, or else act against him with due punishment, as their forefathers had also done to Johann Hus at the Concilio of Costnitz in the past. But D. Luther remained before this pope, and his teaching, as the right, blessed light of the knowledge of our dear Lord and Savior JEsu Christ, has spread the longer the more, has shone and shone the longer the more.

2. the commission ordered by the Electoral Court to investigate the beginning of the Augustinians, which again deputized some of the university to do so.

624 Report and concerns of the deputies ordered by the Elector to investigate the conduct of the Augustinians and their opinion of the private mass to Elector Frederick of Saxony.

This writing is in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1651), torn. II, fol. 346 and in the Jena edition (1566), torn. II, col. 471. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 134; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 1b; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 16 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 240.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord, our subservient, obliging, obedient services at all times before. Most gracious Lord! By order of Your Electoral Grace we have heard the Augustinians orally and in writing, and have found that for these reasons they have ceased to hold mass, as Your Grace may understand from their note enclosed herewith.

2. First, because a great, unchristian abuse of masses has been planted throughout the world, both spiritual and secular, which no man can remove from the hearts of men, in that the mass is accepted for a good work, by which we make atonement to God, offering and giving something to him for our sin, and so that even a priest who is in mortal sin may do such a sacrifice for another fruitfully and usefully: Therefore, the Augustinians no longer want to keep Mass, because such keeping of Mass gives such abuse cause, strength and power, and thus want to bring the right, true Mass, as it was instituted and kept by Christ and the apostles, back into right use and practice.

(3) Secondly, the masses as they are now celebrated are contrary to the custom and practice of Christ and the apostles. For Christ communicated twelve of them, and the apostles a multitude, and never one alone; just as Paul also gave the Corinthians *privatas coenas* 1 Cor. II, 22.

4 Thirdly, Christ commanded and appointed that both should be given form. Since the masses, as they have been celebrated up to now, are ordered to give one form to the bystanders alone, they do not know how to affirm such masses with a clear conscience.

On this opinion of theirs, we wish to inform E. C. F. Gn. of our opinion and concerns, and we humbly request that E. C. F. Gn. graciously listen to us with the ears of the spirit, which despises human art and wisdom of this world, and only highly esteems and accepts divine wisdom hidden in the spirit.

(6) It is certain that among the greatest and most heinous sins on earth is the abuse of the Mass. For St. Paul has so highly and severely reproached a small abuse of the mass among the Corinthians, that they alone dealt magnificently with it, in that he says: "Whosoever hath not distinction under the body of Jesus Christ eateth death, and many have been punished with pestilence and other diseases because of it. Since we now have much greater abuse of the mass, there is no doubt that we are more severely punished with wars and pestilence, as is now evident, and, what is greatest, with blindness of reason, which is clear to those who keep the mass daily, who administer and protect it.

7. for the mass, in its most important part, is nothing but a distribution and partaking of the body and blood of Christ; everything else that is added to this

has been added to it by men and popes, and has been increased daily with time. And the use of a priest is no better than when a layman goes to the sacrament, by which we are reminded, as by a sure sign, of the forgiveness of all sins. As Christ Himself says: "As often as you do it, do it in remembrance of Me [1 Cor. 11:24, 25], that is, in remembrance of the grace and mercy given and shown to you through My death.

It follows that the Mass is not a good work, so that one may offer or give something to God for oneself or another, just as a layman may not partake of the Sacrament for another, just as no man may be baptized for another. Now it is public that all masses are instituted as a good work, that we may be sufficient for our own and others' sins. Which is nothing else but a blinding of the Christian faith and true custom of the holy sacrament. Hence it is that every week so many, four, five, or more masses in all monasteries, convents, or churches are ordered and founded on one person. Thereby the evil priests are pleased to hold masses for the sake of money. And although there are pious priests among them, who would like to use the sacrament properly, according to their conscience, they often have to say mass because of such a foundation and order, with displeasure, without pleasure, and with annoyance and danger to their consciences.

(9) From this, Your Electoral Grace may well judge what benefit or piety it may bring if a sinner, for his own benefit, or a pious person, under the compulsion of the foundation, without desire and love, must often say mass, even against his conscience. For it is impossible for even a pious priest and clergyman to have the desire and love to say mass as often as he is bound and obligated to do so by the foundation.

(10) Although some would say that the prayers of the Mass are good, useful and fruitful for others, even if the priest's use would not help or comfort anyone, C.C.F.G. can well judge how useful the prayer of a sinful priest or a pious one, who does it with reluctance, is. And even if it is done in the best possible way, the prayer of a pious priest at mass is no better than that of a pious layman in his chamber.

11) Masses for the dead have also been instituted, for the above-mentioned reasons, and many other such frauds, which, if fraud were not a sin, would be acceptable. However, because there are excellent, great

If they are sins, they should not be tolerated or suffered in any way, even if the whole world is offended by them.

Therefore, as a Christian prince, under whom the Holy Gospel has come to light again, it is appropriate and due, for the salvation of his soul, that such abuse of the Mass in E. C. F. G. should be avoided. C. F. G. churches, and to restore the right, true custom of the mass, as Christ and the apostles kept it, namely, that whenever the people came together, the word of God was preached, for that was why they came together, and for no other cause; and then one gave the bread and wine, and gave it to all those who desired it. And as this form and manner is the best, so it would also be the safest; which also moved the Augustinians in their intention, that the old custom of the mass should again be negated. And in that the Augustinians do not want to abuse the masses, but hold masses freely and without constraint, they do right.

But that they say that no one should communicate alone is not certain, as far as we know. Although it is true that the reason they give for the offense, that the mass as it is now celebrated by one priest gives cause for the other simple priests to continue in their abuse, is good enough, yet it remains that the weak brethren in the faith should be tolerated and suffer for a time, until they are better instructed in the word of God, as St. Paul has taught us. That they also show in the cause that Christ has given his body in the supper of their many is a story, not a law, nor a commandment.

14 But what they have shown in the third cause, concerning both forms, we cannot reject; nor can we sufficiently excuse giving or taking one form alone, for Christ commanded and appointed it when he said [Matt. 26:27], "Drink from it, all of you," imperatively. They may seek to excuse protection and help, giving or taking a form, but it is not without danger. Therefore, it would be necessary that the first custom of the sacrament be reinstated and renewed in the Christian church.

15 And summa summarum, to speak of it finally, if we kept the form and manner as it is written in the Gospel, we would be sure of the matter beyond all doubt, and could not err. But because we have laws and orders of men, as good, spiritual, and holy as they are, from which Christ and Paul have so often and so often

We have faithfully warned, but we do not know whether we are doing right or right, and we are quite uncertain and doubtful about everything. Although it is certain that through man's law and doctrine the whole world, and even if it were possible, the elect, will be led astray [Matth. 24, 24]. But such law and doctrine is so implanted in the heart of man that he thinks more of it and considers it greater than God's commandment, so that the scripture may be fulfilled: Extollitur supra omne, quod dicitur Deus etc., 2 Thess. 2, 4.

16 Therefore we ask with all humility that E. C. F. G., as a Christian prince, take the matter seriously and soon put an end to such abuse of the masses in E. C. F. G.'s lands and principality. C.F.G.'s lands and principality, and to pay no attention at all to secular disgrace and dishonor, that E.C.F.G. would be called a Bohemian or a heretic. For all those who do something for the sake of God's word must tolerate and suffer such high dishonor and disgrace, and no one will have a contract with them; 1) so that E. C. F. G. will not be reproached by Christ on the last day, like Capernaum [Matth. 11, 23], that such great grace and mercy in E. C. F. G. will not be shown. C. F.G.'s lands in vain, without our doing, and that the holy gospel has been revealed, explained and brought to light in it. For this reason, he will also claim from H.C.F.G. the grace and gift shown to H.C.F.G. above all other kings and princes.

17 As far as the Augustinians are concerned, it is not sinful, in our opinion, to celebrate Mass alone, if the Mass is not otherwise abused. Nor should anyone be prevented from celebrating mass alone and privately. However, we do not know where they begin to say Mass in the way they are heard, according to the form of the Gospel. Therefore, we ask that Your Holiness, as a Christian prince, take it into gracious consideration. With this, we command ourselves to E. C. F. G. in all submissiveness.

E. C. F. Graces

subservient servants

Justus Jonas, Probst.

Johannes Dölitzk, D. Andreas

Carlstadt, D. Hieronymus

Schurs, D. Nicolaus Amsdorf.

Philip Melanchthon

3. what instructions the Elector of Saxony has given to D. Beyer 2) and what he has answered in turn.

625 The Elector of Saxony then issued instructions and orders to the above deputies to D. Christian Beyer, who was then professor and mayor of Wittenberg, but later became chancellor at court.

This and the following document can be found in the issues mentioned in the previous number immediately after it.

First of all, to say our greetings and to advertise in the following. After M. G. H. in the past days ordered the highly respected Gregory Brück, Doctor, to advertise to the university and chapter here in Wittenberg on account of his C. F. G., that it had reached his C. F. G. that various things should be done in Wittenberg, and especially that the Augustinians did not hold mass in some days. Now, S. C. F. G. did not know how this would be done, and whether it was true or not, especially because they, the university and the chapter, had not written to S. C. F. G. or given notice of it. Because S. C. F. G. has always been inclined to do so much for its C. F. G., that might have served to strengthen the holy Christian faith, their C. F. G. mind, will and opinion would not yet be, and, God willing, their C. F. G. should not be, for the rest of their lives, to hold and show themselves otherwise than a Christian prince, that is why his C. F. G. had established the laudable university and foundation at Wittenberg, so that many learned people should be educated and held there.

(2) Therefore, if anything improper had been done or would be done, S. C. F. G. would have requested that they, as those who understand it, have the appointment, so that nothing would be done or subjected from which complaint would be made; and to consider things well, so that things would be directed to good ways, so that discord, turmoil and complaint would be prevented.

3 So S. C. F. G. Doctor Brück wrote again that on such his advertisement the university and chapter made a committee, actually to inquire what Magister Ga-

1) In Latin: et ad Iris irnnunisiu köre - and no one will be spared.

2) The Jena edition writes Beyer, the Wittenberg: Bayer. He is also called "Beier" (Köstlin) and "Baier" (Seidemann).

brief, 1) Augustinians, had preached, and to act with the Augustinians, not to make any change with measurements at this time, or to introduce 2c., but to remain with the old way, until they received information from their vicar, or the things would be discussed and deliberated in the university. And if the Augustinians did not want to be instructed, then they wanted to make a council proposal, and indicate their concerns as to what should be done therein to S. C. F. G..

4) The committee had then discussed the matter with the Augustinians and finally agreed that the Augustinians should submit their plans, motives and reasons to the doctors in writing within two days, so that they would then consider them and do more about them; but in the meantime the innovation should remain.

(5) Thus, the committee concerned, by their letter, has now notified their C.F.G. of some of the causes of the Augustinian authorities, and, in addition, of their concerns, and has requested in the resolution that their C.F.G., as a Christian prince, take the matter seriously, and soon put an end to such abuse of the Mass in their C.F.G. principality and principality, and that secular dishonor and dishonor, that one would call their C.F.G. a Bohemian or heretic, would not be respected at all; for all those who do something for the sake of God's word would have to tolerate such scorn and dishonor. a Bohemian or a heretic, would not respect anything at all; for all who do something for the sake of God's word would have to tolerate and suffer such scorn, dishonor and shame, and none of them would have a contract for it; so that from Christ S. C. F. G. would not have to suffer such scorn, dishonor and shame on the last day, as Capernicus did. would not be reproached at the last day, like Capernaum [Matth. 11, 23], that such great grace and mercy in their C. F. G. lands had happened in vain, without their C. F. G.'s help, and that the holy gospel had been revealed, explained and brought to light in it. Because of this, Christ would also demand from H. C. F. G. the grace and gift shown to her C. F. G. before all other kings and princes, 2c. Which all S. C. F. G. would have to hear of its contents.

6) Thereupon, S. C. F. G. has ordered me to inform you that S. C. F. G.'s mind and opinion have always been, if God wills, and shall continue to be, as much as S. C. F. G. can help to promote that which may honor the divine Word and strengthen the holy Christian faith, and to keep and show himself as befits a Christian prince, as S. C. F. G. has also indicated before.

7. his C. F. G. but bedmken on your scream-.

It should not be bad, because this is a great thing and concerns the whole community of common Christianity, that you do not overdo it. For, S. C. F. G. mean that such a thing could hardly be maintained by you, as a small part. If such a thing were founded in the holy gospel, more people would undoubtedly notice it and become attached to it. And if this were to happen, the change would be made constantly with the common crowd, without any particular difficulty. For my most gracious lord may not be reported when this order of celebrating missam, which has now lasted perhaps many hundred years, has begun, and that which uses the apostles has ceased.

(8) Moreover, since churches and monasteries are commonly founded on the celebration of mass, consider what would happen if the mass were to be dropped. For you know that when the cause ceases, the consequence and effect of the cause also cease. From this it can also be assumed that the income of the 2) churches and monasteries would be withheld and deducted. If, for this reason, someone were to take it upon himself to 3) reproach heretics or persecutors of the church, then many complaints would arise, as you can judge for yourselves. This my most gracious lord, in his gracious opinion, did not want you to do. And because you have made this request to S. C. F. G. as a layman who does not report to the Scriptures, S. C. F. G. Request that you, together with the others of the University and the Chapter, look into the matter in such a way that nothing is done nor obeyed that could lead to discord, revolt and aggravation, but that you consider the matter well and direct it to the ways and means that will benefit the holy Christian Church, and that revolt and aggravation be prevented. This is what M. G. H. wants to do for all of you and for everyone in particular, and it is done to please S. C. F. G..

626: The Wittenberg deputies' response to the electoral concerns raised by D. Christian Beyer concerning the fair.

See No. 624.

2) In the German editions: "der Kirchen", but in Latin: templis; likewise in the following scripture, where this is recapitulated.

3) Instead of "interpretation" in the German editions, we have put "imposition" in the text after the Latin (orRuinarstur).

1. the concern, which is held out to us on account of and in place of our most gracious Lord, by Doctorem Christianum, rests on five points and articles.

(2) First of all, since this is a great matter, and concerns the whole communion of all Christendom, we should not be hasty, for it would be difficult for us, as the smallest group, to preserve it.

3) Secondly, if this were based on the Holy Gospel, more people would undoubtedly take note of it and become attached to it. In this way, the change would be made constantly with the common crowd, without any particular difficulty.

4. thirdly, that S. C. F. G. may not be told when this order of keeping Mass, which has now been kept for perhaps many hundred years by all Christendom, began, and that used by the apostles ceased.

(5) Fourthly, since churches and monasteries are generally endowed to celebrate masses, if the masses were to be dropped, the consequences and effects of the cause of the masses would also drop and disappear, and the income of the monasteries and churches would be withheld and withdrawn.

Fifthly, if it were forbidden to anyone to impose 1) the name of heretic or persecutor of the Churches, many complaints, disagreements and discords would arise. Therefore, both the chapter and the university shall see that nothing is done or omitted from which discord or sedition might result.

(7) We have heard all of this with further content in all humility, and after having held diligent counsel, we have considered the following by order of H. C. F. G., humbly requesting that H. C. F. G. graciously hear us and diligently consider the matter, and after we have written to H. C. F. G. earlier about the grossest two abuses of the masses by those who, for their own benefit or out of orderly and endowed foundation, are thus compelled without all desire. having previously written of the two grossest abuses of the Masses, of those who, for their own benefit, or because of ordered and endowed foundation, thus compelled, without all desire and thirst of grace, keep Masses, we still say that these two abuses of the Masses shall be remedied. This can be done without complaint and indignation. And if it cannot be done, let no offense or shame be regarded in it, as Christ did to the Pharisees, who also took offense at his teaching because it was contrary to their human law and tradition,

1) See the last note to the previous number.

Matth. 15,14., said: "Let them go, they are blind and blind guides." "One should ever be more obedient to GOD than to men," Apost. 5, 29.

(8) And though we be the smallest house, yet the truth of the divine word, which is above all angels and creatures, because it is clearly written in the gospel and the apostle Paul, shall not be despised. For the smallest group has always preached and accepted the truth, and will remain so until the end of the world. Christ sent despised, lowly, poor, simple, unlearned and few persons into the world to preach the truth, and revealed to them alone the divine wisdom, which he hid from the great lords, prudents and wise men of this world, Matth. 11, 25. With this, the first article of our consideration is sufficiently answered.

9 To the other article. In the law of Moses, Isaiah 53:3, it was clearly stated, and in more than one place, that Christ was to be born and come into this world as a despised person, as a redeemer. No one would yet understand, find in it, nor accept Christ, except those to whom it was given by the Father, the lowly, the simple, and the poor [Matt. 11:25], who were enlightened with the Spirit of God. So also, although in the holy Gospel this foregoing and true custom of the mass and many other Christian things are clearly written, 2) the popes, prudents and wise men, for their own benefit, and that out of blind, obdurate disloyalty to their estates, honor, interest, and corner fear, cannot understand it nor permit it, For they are wholly blinded by the law of men and tradition, as the Pharisees, chief priests, and scribes of Christ's day were blinded by their own tradition and law, that they not only did not understand nor accept Christ, but also with all their strength resisted him, wholly raging. Therefore, even though it is written in the Gospel that such simple, proper Christian observance of Mass, since it is primarily the Word of God that is preached at all times, how one should observe Mass, no one would admit or refrain from doing so, since it is given and bestowed upon him from above.

2) Wittenberger: "announce"; Jenaer: "announced"; in Latin: possnvt. - Following immediately we have put instead of: "high priests" "popes", because we consider the former an inappropriate translation of kontiūoes. It could also be translated here by "bishops", or if really for that time the translation by "popes" and "bishops" should seem too daring, so they are surely meant.

(10) As for the foundations, and when these present masses first began to be said, as the third and fourth articles state, we find that the old monasteries and convents were not founded and established for the purpose of holding masses and *canonical hours*, without any improvement of the church and the Christian community, as is done now. But they were founded and ordered for the purpose of educating and instructing young people in the Holy Scriptures and the Christian faith. And so the old cathedrals, monasteries and convents of the Christians 1) were children's schools until the time of St. Augustine and even longer, until the time of St. Bernhardt. For this purpose, all the goods of the church were decreed and given as wages and salaries for the preachers and readers; also for the abstention of the pupils and poor people; as this is clearly found in history.

The new monasteries and convents, which were founded four or five hundred years ago, were all erected for the sake of keeping and singing masses, as is now the case. And since these monasteries require persons to celebrate a certain number of masses weekly, which cannot be done without sin, as indicated above, such endowments or compulsions should be discontinued without any hindrance. And even if some endowments to a certain number of masses do not urge anyone, since they are endowed and founded on the fact that the mass, as a sacrifice and good work, may be kept for another soul, such endowment should also be discontinued and changed. For the true mass of a pious priest is of no use to anyone but himself and no one else, nor is it more or better than when a layman goes to the sacrament, as we have instructed S. C. F. G. in our previous letter. And for this reason the founders 2) suffer no harm at all, for they have been deceived by the priests and thought they had done something useful and fruitful for themselves and their friendship, which should bring them salvation and comfort for their souls. And without a doubt, if they were standing up now, they would know themselves that it was thought up in vain, for the sake of the apostles' avarice.

12) And it is also certain that this way and form of holding a measurement for another, especially for a deceased person, for the sake of money, for a named and certain time, namely before some

It is certain that the ancient emperors did not celebrate in their cathedrals any anniversaries, funerals or masses of the soul that they had founded. And even if such selling of masses had existed in Peter's time, it should be stopped because it is a vain sin and blasphemy. Paul already complained in his time that the Antichrist's regiment wanted to be seen in ceremonies and other works [2 Thess. 2, 4]. Therefore, such abuse of the masses should not be tolerated or suffered for the sake of any creature, whether in heaven or on earth.

13) The first and ancient way of reporting the bystanders with both figures was used until the time of Cyprian, and it is still used throughout Greece and the Oriental Church to this day, performing Mass as the apostles did.

14) And that this way and form, how now mass is read with us, is completely new, is shown by the whole diocese of Milan, which is not far from Rome, and does not have the most important part of the Canonum of the masses, and no Roman can say mass from the Milanese books. So also the way and form of the Mass has been changed and increased by the popes Damasus, Gelasius, Celestinus, Gregorius, who have been recently.

(15) Therefore one should not despise the old, first custom, the way and form of the apostles, and so freely depart from it without all Scripture. For St. Paul says: "I have taken and received from the Lord that which I have given you" [1 Cor. 11:23]. Although we do not speak of the manner and form in the first place, and there is little interest in the manner and form if the main parts remain unchanged. But we are talking about the fact that nowadays, because of the change in manner and form, great abuses and blasphemies are taking place almost in all masses, and that, contrary to Christ's order and institution, the one form is being taken away from the poor people by force.

(16) And although this would cause great trouble and discord, it is not our fault, nor the fault of those who teach and preach the truth of the divine word, but of those who, out of envy and hatred, for their own honor and benefit, do not want to accept, tolerate nor suffer, even prevent and suppress. If the same chief priests, Pharisees, together with the scribes, do not want to accept the divine word, they will not tolerate it.

1) "Christians" is missing in the Wittenberg.

2) So correctly with Walch. Wittenberg and Jena: "Stiften". In Latin: autores.

1) [the] Magistris nostris eximiis, let the holy, divine Scripture be publicly heard, preached and read, whether they did not accept it, and, as they could, refuted it with reason and scriptures, and did not suppress it by force, so that there would be no discord, rebellion or disunity.

17 Because they, without any reason and scripture, against their own conscience, imagine and blow to the worldly rulers that such teaching is heretical and unjust, it is no wonder that the preachers of God's word, together with their followers, are persecuted and strangled. Therefore, one should not esteem or fear such a burden so highly. For if Christ should have regarded and feared such afflictions, discord, riots, wars, and other deaths, and the change of the whole world through his gospel, he would have had to cease his preaching, just as the apostles did. And even though their preaching caused such turmoil, uproar and sedition among the Jews at Jerusalem, because of the law set and given by God, they did not cease their preaching.

(18) The devil accuses us of such physical and external dangers in order to prevent God's word, which he cannot stand. Therefore, we should not fear the devil so much, and command God and give it home. The Scriptures must ever be fulfilled that such a great persecution should come upon Christendom, the like of which has never been since the foundation of the world, Matth. 24, 21. So also Christ clearly said, Matth. 10, 35: "I have not come to make peace on earth, but disunity between father and son, mother and daughter, husband and wife, so that one should enrage and deliver up the other for the sake of God's word. For whosoever loveth me not more (saith Christ there) than his father, and mother, and his own honor, and body, and estate, is not worthy of me: that is, he that for my word must not leave honor, and body, and estate, is not a true Christian.

019 Neither let any man offend himself, lest great and much trouble arise therefrom. For Christ, as it is written, is come into the world, and is given to them that believe on him, and on his word, to amend themselves in him, that they may have eternal life.

020 But to them that believe not in him, or in his word, he is set, and given, that they should cleave unto

1) "den Schriftwelsen" put by us instead of: "der Schriftweisen" in the Wittenberg edition. In the Latin only: cum Magistris nostris eximiis.

and thereby die eternally, and as Lucas says in the other chapter, v. 34: Hic positus est in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum in Israel. And on the 20th, v. 17: "The stone that the builders rejected has become a chief cornerstone. And every one that shall fall upon it shall be crushed; but upon him that shall fall it shall be broken. For Christ is set and given for a sign, which shall be contradicted," Luke on the next day.

Justus Jonas, Prepositus.
Johannes Dölitzk, Doctor. Andreas
Carlstadt, Doctor. Hieronymus
Schürf, Doctor. Nicolaus Amsdorf,
licentiate. Philippus Melanchthon.

B. About the remarriage of the priests and Archbishop Albrecht's zeal against it; nevertheless, others have followed and the monks have begun to leave the monasteries.

1. by Bartholomäus Bernhardt of Feldkirch, as the first priest in the papacy, who started to enter the married state.

627: Luther's opening thoughts against Melanchthon about the provost's marriage at Kemberg, and the report that several have already followed in it.

See Appendix, No. 79, § 12.

628 Luther's congratulations to Gerbel for choosing the married state over the celibate life.

See Appendix, No. 71, § 7.

2) How Feldkirch, after Elector Albrecht of Mainz requested that the married priest be made responsible to Halle, has defended itself both to the Elector of Saxony and against everyone because of his marital status.

629: Feldkirch's affidavit on account of his marriage. 1521.

This writing is found in Latin in the Jena edition (1566), tom. II, col. 438 b.

Translated into German.

Against the papal laws forbidding priests to marry, protective letter of Bartholomäi Bernhard! of Feldkirch, pastor in Kemberg, who recently took a wife with his church's permission.

Answer of Bartholomäus Bernhardt from Feldkirch, pastor at Kemberg, to the pre-claim of the archbishop at Magdeburg because of his
Matrimonial.

1st Excellent doctors, because I am called to you to answer for my beginning, I will recently state how my conscience stands in this. And for the sake of Christian love, I ask that it not trouble you to hear and hear this matter diligently, as I will present it simply and honestly.

First of all, I cannot deny that I have married a virgin, for if I were to deny it, I would be ungodly deceiving my church, which, believing until now that my marriage is right, would be justly offended if I were to call my life a fornication. A bishop must be blameless, as the apostle Paul often says. Should I, then, as a ruler of the church, have an iniquity found in me? [1 Tim. 3:2Z Paul does not want our life to be offensive even to the Gentiles; and I should become an offense to the brethren if I acknowledge fornication? I therefore confess that I have married her, and will also confess that the marriage is right, as long as Christ will grant me this life.

(3) But my conscience moved me to marry her for reasons that must move all pious hearts, even though the common delusion, custom, the law of the popes and so many hundred years of agreement argue against it. A Christian must look more to what Christ wants than to what is pleasing to men; as Paul says to the Galatians [Cap. 1:10], "If I would still please men, I would not be Christ's servant"; and Matt. 8:22, "Let the dead bury their dead."

4. that my deed is not only uncourageous and ungodly, and contrary to my monastic vows, oath and obedience, but also audacious and futile.

If I am scolded for my boldness, it will easily fall away when I have rejected ungodliness and perjury. And would God that those who speak so much of boldness would look at the causes of my presumption with spiritual eyes!

(5) These are the causes and reasons of my action. Neither the law nor the gospel has ever rejected marriage, nor has Christ forbidden it to any class, whether clerical or secular. For thus it is written in Matt. 19:11, "Not all take hold of such a word, but those to whom it is given." And after this, v. 12: "He that can lay hold on it, let him lay hold on it," where Christ did not command the single estate at all, but rather made it known that it could not happen to any but those to whom it was given. This word should frighten those who surrender to the celibate state, since Christ indicates that the gift of perpetual chastity is not given to all, but to a few.

Paul, who explains Christ's opinion in 1 Cor. 7, 7, as it were, speaks of it more expansively. The passage is well known: "Each one has his gift from God, one in this way and another in another." And soon after, v. 28: "If you take a wife, you do not sin." And then (as if he was very anxious that he should not have the appearance of requiring the celibate state) he says, v. 35: "All this speech is written for your benefit, not that I should cast a snare upon you," that is, that I should not make you prisoners of any way of life. Behold. Paul is concerned that if he demanded the celibate state, he would throw a rope on it. How then shall we call the popes' statutes of celibacy, according to Paul's custom, other than ropes?

(7) Further, in v. 9, "It is better to be free than to be in heat," the apostle urges that those who are in heat should marry, if they are challenged by the lust of their flesh. For this is called suffering heat. But he teaches of two kinds of chastity. One, when one has the appearance of chastity in the heat of the flesh. The other is given by God and has nothing to do with such heat. And these must not be explained further. The first kind is commanded to marry; the other he leaves, as Christ says [Matth. 19, 11.]: "Not everyone grasps these things, but those to whom they are given."

8. if God would have considered that those who have established the abominable law of the celibate state, who have made the weak youth

to priesthoods, to monasteries. And we do not want to admit that Christ and Paul said this only to the laity, but rather the passages in the first letter to Timothy Cap. 3, 2. and in the letter to Titus Cap. 1, 6. indicate that it also applies to priests. For Paul wants a bishop to be the husband of one wife who has obedient children with all chastity.

9 From this it is clear that marriage is not forbidden to priests by divine right. And we have it from credible stories that they did not shun marriage at the beginning of the church. For who does not know Philip in the Acts of the Apostles, whom the Scriptures [Acts 21:8] call an evangelist, so that we should know that a priest had been married? And Eusebius says much about Peter's wife.

The history of Spiridion is known, who, as far as I know, was a bishop in Cyprus. Hilarius, who does not yield to any bishop of the occidental church, also had a wife, and this custom to marry has been granted in the Greek church until our times. Our unfortunate Germany, however, has taken this yoke upon itself slowly or only forcedly, as the reports of the history of the Cologne and Costnitz churches give.

(11) Moreover, the passages of Scripture which we have quoted not only leave the marriage state free to everyone, but even enjoin it on those who feel the heat of the flesh. And so far from divine law. Now we want to say something about the statutes of men.

(12) But (say) the statutes of the fathers forbid marriage? Answer: Let them see how they will answer for such statutes before God, who have laid such a burden on the people we call priests. I, for my part, call them false prophets who have given such a law; let them be whoever they want.

13. then I add this, that one should not obey the statutes of men, if the conscience suffers thereby, Apost. 5, 29: "You must obey God more than men"; and 1 Cor. 7, 23: "You were bought at a price, do not become servants of men"; and again 1 Cor. 3, 22: "All is yours, whether Paul or Apollo or Cephas" 2c. And Col. 2:20: "If ye then have died with Christ 2c., why suffer ye yet as living to be afflicted with the statutes of men?" 2c. In these and many other passages, Scripture teaches that it is up to us to free ourselves from the ordinances of men according to our spirit.

as often as we see offense and danger in it. I was also in such danger. So what should I do? Should I rather act against God's law, which forbids fornication, than against the papal laws, which forbid marriage? Who should be such a hard bishop that he should demand his law in such a way that the divine one would be broken over it, or who would let a brother's soul perish for the sake of a bald, human custom? If someone's body was in danger because of a day of fasting, should he not also be commanded to eat? How much more must the soul's food remain free than that of the body? Is it not shameful that, since Christ gave his soul (life) for his sheep, a Christian bishop should not (for their sake) let go of a wretched statute? Paul was all things: to them that were without law, as one without law; to them that were under the law, as one that kept the law [1 Cor. 9:20]. But these would that all things should send themselves into their statutes and judgments with the host, much less that they should send themselves into weakness with the host.

(14) It should also be considered here what Paul writes in 1 Tim. 4:3 that it will happen that lying spirits will forbid marriage; and Daniel Cap. 11:37 prophesied that the Antichrist will not respect women (for these are the words of the prophet). These passages have moved my spirit to believe that the Spirit of God has foretold this in Scripture, so that pious hearts may diligently guard against the statutes of the celibate state, and, knowing that they are of the devil, may not consider breaking them. In this passage of Paul, the Roman popes may be reflected, who insist so stubbornly on the celibate state that they deny that no marriage can be right that is contrary to their canons.

(15) I see, looking at the histories, that the holiest men have long and constantly opposed such a celibate state. In the Nicene Assembly, some wanted the presbyters, deacons and subdeacons to live celibate. But the martyr Paphnutius opposed this and did not allow it to arise, and the whole council of Christian bishops agreed with him, so that the clergy kept their former freedom. In the sixth Constantinopolitan Concilio, a statute was also added, in which it was decreed that one should not vow the celibate state, and that those should be banished who would deprive women of the clerical state. It

This resolution is mentioned in dist. 31. And if one holds so much on the conciliar conclusions, and prefers to accept the old ones rather than the new ones, why then did we let these depart from their resolutions, especially since they were better and closer to the Gospel than these new ones from the celibate state?

(16) So far I have shown that I was not bound to obey the papal laws with such danger to my soul, because no statutes of men that endanger the conscience are to be kept. For this is what Paul means when he says, 1 Cor. 7:23, that we are not to become servants of men.

Now I must also apologize for perjury. I do not know any other way than that I swore with the words: I want to do what the statutes of the fathers command. However, I have been appointed Subdiaconus at Brandenburg, Diaconus at Halberstadt and Priest at Chur in Graubünden. Now I will let you judge what the ordinary, common oath is about. For if all errors against the canons are equal to perjury, then priests commit perjury as often as they do not fast according to the canons, do not find themselves properly dressed according to them, in short, nowhere will there be more perjury than among those who impiously wrest such an oath from us.

18 And it is well to note that the Canons require this: that no one be bound contrary to divine law, nor command anything that can be done without danger to conscience. If this is so, then, as often as one swears to keep the canons, nothing against divine law is pledged, and even in this oath the case of necessity is excluded, which is to dispense with the statutes. Gerson deals with this extensively in the Commentary on the Spiritual Life.

19 How? when one has also sworn on the canons, with the piece attached: As much as human frailty permits. For this is usually added in many churches. For then one has sworn: one wants to be celibate as long as the weakness of the flesh allows it; but what is weaker than the flesh? For we cannot even think of anything good of ourselves, as the apostle testifies in 2 Cor. 3:5.

(20) And if one had expressly sworn from the celibate state, one must break the vow if there is danger to the soul. For then it cannot be kept without sin.

21. for first of all, god does not want you to give him

I vow everything without distinction, as he testifies in Jer. 4:2; for there the prophet means to swear in truth, 1) judgment and righteousness, that is, if you interpret it correctly, he forbids lying and swearing to unrighteous or evil things. Furthermore, if I had sworn an oath of celibacy, which I could not keep, what great and grievous sins I would have brought upon myself! I have erred once, that I have vowed into a mischief; do the bishops then want that I should always err, yes, sin? Is it not possible to revoke such oaths, which escape from one's carelessness, if they cannot be kept without horrible sin? Indeed, the papal laws give dispensation from the rule of orders, and with regard to those who enter the monastery, from the oath of minors, so that they, because such age does not understand the burden of the conjugal state, have unthinkingly joined themselves. I praise the opinion of the popes who count themselves free from the vow; but I do not praise that they count only such young people free. For it can happen that even a man does not know himself well; and since the same reason for dispensing with vows can occur both in the case of minors and minors, why should one not judge in the same way?

(22) We see in the Scriptures examples of the saints changing some unrighteous oaths. David had sworn to kill Nabal. Abigail set out to meet him, turned him from his purpose, and David gloriously and heartily thanked God that He had kept him from the intended deathblow, for he knew his error when he said, "Who hath fed me, that I should not do evil" (1 Sam. 25:21 ff.). V. 39. Did I then, who could not keep my vows without sinning, not break them?

Look around in your canons what such an oath means. For in 22. 3. and 4. there is much that confirms my opinion. In the fourth book of Moses, Cap. 30, God's word cancels some vows; as when a woman vows something and the man is not satisfied with it, and the like much more. Such vows are annulled because a woman has no power either over her body or over the goods, if such a thing were vowed. This very reason can also absolve me from my vows, because the gift of eternal chastity is not in anyone's power.

1) According to the Vulgate, veritats is to be read instead of virtuts in the text.

(24) If Moses declares the oath null and void, by which something that is not ours is pledged, why is it demanded of him to keep the oath who has pledged the celibate state out of carelessness, since it is a thing that does not rhyme at all with human nature, and which cannot be kept without great and terrible sins? And who is not surprised that one cries out about his perjury, who takes a wife, and yet does not cry out about their unfaithfulness, who roll around in the very worst abominations of unchastity?

25 In the fifth book of Moses, Cap. 23, 18, it is commanded that one shall not sacrifice the wages of whores. How much less will God want to sacrifice the impure state of celibacy? If He calls the wages of whores an abomination, who would not believe that such a hypocritical and impure state of celibacy is an abomination?

I therefore apologize for the perjury: first, that I am not aware that I have sworn anything expressly about the celibate state; second, that such a thing should not have been sworn; finally, that even if I had sworn, such a thing is not to be kept, which one cannot keep without sin. In this I appeal to the judgment of the Christian heart.

27 From this you can clearly see: first, that nothing has been sinned against the divine laws; then, that I was authorized to break human laws in such obvious danger to my soul; finally, that the vow was made to me in vain, be it sworn, as it may.

Therefore there is no reason to condemn my deed as ungodly; and I have presented my case in such a way that you see I have acted according to my conscience, and that I was not driven to it by lust or audacity, but by common weakness and extreme necessity. What danger there is in the common unmarried state, as it tends to be, and how certain such danger is, I do not need to go into detail, because it is well known enough. And if those who accuse me want to take it to heart, they will not only not reject my example, but rather praise it, if they are Christians otherwise. Christ will be our judge; hopefully he will like my deed. And I have looked to this alone, that Christ may be pleased with me.

29 I did not raise this defense because I wanted to protect myself with these reasons against the power of the bishops,

but only to show that I was moved to marriage for godly reasons; because a true Christian must give due account of his life and faith. I might well have wished that with these reasons the bishops would also be satisfied. I would like them to have compassion for my weakness; I would like them not to lead out thoughtlessly against godly reasons, for why should my freedom be judged by a foreign conscience? But if they want to speak according to the statutes of the popes rather than according to the holy scriptures and the ancient conciliar, then I will bear the Lord's wrath until the time comes when I know that the light will dawn on him who sits in darkness. For this is the comfort of the prophet Micah, Cap. 7, 8. 9. But let them see that they do not run against Christ and against his little ones, whom he cares for as the apple of his eye.

30. May you, excellent doctors, receive this letter of protection favorably, and in Christian love support the good cause, and protect it against violence, so that the prophet may not also have prophesied about you when he says Mich. 7, 3: "As the prince wills, so will the judge. Amen.

630 Feldkirch's petition to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, in which he defends his marital status with concise reasons based on divine and secular rights. 1521.

This writing is found in Latin in the Jena edition (1566), tom. II, fol. 440b.

Translated into German.

Most Serene Prince, Most Gracious Lord! That the highborn and most reverend Cardinal claims that my responsibility is not sufficient, and that my deed is still proclaimed ungodly, I cannot say anything else, because the reasons for my defense have not yet been refuted.

First of all, as far as perjury is concerned, I am not aware of having sworn other than to keep the canons of the fathers. Even a craftsman knows what such a general oath formula means. Furthermore, even if I had expressly sworn to the celibate state, oaths are not binding, which cannot be kept without sin, as I have proved with David's example. And the example of the prophets

teach this, which so often condemn the alliances of the kings of Judah with godless kings. Also no human statute binds, which cannot be kept without sin, Matth. 15,3: You have abrogated God's commandment because of your statute.

(3) And I have already proven this earlier with such certain and suitable scriptural passages that I hope no one will be so insolent as to contradict them; at least they calm my conscience completely that I have no hesitation about dying. For such an ungodly nature is far from me that I want to misuse the word of God as a false pretext or cover for my deed! And since I am of this opinion, and my conscience is thus satisfied, what kind of hardness must this be, that one would rather just throw me to the ground than instruct me better!

4 But if I am blamed for wanting to overturn only what the Roman popes and emperors have decreed, everyone can see that I neither want to nor can do this, for I do not overturn such law. But from the law of men I make myself free according to the Gospel, and that as far as I must. For I must look more to my salvation than to all that men ordain, Acts 5:29. 5, 29. Therefore, the need to keep the divine law has driven me to break the laws of men. Although I know that the canons and the laws themselves are so kind that they do not want to bind any man against God.

(5) Nor can you turn away from anger. For one does not have to look at the offense when sin is to be controlled. 1 Cor. 10, 29: "Why should I let my liberty be judged by another man's conscience?" And Christ, Matth. 15, 12, despised the offense. Since the apostles argued: The Pharisees were angry at your speech, he said, "Let them be, they are blind men and leaders of the blind. But if one blind man lead another, they both fall into the pit." If Christ despised the offense, that he called them blind men, who had such precepts, the followers of the same were also blind, who ordered the celibate state, because they took heed to seducing spirits and devils, 1 Tim. 4:1; so they also are blind according to Christ's word, who obeyed this cruel statute with danger to their souls.

I now leave it undecided whether the emperor or the pope founded the matrimonial state. Pabst has founded the marriageless state. This much is certain, that the apostle Paul calls those lying spirits who want to forbid marriage. I will leave the most reverend power in honor; but Paul commands the Romans that no one judge another about things that are based on evangelical freedom [Rom. 14], and holds that such things must be left to God's judgment alone, who is a judge of the heart. For this reason, the most reverend must take care that he does not go against the apostle, who forbids judging a foreign freedom.

7 I therefore ask, for the sake of Jesus Christ, that God have mercy on my distress, and that He have the providence not to expect more of me than I have offered, although I will gladly suffer anything, if God wills it otherwise. God keep E. C. F. G. for the benefit of the Gospel! Wittenberg in Saxony, in the year 1521.

3. the subsequent abandonment of the monasteries, which Luther, through his book of monastic vows, partly initiated and partly approved of, but by no means approved of the abuses that took place.

631 Luther's report to Spalatin of Nov. 11, 1521, on how he was now willing to attack monastic vows and deliver young people from the hell of the celibate state.

See Appendix, No. 80, § 7.

The book itself, "Luthers Urtheil von den geistlichen und Klostergeübden," is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1500 ff.

632 Luther's complaint to John Lang that he had to notice how many monks left the monasteries merely for the sake of carnal freedom.

See Appendix, No. 101.

633 Luther's complaint against Spalatin about this.

See Appendix, No. 102, § 2.

The second section of Chapter Eight.

What evil changes took place in Luther's absence, and of Luther's return to Wittenberg as a result.

A. Of the so-called new prophets, who had meanwhile begun in Zwickau and had also come to Wittenberg.

1. from the Wittenberg report on the puddle to the Elector of Salmon, and how he behaved.

634 Melanchthon's report to the Elector Frederick of Saxony about the arrival of three men from the so-called new prophets at Zwickau and about their actions and nature, from which it can be seen that these will-o'-the-wisps had greatly blinded Melanchthon, who was otherwise not lacking in wisdom and insight.
Dec. 27, 1521.

From Seckendorf's 8i8t. lmt. lib. I, p. 192, (o), where the original is printed, which, as Seckendorf says, is kept in Leipzig, and is dated "from the day of St. John the Evangelist 1522", that is, Dec. 27, 1521, because the new year used to begin with Christmas.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the most illustrious and exceedingly wise Prince, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector, the Lamp of Israel, his most gracious Lord.

I wish Your Electoral Grace the grace and peace of Christ. E. C. F. G. gives me credit for having dared to write to you, because at this time very great and dangerous things require my attention and care. (The matter, however, that he had to present is this:) 1) E. C. F. G. knows very well how many, manifold and dangerous ambiguities about the word of God there are in E. C. F. G.. C. F. G. city of Zwickau have been raised. There are also some who have made I do not know what kind of innovations, thrown into prison. Of the authors of these

1) The words we put in brackets seem to be an insertion by Seckendorf, because they are not printed in italics like the rest.

Three men have come here because of the riots, two are clothiers, unlearned people, the third is scientifically educated. I heard them. They say strange things about themselves: they are sent by the bright voice of God to teach, they have confidential conversations with God, they see future things, in short, they are prophetic and apostolic men. How I was moved by them, I cannot easily say. I am certainly prompted by great causes that I do not want to despise them, for it appears for many reasons that certain spirits are in them, but about which no one but Martin can easily judge. Therefore, because the Gospel, the honor and the peace of the church are in danger here, every effort must be made to give these people the opportunity to talk to Martin, because they refer to him. I would not write to E. C. F. G. if the greatness of the matter did not require that advice be given in time. For we must be careful at the same time, lest we be overcome by Satan. May the Lord keep E. C. F. G. alive for the salvation of His Church.

E. C. F. G.

most subservient

Philip Melanchthon.

635 Spalatin's account of how Chursachsen had spoken out in the matter of the new prophets.

From Spalatin's Historia, Hiäeriei Hievor, bei Seckendorf, lügt. lib. I, p. 193a.

Since the wretched swarm spirits, Nicol. Stork and Marx von Elsterburg, absent D. Martin's Luther, who was still in his Patmos, had gone to Wittenberg, and had caused almost all misfortune, and had also almost saddened the most learned and distinguished, for which reason his electoral graces required some high scholars to go to Pretin to advise on the matter with God's help. When it came to the council, and his electoral graces had heard the misgivings of his councilors and servants, as they could suffer in the same dealings, they said

His Electoral Grace, among other things, said these harsh words with great seriousness: "This is a great, important trade, and one that I, as a layman, do not understand. Now my dear God has given my brother and me quite a bit of poverty; if I now understood the things before I wanted to act with knowledge against God, before I wanted to take a staff in my hand and walk away. The words of his princely grace astonished the councilors and servants who existed at that time, and certainly his heart stood the same way until the end of his life.

2. from Luther's correspondence with Melanchthon and Spalatin, the new prophets half.

636 Luther's letter to Melanchthon of January 13, 1522, in which he indicates how these new spirits should be tested, also at the same time aptly asserts the infant baptism rejected by them.

See Appendix, No. 103.

637 Luther's reminder to Spalatin that he should work to prevent the Elector from staining his hands with the blood of the Zwickau prophets.

See Appendix, No. 104.

How Luther himself met with the new prophets after his return from Patmos and soon discovered by their performance what spiritual children they were.

638 Luther's report of this to Lang, in which he asserts, among other things, that he had obviously encountered Satan in them.

See Appendix, No. 105, the postscript.

639 Luther's report to Spalatin about how Nicolaus Storch, one of the new prophets who did not attend the above meeting, came to him in soldier's clothing, along with two others, and what he said.

See Appendix, No. 93, the postscript. In Walch's old edition, this is separated from the letter and included in the appendix as No. 6VI.

B. Of the Carlstadt riots, which mainly forced Luthern to return to Wittenberg.

1. as Luther already complained in his patmos about Carlstadt's disagreement in doctrine, but nevertheless, in order not to give his opponents any trouble, tolerated him.

640 In his Patmos against Amsdorf, Luther expresses distress over Carlstadt's contrary doctrinal opinions, explaining that although he could easily be resisted, it would give the opponents the opportunity to boast as if the Wittenbergers themselves were at odds with one another, to the great annoyance of the weak.

See Appendix, No. 97, § 3.

2. Luther's decision to return to Wittenberg.

641. short summarium of the first five of the "eight sermons against D. Carlstadt's innovations in Wittenberg," March 9-16, 1522.

This writing is not, as Walch meant and put in the title, an "answer of Luther to the Wittenbergers", but a Summarium of a part of the eight sermons, which he preached from March 9 to 16, 1522 at Wittenberg. For the locations, we refer to the 20th volume of our edition, Col. 6, note. Our assumption just expressed is further substantiated in the introduction to the 20th volume, p. 16 b and in the note mentioned. We give the text according to the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 68. There, the writing is among those of 1522, but there it has the title: "Schrift D. M. L. Wider die Neverung zu Wittemberg, durch D. Carlstad angericht, weil D. Martinus, after the Diet of Wormbs was held, XXI in his Pathmo." This writing does not belong in this place, but should have been after No. 656. Even the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 290 f., still has in a registry the superscription: "Luther an die Wittenberger." The locations of this writing are given in our edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 6, note.

1 I cannot be with you all the way; every man is guilty of dying for himself, and of suffering his death, and of waiting for the greatest trials in his departure; no one will be able to have counsel or help with him. I will not be with you; you, in turn, will not be with me. Who then exists

against sin, hell and the devil, he is blessed; he who does not stand up to them is condemned.

(2) But no one can stand unless he has learned and practiced the comforting sayings against sin in his life. What the soul has received in the world, that it takes away with it, and nothing else. No one can stand against the devil and hell, for he has thoroughly recognized Christ, that he knows how to defy the devil without a doubt, how Christ died for him, overcame hell and the devil; and that he is the one to whom it has been done well, and whom God wants to have blessed: so he must be blessed, even if all devils were against it.

(3) We are all born sinners, and thus corrupted in Adam's birth by his fall, that by our powers and wills we can do nothing but sin, and nothing is free, as Paul says in Ephesians 2:3: *Omnes natura sumus filii irae*. But Christ has borne our inability in life and death.

4 As Christ has done to us, so shall we do to our neighbor. Christ bore our infirmities, and we ought to bear our neighbor's infirmities also. Christ gives us credit for falling into sin, so that we may pass over in the same way; why should we not give something to our neighbor?

(5) This innovation has been introduced with masses, images, attacking the sacrament, and other dissolute things, in which there is no interest, letting go of faith and love, as if all the world around had a great understanding of these things, which is not the case, and made many devout people attracted to it, which is the devil's work.

(6) It would be a good thing to do such things if we all had faith at the same time, and if it pleased the whole community so that no one would be offended. But this will never happen. We cannot all be so learned as Carlstadt. Therefore we must yield to the weak; otherwise you who are strong will run very fast, and the weak who cannot follow you at the same pace will perish.

God has given you the word pure and has shown great mercy to those in Wittenberg.

Yet I feel no love at all from you. How much more should you tolerate those who have never heard the word? We still have many brothers and sisters who live in Leipzig, in the country of Meissen, and elsewhere around; we must also have them with us to heaven. If Duke George and many others are angry with us about this, we should nevertheless bear them and hope for the best from them. It is possible that they will be better than we are.

(8) Now this business has been started quickly, *purdi purdi*, and driven in with fists; I do not like it at all that you know it; and if it comes to that, I will not stand with you in this business either. You have started it without me, so see that you can carry it out without me. It is not right what you have done, and if Carlstadt 2c. had said it again.

(9) You have brought in many wretched consciences who have taken the sacrament and attacked it, torn down images, eaten eggs and flesh. If they were to give account to the devil in their death or in a trial, they would not know a hair's breadth about it. You have been a cause of destruction, that you have plunged into it so carelessly, and you still want to have the glory of it, as if you were a Christian, and better than another. You are far wrong; you want to serve God with it, not knowing that you are just the forerunner of the devil.

(10) Believe me, I know the devil well, and almost well; he started it only because he wanted to desecrate the word that was spoken. He has led you on a little fool's errand, to attack the sacrament, to eat eggs and flesh, so that in the meantime you forget faith and love. And look at me right away, as if those who started this game sought their glory, the devil also gave them their reward.

(11) Now let us see the things which you have done in my absence. First of all, the things that God has commanded to be kept must be kept, and no other; nor has any man on earth power over them, neither bishop nor pope. Some things God has left us free to do, such as eating, drinking, womanizing, 2c., of which God commanded nothing,

also has not forbidden anything. These things must also remain free, and no man on earth or angel in heaven has to change them.

(12) Here the popes and bishops came and made of this freedom ropes and statutes, appointed priests and monks, forbade them to marry, imposed fasting days, and suppressed the right fasting, so that they brought many hundreds of thousands of souls to the devil. And by this they have just served the devil; yes, the devil himself has done it, when Paul says 1 Tim. 4,1-3: "False spirits will come with devilish doctrines, forbidding the marriage state and the food that God has created to be enjoyed. For no authority nor man has power to change God's word. What God has left free, that shall remain so without any addition. Therefore, what the pope or bishops do in this regard is nothing.

Thirteen: In these free things thou shalt not press into any place. If the pope says, You shall not eat eggs or meat on Friday; if you do, you commit sin. If they come, then, as to a necessary thing, resist them, and say, Now will I eat it first, that thou hast forbidden it against God.

(14) In this way one should deal with the "troublesome" and against the stiff-necked; but against the weak, who have no understanding, of whom there are many, who would gladly do if they knew right, one should deal with them gently and neatly, teach them, and as St. Paul says [Heb. 5:13] feed them with milk food, while they are still young in the faith.

When a child is first born, it is first given soft food, that is, milk; then a little stronger, as mush and porridge, until it grows stronger, then it is given cheese and bread 2c. So it is also here. You must yield to your neighbor until he also becomes strong and equal to you. St. Paul, when he was with the Jews, lived according to their customs; with the Gentiles, he also lived according to their ways. If you have suckled enough and become strong, will you cut off the teats so that the others cannot suckle? Should the mothers all

If you were to throw away children who could not soon eat, where would you be? Dear fellow, when you have suckled enough and grown up, let another suck and grow up too.

(16) In these free things it gains this place that necessity requires, as, a sick person, or a pregnant woman, if they cannot eat fish, they eat meat, be it when it will, it offends whoever will. If they permit such things in Rome for money, then it is permitted for me in my need, free without money, and no one shall judge me in my freedom, which I have from God. It is the same with taking wives and the like.

(17) But the kingdom of heaven does not depend on eating and drinking. If you eat, you are not the better or the less a Christian, even if you do not eat 2c. But St. Paul says [Rom. 14, 15]: "If any trouble should come of it, I would never eat meat," 1 Cor. 8, 13.

(18) It is true that the word shall not depart from any man, but shall go forth judicially, God willing, whether it be for pope or bishop, emperor, king or prince. Notice a similitude: the sun has the radiance, and the heat or warmth; neither emperor nor king can bend the radiance. So, the word shall not depart from anyone; but the heat one can well flee, and go into the shade; so does love, which yields to the neighbor as often as it is necessary.

19 Again, one should not penetrate to the other side. This one eats eggs, that one too, so they all have to eat eggs. Not yet! What should I complain about, that I eat fish for the benefit of my neighbor? I would do a greater thing, if it were for his benefit. So I can wear this cap for my enemies (if their conversion is to be hoped for) and for the weak, and I should not complain.

Luther wrote to Spalatin that he was hearing worse things every day, and that it was necessary for him to return to Wittenberg as soon as possible, so that the Elector would not have to worry about him.

See Appendix, No. 104.

Section Three of Chapter Eight.

From Luther's departure from his Patmos at Wartburg, his return, and his public appearance at Wittenberg.

**How Luther announced his return to the trousers
- but the Elector did not want to allow it at all.**

643 Luther's letter to the Elector of Saxony, in which he congratulates him on God's visitation of him with this cross (the unrest in Wittenberg); he should not be frightened by it, but thank and praise God; but he wants to be present soon. End of Feb. 1522.

Here Walch has brought a fragment which Seckendorf, List. 6utti., 11k. I, p. 217, ex eoxlal. [retiv. Vinar. into Latin; afterwards Elias Frick translated it again into German in the German Seckendorf, p. 449. This translation was taken up by Walch and after him by the Erlangen edition, vol. 64, p. 383. This is a part of the letter that is first found in the supplement of the Leipzig edition, p. 33, then in Walch, vol. XXI, 32; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 136 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 103. We give here the letter completely after De Wette, who compared the original.

To my most gracious lord, Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, in his own hand.

Grace and happiness from God the Father to the new sanctuary. Such greeting I now write, my most gracious Lord, instead of my offering. E. F. G. has for many years been seeking sanctuary in all lands; 1) but now God has heard E. F. G.'s desire. F. G.'s desire, and sent home without any food and effort a whole cross with nails, spears and scourges. But I say again: grace and happiness from God to the new sanctuary. E. F. G. only do not be afraid, yes, stretch out your arms confidently, and let the nails go in deep, yes, give thanks and be happy: so it must and should go, whoever wants to have God's word, that not only Annas and Caiaphas rage, but also Judas is among the apostles, and Satan as among the children of God. E. F. G. only be wise and prudent, and

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, inset, p. 506 f.

Do not judge by reason and appearance of the being; do not be afraid, it is not yet there where Satan as wants to go. E.F.G. believe me fools a little bit, because I know these and similar handles of Satan, therefore I am not afraid; that hurts him. Everything is still in the beginning. Let the world cry out and judge, let fall whoever falls, also St. Peter and the apostles, they will probably come back on the third day, when Christ rises again. This must also be fulfilled for us, 2 Cor. 6 [v. 5]: Exhibeamus nos in seditionibus etc.. E. F. G. wants to have for good, before great haste the pen had to run, I have no more time, will myself, God willing, be there soon. E. F. G. only take care of me nothing.

E. F. G. subservient servant Martinus Luther.

644: Instruction from Elector Frederick of Saxony to Johann Oswald, Amtmann in Eisenach, to Luther. End of Feb. 1522.

The original concept of this typeface can be found in Weimar H6A. D. 61t. X. X. col. 101. It is printed in the 6orp. Rec. I, 559, No. 201 and thereafter in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 292. In Walch's old edition, an extract from this writing is found at this point, which Seckendorf, nist. 6utti., Ud. I, p. 217 translated into Latin, and Elias Frick then retranslated into German. We give the writing in its entirety according to the Erlangen correspondence.

By the Grace of God Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector.

**Instruction, what our dear faithful Johann Oßwald should
advertise to Dort. Luther should advertise.**

First of all, we would like to say our gracious greetings, and then tell you that my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, has received his current letter, 2) in which he would like to extend to his elector his grace and good fortune.

2) namely, Luther's letter referred to in the previous number.

wishes from God to the new sanctuary and whole cross, and subsequently writes that his Lordship should now be wise and prudent, and not judge by reason and appearance of being, and finally indicates that he himself, if God wills, wants to be there, and his Lordship should only assume nothing according to all content and reading.

Now he himself would know that the order of his grandfather in these matters was not judged, and perhaps did much less than was proper and due in such serious cases. For they had taken many a strange action at Wittenberg and were not in agreement about the matter among themselves.

Those in the monastery and the chapter would not all agree, not even those in the university.

Thus, in Wittenberg, such things would be held outside Wittenberg without end, since some would be dependent on those in Wittenberg, one otherwise, the other thus mass, one in mass robe, the other without mass robe. And even if it should be good, it would be at least an impropriety.

Many students also moved away from it. 1) Thus, several princes had also requested their applicants 2) from the University of Wittenberg for this reason.

According to this, his chiefs would not know what should be the best in this. Therefore, because he writes that his chiefs should now be prudent and wise, and not judge according to reason and appearance of the being, his chiefs would be graciously requested to indicate what he thinks and respects. G.'s gracious request, he would indicate to his Chf. G. what he thinks and respects that S. Chf. G. should or should not do in these matters, and that [he] wants to send his Chf. G. an answer. For S. Chf. G. does not want to do or undertake anything that would be contrary to God's will and His holy word. Even if something unreasonable should be done, from which indignation and complaining would arise, S. Chf.

Thus, the Reich's regiment at Nuremberg had written, requested and asked S. Chf. G. about these matters in various days: 3) if

If a prince has raised or brought about an innovation of this kind against the traditional Christian usage in his principality, or if such an innovation would arise in the future, he is not to allow it to take root, but is to prohibit it severely under severe penalty, to prevent it diligently, and, if he wishes, to exhort and proclaim it in the pulpit by skilled preachers. 2c.

Some bishops, such as the bishop of Meissen, can now be heard as if they wanted to preach themselves in the places where the people should be deceived and to order others to preach. Also S. Chf. G. the Bishop of Meissen recently wrote in response to a letter from the kingdom's regiment, stating that it was his right from his episcopal office 4) to send out virtuous preachers by divine appointment at the time of the holy fasts and other times, to proclaim the word of God and of the holy church, and to exhort the poor simple-minded people, especially in the region where there is already an uprising, to Christian unity and obedience. Majesty's governor and regiment, as well as his good opinion, and to reject them from their error to the best of his ability.

If it would now be made good and right by such preaching, then it would certainly like it manly. And when he [Luther] also indicated at the end of his letter, as if he himself wanted to be there soon, if God so willed, and his Lord should only accept nothing at all, his Lord would not know whether he wanted to indicate that his will and opinion would be to turn back to Wittenberg.

But if this were his mind, then S. Chf. G. would have misgivings that he should not go there again for the time being. For S. Chf. G. would not be able to judge that it would be to his benefit if he were to let himself be seen in public in these runs.

Should he now be found out in Wittenberg, and the Pope and the Emperor's Majesty continue to proceed and proceed against him with their mandate issued above, S. Chf. Majesty, with their mandate issued above, proceed and proceed further against him, and also command and mandate S. Chf. G. with several processes to have him answered, that S. Chf. G. does not yet know the reason that this should be done, because he is still unconquered, S. Chf.

1) Melancthon and Aurogallus also intended to leave Wittenberg, but were prevented from doing so by Luther's return.

2) "Bewandten" == subjects. Margrave Joachim of Brandenburg, Henry the Younger, Duke of Brunswick and Duke George of Saxony had recalled their subjects from Wittenberg "so that the youth, inclined to evil, would not be led into this unchristian work and error". Wittb. Vol. IX, 141 b.

3.) January 20. The following up to the end of this paragraph is found in the same wording in the letter of the

Imperial Regiment to the Bishop John of Meissen. The bishop sent this letter to the Elector on February 12 (Erl. Briefw.).

4) The following to the end of the paragraph is almost verbatim from the letter of February 12 (Erl. Briefw.).

The first time he is wronged, the second time he is wronged.

So he must also know that S. Chf. G. has so far never taken any further notice of him and the matter, except that S. Chf. G. has graciously requested him from Kais. Majesty to graciously listen to his simple, humble request. S. Chf. G. would not know how to get involved any further, nor to accept him and the matter, who he had not yet overcome, and he himself wrote that S. Chf. G. should only accept nothing from him.

If, however, S. Chf. G., if he were to turn again to Wittenberg, should refuse the Pope and Kais. Majesty's request, and not obey it, nor have sufficient cause to refuse it, he would have to consider what good might result for His Majesty and his lands and people.

But His Grace would be well disposed, if His Grace actually and thoroughly knew what was right and good in God's will, so to suffer, endure and leave what His Grace should, that His Grace would have no complaint for his person. For if this were to be the right cross and sanctuary of God, then S. Chf. G. would not have been appalled by it, but because God had said that His yoke was sweet and His burden light, S. Chf. G. would gladly bear the cross, if they knew that it was to be of God, without doubt that God would grant S. Chf. G. help and strength for it. However, they made it so strange and diverse in Wittenberg that so many sects arose from it that men became confused about it, and no one knew who was the cook or the waiter.

But that because of S. Chf. G.'s head or main also other people should come to harm and complaint, that would be almost burdensome for S. Chf. G. as well.

In addition, in his gracious opinion, S. Chf. G. does not want to keep it from him that there is now talk that a new Imperial Diet is to be set up and announced around mid-Lent, and thus presumably at this same Imperial Diet his cause will not be one of the least that will be acted upon. Accordingly, S. Chf. G. considers that perhaps it would be good for him to have patience in the meantime, to abstain until it is seen how things will turn out, and also, if he considers it good, to send his written reminder and concerns about what should be done in these matters to the aforementioned Diet, if God Almighty wants to bestow His grace to accomplish something good. For it would stand on it that the things would come in the meantime to a big change.

If, however, God's will and work should be prevented by this, this would not be dear to His Holiness, and for this reason he wants to have all this placed in his mind, which is experienced in these high things.

His Lordship's Grace, who means it graciously, well and faithfully, did not want to restrain him in his gracious opinion. Date ut s. 1)

B. How Luther nevertheless set out, and on the way also freely announced his return to Hose, and what means Elector Frederick the Wise took to see himself out of suspicion and guilt with the Emperor and the Imperial Regiment because of Luther's return to Wittenberg.

645 Luther's letter of March 5, 1522, from Borna, on the journey, to the Elector, which is written with unheard-of frankness.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 146b; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 69b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 90; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 271; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 137 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 104.

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Landgrave in Thuringia, Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord and Patron.

JEsus. 2)

Favor and peace from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and my most humble service.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! E. C. F. G. Schrift und gnädiges Bedenken 3) ist mir zu Freitag [den 28. Febr.] zu Abend zukommen, als ich auf morgen,

1) The date of this instruction in Corp. Heb is February 20, which is too early, but in Burkhardt, p. 45: March 3, which is too late. This "gracious concern" of the Elector reached Luther's hands, as we see from Luther's next letter, "on Friday [28 February] in the evening". Cf. SeidemannDe Wette, vol. VI, p. 579, note 7.

2) "JEsus" is missing in De Wette and in the Erlangen edition.

3) The previous paper, No. 644.

Saturday, want to ride out. And that E. C. F. G. means it in the very best way must of course be neither confession nor testimony with me, because I am certain of it, as much as human investigation gives. But again, since I also mean well, methinks I know it from higher than human inquiry; but that does nothing.

2) But I let myself look at E. C. F. G.'s writing as if my writing had 1) moved E. C. F. G. a little, so that I write that E. C. F. G. should be wise. But against such delusion, my great confidence has humbled me, 2) that E. C. F. G. probably recognizes my heart better than that I should falter E. C. F. G.'s highly praised reason with such kind of words. For I hope that my heart is ever in that, that I have always had a desire and pleasure in E. C. F. G. before all princes and sovereigns for a reason, without all hypocrisy.

What I have written, however, was done out of concern that I wanted to comfort E. C. F. G.; not for my own sake, of which I had no thought at the time, but for the sake of the clumsy trade, namely in Wittenberg, to great dishonor of the Gospel by ours. There I was afraid that E. C. F. G. would bear a great burden. For I myself was so driven by misery that, if I had not been certain that the Gospel was with us, I would have despaired of the matter. Everything that has hurt me so far in this matter has been shame and nothing. Even if it could have been, I would gladly have bought it with my life. For it has been done in such a way that we can neither answer for it before God nor before the world, and yet it is on my neck, and before that the holy Gospel. This grieves me from the bottom of my heart.

Therefore, most gracious Lord, my writing does not extend further than to that, 3) and not to my trade, that C.F.G. should not look at the present image of the devil in this game. And such an admonition, although it would not be necessary for E. C. F. G., has nevertheless been necessary for me to do.

1) Letter No. 643.

2) humble - instructed, taught.

3) Randglosse der Wittenberger: die solche Unlust zu Wittenberg anichtet haben.

(5) But concerning my cause, most gracious lord, I answer thus: E. C. F. G. knows, or does she not know, let it be known to her herewith: that I have the gospel not from men, but only from heaven, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that I might well have boasted and written myself (as I will do henceforth) a servant and evangelist. But that I offered myself for interrogation and judgment was not because I doubted it, but out of other humility to entice others.

But now I see that my too much humility wants to lead to the degradation of the gospel, and the devil wants to completely take the place where I give him only a hand's breadth, I have to do something else for the sake of my conscience. I have done enough for E. C. F. G. that I have refrained from serving E. C. F. G. this year 4). For the devil knows very well that I did it for no reason. He saw my heart well when I arrived in Worms, that if I had known that so many devils had held out for me as there are tiles on the roofs, I would still have jumped among them with joy.

Now Duke George 5) is still far unlike a single devil. And since the Father of abysmal mercy has made us through the gospel joyful lords over all devils and death, and has given us the riches of confidence that we may say to him, dearest Father, E. C. F. G. himself can judge that it is the highest dishonor to such a Father, if we should not trust in him as well, that we also find wrath over Duke George.

8 I know this well about myself, if this matter were to stand in Leipzig as it did in Wittenberg, I would still ride in, even if (E. C. F. G. forgive me for speaking foolishly) it rained for nine days on the vain Duke George, and each one would be nine times more angry than this one is. He considers my Lord Christ to be

4) Marginal gloss of the Wittenbergers: the 21st year, since he was secretly hidden in his patmo.

5) Duke Georg had worried the Elector with letters because of the Wittenberg innovations, and as a member of the imperial regiment, he had issued orders from this authority to the bishops that they should proceed with severity against the innovators. Seckendorf, List. l-utd, lib. I, p. 217 (1).

a man woven of straw; that my Lord, and I, can well suffer for a time.

I do not want to hide from C. F. G. that I have not once asked and meant for Duke George that God would enlighten him. I will also ask and cry once more, but never again. And please, E. C. F. G. also wanted to ask and let ask for help, if we could turn the judgment away from him, which (oh Lord God!) presses upon him without ceasing. I wanted to strangle Duke George quickly with one word, if it would be done with that.

10 This was written to E. C. F. G., in the opinion that E. C. F. G. knows that I come to Wittenberg in much higher protection than that of the Elector. I also have no intention of requesting protection from E. C. F. G.. Yes, I think I want to protect E. C. F. G. more than she could protect me. If I knew that E. C. F. G. could and would protect me, I would not come. No sword can advise or help in this matter; God alone must accomplish this, without all human care and help. Therefore, he who believes the most will protect the most. Because I now feel that C.F.G. is still weak in faith, I cannot regard C.F.G. as the man who could protect or save me.

11) Now that E. C. F. G. also desires to know what she should do in this matter, since she considers that she has done far too little, I answer humbly: E. C. F. G. has already done too much and should do nothing at all. For God does not want to and cannot suffer E. C. F. G. or my worries and doings. He wants to leave it to him, that and no other; then E. C. F. G. may comply with it. If E. C. F. G. believes this, then she will be safe and have peace; if she does not believe, then I do believe, and E. C. F. G. must be at peace. C. F.G.'s unbelief will have to suffer his anguish in sorrow, as is fitting for all unbelievers. 1)

Because I do not want to follow C.C.F.G., C.C.F.G. is excused before God if I am caught or killed. In the sight of men E. C. F. G. shall thus hold himself: viz.

1) Marginal gloss of the Wittenberg edition: Doctor Martinus says, which credible from his mouth more than one heard: he would have written his life long no great lord so hard, as just Duke Frederick Churfürsten, who kept it yet everything to him zugut 2c.

The Emperor must be obedient to the sovereignty as a prince and allow His Imperial Majesty to rule in His Majesty. Maj. may rule in E. C. F. G. cities and lands, in body and goods, as is due according to the imperial order, and not to resist or oppose, nor to seek compensation or any obstacle to the power, if it saw me or wants to kill me. For no one shall break or resist the power but he alone who has established it; otherwise it is an outrage and against God.

I hope, however, that they will need reason to recognize E. C. F. G. as born in a higher cradle than that she herself should become cane master over me. If E. C. F. G. leaves the gates open and keeps the free electoral escort, if they themselves would come to fetch me or their envoys, then E. C. F. G. has done obedience enough. They can never demand anything higher from E. C. F. G. than that they want to know Luther at E. C. F. G.. And this shall be done without C.C.F.G.'s worries, doings and some driving. For Christ has not taught me to be a Christian with another's harm.

14 If they are ever so unreasonable as to order C.F.G. to lay a hand on me himself, I will then tell C.F.G. what to do: I will keep E. C. F. G. safe in body, goods and soul for the sake of my things, believe it or not.

15 I hereby command E. C. F. G. by the grace of God. Let us speak further at our earliest convenience, if it is necessary. For I have hurriedly finished this writing, so that E.C.F.G. will not be distressed by hearing of my future; for I should and must be comforting to everyone, and not harmful, if I want to be a true Christian. It is another man than Duke George with whom I am dealing, who knows me almost well, and I do not know him badly. If E. C. F. G. believed, she would see God's glory. But because she does not yet believe, she has not yet seen anything. To God be love and praise forever and ever, amen. Given at Borne at the Gleitsmann, 2) on Ash Wednesday [March 5] Anno 1522.

E. C. F. G.

menial servant
Martin Luther.

2) Michael from the streets.

646 Prince Frederick, who had received Luther's letter on March 6, sent instructions to Jerome Schurf on March 7 to negotiate with Luther, that he should write a letter to the Prince, indicate in it his reasons for having gone to Wittenberg again, and testify that this had happened without the Prince's knowledge, and also that he should write this letter in such a way that the Prince could communicate it to some of his lords and friends. Lochau, Friday after Ash Wednesday, March 7, 1522.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 148; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 72; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 93; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 274; and in the Erlangen correspondence, vol. III, p. 297.

By the Grace of God Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.

1) Our greetings beforehand, esteemed, dear faithful and councilor! We graciously inform you that next 1) we will receive a letter from Doctor Martinus, which, among other things, indicates that he is willing to return to Wittenberg. We send you this document herewith to hear its contents.

2 Because, for many moving reasons, we considered it good that D. Martinus had remained in office for a while. Martinus would have held off for a while, especially because the matter is now very difficult and in great diligence, and would be very embittered, from which many a burden, especially if one should learn that he is at Wittenberg, would arise for him and others; moreover, that there are many people who would like to have cause to complain to us, and that it may be careful for him to consider how.

Since the doctor will now, by our providence, be in Wittenberg, our request is that you speak and act with him on the letter of credence here, after notification of our gracious greeting, so that he sends a letter to us, in which he states the reasons and concerns for which he has returned to Wittenberg, and that this has happened without our permission. And that he would also offer himself to some extent, with notice that he does not want to be a burden to anyone. And that the writing would be shaped and made in such a way that we would send it to some of our lords and friends, so that they would receive encouragement.

We also inform you that we do not seek anything in this matter, except that sedition and other things may be prevented; therefore you will help to make things work for the best, and be concerned that we obtain a writing that we may show from ourselves. Do the same with him, that he would abstain from preaching in the monastery at the castle for a number of moving causes.

5) And you will send us Doctor Martinu's letter, which we are sending you herewith, together with the letter of credence, after reading it, and at the same time indicate by your letter that 2) you would decide with him, and otherwise keep this matter secret in your duties to us. In this you do us a favor. Date at Lochau, on Friday after Cinerum [Ash Wednesday, March 7], Anno 1522.

To the esteemed, our councilor and dear faithful, Hieronymum Schurff, Doctor, for his own hands.

647. D. Hieronymus Schurf's reply and report to the Elector, sent on March 9, of his happily organized ordered trial. Wittenberg, Sunday Invocavit [9 Mar] 1522.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 149d; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 74; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 93; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 275; and in the Erlangen correspondence, vol. III, p. 299.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord Frederick, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, Elector, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious lord.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince! My most willing, subservient, obligated services are E. C. F. G. before. Most gracious Lord! I humbly offer E. C. F. G. to know that I have most diligently presented and opened your order, given to me, to the worthy Mr. Martino Luther, at this time the true apostle and evangelist of Christ, our dear Lord and Savior, and of His divine Word.

2) that in the present further writing, he has given E. C. F. G., 3) conjugal, constant and urgent

2) The Erlanger Briefwechsel, which supposedly brings the text after the Wittenberg edition, reads: "das" instead of: "wes", which is found in our Wittenberg.

3) No.648.

Christian causes, why he has gone to Wittenberg at this time, and that this has happened without any help from E. C. F. G.. As it is also the truth about himself that he found himself there without E. C. F. G.'s knowledge, help or approval 1) and I am comfortingly hopeful and confident that E. C. F. G. will graciously move his causes out of a high Christian understanding and will respect and hold them as urgent, to honor and praise the holy divine Word, also for the salvation, comfort and instruction of E. C. F. G.'s poor, erroneous and angry subjects.

For I, E. C. F. G., according to my obligation and as a poor, sinful Christian man, also do not know how to hide the fact that some have intruded upon us to preach, without any demand or appointment, but on their own initiative, and have finally, unfortunately, brought it about that many citizens and students neither know nor believe otherwise, because only he should be a true good Christian who does not confess, persecutes priests, eats eggs and meat on carnival day, tears down images 2c. And, which is to be moved most of all, so they have urged with their preaching the people to indignation and taking of the reverend sacrament of the altar, which alone the afflicted and hung spirits and consciences, who feel and feel grievances because of their sins, will receive usefully, so that where before in the parish of Wittenberg five or ten masses would have been held awkwardly and against the application on one day, that now on one day often a hundred and many more have been held.

4 The devil knows how to masterfully introduce such mischievousness and malice under the appearance and guise of truth, and from this and other clumsy preaching almost the whole of Germany has not been a little annoyed and offended. God is to be complained that from Wittenberg, where the holy gospel, by the special grace of the Almighty, has again been brought to light, such annoyance, insult and scandal of the neighbor have arisen, without any need, against brotherly and Christian love.

5 Similarly, we were not a little offended among ourselves. For I, for my own part, while still cold and weak in faith, have been greatly annoyed and scandalized. And all this, in my small opinion, comes from the fact that

1) "Gehellen" - unanimity, agreement. The Erlanger Briefwechsel, which supposedly gives the text according to the Wittenberg edition, reads: "Gefallen"; but in our Wittenberg and in the Jena one finds the reading given by us.

I am concerned that they are carnal preachers and not enlightened with the Spirit of God.

(6) For this reason I, and the greatest number, easily receive what is carnal and pleasing to the body and flesh. For this reason it is not enough for a preacher to have the art and knowledge of the Scriptures, for the Scriptures alone give life and hope, but the Spirit of God must be present. Therefore the apostle says [2 Cor. 3:6], "The letter killeth, but the Spirit maketh alive." For the word of God is preached without all profit and fruit, unless it strikes and stirs the heart and will of man, and he is wholly or partly renewed and renovated in spirit and will. It is all the same to such a person whether he eats meat or not, if this is done without annoying and offending his neighbor. For to the pure all things are pure; as to the impure all things are impure [Titus 1:15]. But care must be taken, even in the daytime, as the Scriptures show that these men are few, as the daily fruits also sadly show.

For God's sake, I sincerely ask that E. C. F. G. not ungraciously accept my vexatious letter, for I am well aware that E. C. F. G. has a much higher and deeper understanding of all this and has brought it to mind than I, a poor, incomprehensible fellow. Thus I have not let E. C. F. G., enough to do to my conscience, know it undisclosed. For I hope that the almighty, benevolent God will grant D. Martino grace and mercy, so that from his sermons, through the effect of the Holy Spirit, such and such ailments, spiritualities and scandals will be stopped and partly torn out of the hearts of the people. However, invading preachers should no longer be allowed to preach in this way. For Christ so faithfully and fatherly warned us against all *pseudo-prophets*, which will be until the end of this world, and warned us to beware of them [Matth. 7, 15].

(8) For this reason, every Christian authority, where it notices and understands this, is obliged to proceed and avert it. For the Christian people, as Christians on this earth, abstinence and nourishment rests and stands only in the pure, clean, pure Word of God through the action of the Holy Spirit.

9. and have this my clumsy writing with my insoluble hand E. C. F. G. that I did not want to trust my substitute, and that I lived up to E. C. F. G.'s orders as the obedient one; and not

Therefore, I do not fear that it will come before the people, because I want to be known before D. Carlstadt and manly. And I hereby submit myself to E. C. F. G. as my most gracious Lord, to whom the Almighty God may grant and give true strength and constancy, against all challenge and persecution of His divine Word, to resist the devil and his followers. Amen. Date Wittenberg, Sunday Invocavit [March 9] Anno 1522.

E. C. F. G.
Hieronymus Schurpff, subject
and obligated.

648 Luther's letter to the Elector Saxony, written after the Elector's request and enclosed with Schurf's report, in which he relates several reasons why he had turned from his Patmos back to Wittenberg without the Elector's knowledge, will, and consent. Wittenberg, Friday before Invocavit [March 7, 1522].

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 148d; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 72b; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 95; in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 276; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 109 and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 141. Latin in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 46, with omission of the postscript; likewise in the Latin Wittenberger (1551), tom. II, fol. 328 and in the Jena (1566), tom. II, fol. 515. S  mmtliche latin editions have the wrong date: Dis Vncris  s Invocavit instead of: Invocavit.

JEsus.

Favor and peace from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, amen; and my humble service.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince and Most Gracious Lord! I have almost considered that it would be a great inconvenience to E. C. F. G. if, without E. C. F. G.'s will and permission, I were to turn again to Wittenberg; 1) since it would seem to have the appearance of causing E. C. F. G. and all the country and its people a great hardship, but before that I myself, as one who has been banished and condemned by papal and imperial power, would have to wait all hours of death.

1) These words are changed in the "moderate letter" No. 652 to avert the appearance that the Elector knew about Luther's concealment.

But how shall I do to him? Cause urges, and God compels and calls. It must and will be so; so be it in the name of Jesus Christ, the Lord over life and death.

3 However, so that my causes do not go unheeded by C.F.G., I want to make some of them known to C.F.G. that I now feel. And first of all, I do not do this out of contempt for Imperial Majesty's authority, or for E. C. F. G., or for some higher authority. For although human authority is not always to be obeyed, namely when it does something against God's commandment, it is never to be despised, but to be honored. Christ does not justify Pilate's judgment, but he did not throw him or the emperor from his chair because of it, nor did he despise him.

4) The first cause is that I have been called in writing by the common church in Wittenberg, with great pleading and request. 2) Since no one can deny that through me the essence has begun, and I must confess myself a servant of such a church, to which God has sent me, it has not been possible to deny me in any way, because I would have denied Christian love faithfulness and work.

(5) Although there are many who consider this being a devilish thing, and condemn and condemn it, who undoubtedly consider this cause to be nothing, but rather think that Wittenberg and what has begun there should be left to sink, I am not excused by this, for God will not judge me according to others, be they much or little, faith or unbelief, but according to my conscience. For I know that my word and beginning is not of me, but of God; that no death nor persecution will teach me otherwise; methinks also that it must be left alone.

The other is that in Wittenberg, through my absence, Satan has fallen into my hurdles, and, as all the world is now crying out, and is also true, has brought about a number of things that I can no longer satisfy with any writing, but must act with my own person and living mouth and ears.

2) This passage is also changed so that it is not revealed that the Wittenbergers knew about Luther's whereabouts.

Saving nor forgiveness have been deceptive in my conscience.

7 For this reason, not only E. C. F. G.'s grace and disgrace, but also the wrath and anger of all the world. It is ever my hurdle, commanded to me by God, they are my children in Christ; there has been no more disputation whether I should come or not. I am guilty of suffering death for them; I will do so gladly and joyfully, with God's grace, as Christ demands, John 10:12.

8) But if I had been able to help the matter with letters, as before, so that it would not have been necessary to call me, 1) why should I not also gladly grant to remain eternally from Wittenberg, since I am also to die for the sake of my neighbor.

The third is that I am afraid (and worry that I will be, alas, all too certain) 2) of a great outrage in German lands, so that God will punish the German nation. For we see that this gospel falls well with the common man, and they receive it carnally, see that it is true, and yet do not really want to use it.

(10) Those who are supposed to quell such indignation are helping to dim the light by force, but they do not see that by doing so they only provoke the hearts and force them to revolt, and they are acting as if they themselves or their children wanted to be destroyed, which God undoubtedly sends to plague them. For the spiritual tyranny is weakened, which is the only thing I sought with my letter. Now I see that God will continue to do as He did to Jerusalem and its two regiments. I recently learned that not only spiritual but also temporal power must give way to the Gospel, be it with love or suffering, as it is clearly shown in all the histories of the bibles.

11 Now God has demanded through Ezekiel that one should sit against Him as a wall for the people, which is why I also thought it would be necessary to discuss with my friends whether we would turn or raise God's judgment.

1) This is changed nm to hide that Luther was in written communication with the Wittenbergers.

2) These brackets, which are in the Latin editions, are set here by us.

12 Whether this matter would be in vain for me and ridiculous for my enemies if they heard it, I must nevertheless do what I see and know how to do. For E. C. F. G. should know this, and certainly rely on it, it is much different in heaven than decided at Nuremberg, 3) and will, unfortunately, see that those who now think they have eaten the Gospel, as they have not yet spoken the Benedicite.

(13) There are probably more causes that do not yet really penetrate me, therefore I do not penetrate them or think deeply about them; there is too much that the gospel is in need, therefore no man has been seen by me.

14 I hereby ask that E. C. F. G. will graciously grant me the benefit of my future in E. C. F. G. C. F. G. city, without E. C. F. G. knowledge and will. 4) For E. C. F. G. is only the Lord of goods and body, but Christ is also the Lord of souls, to which He sent me and awakened me; I do not have to leave them. I hope that my Lord Christ is powerful over our enemies and will be able to protect me from them if he wants to. But if he will not, then let his will be done; I know for certain that no harm or suffering shall come to me.

15. May God mercifully command him E. C. F. G.. Given at Wittenberg, on Friday ante Invocavit [March 7] 1522.

E. C. F. G.

servant, Martinus Luther.

649 Postscript to this letter, in which Luther offers to provide another form, but leaves it up to the Elector to provide another one himself.

Where E. C. F. G. does not like this form, I humbly request that E. C. F. G. himself should have a pleasing one prepared and sent to me, since I also have nothing to fear if the next letter to E. C. F. G. would arrive. I do not want anything

3) In the other letter: "for on earth decided" and the following to the end of the paragraph is omitted because of the harshness.

4) Here is inserted the promise that Luther did not want to offend or offend anyone.

Act henceforth, which I do not want to suffer and look at in the daytime. Although I did not fear the outrage, which I despised until now and thought about the priesthood alone. Now, however, I am afraid that it will take hold of the dominion and, like a plague of the land, envelop the priesthood as well. But this shall not come to pass before the persecution and destruction of the gospel, as it was before.

650 Prince Frederick's other rescript to Jerome Schurs of March 11, to the effect that there were a few things in Luther's letter that needed to be changed, especially the somewhat harsh expression of Nuremberg, and that he would like to persuade Luther to put it in the form that Spalatin enclosed.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 150b; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 75b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 98; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 280; and in the Erlangen correspondence, vol. III, p. 303.

By the Grace of God Frederick, Duke of Saxony and Elector 2c.

1 Respected, dear faithful and counselor! We have received and read your letter, which you acted on our order with Doctor Martino Luther, to our gracious favor, also the writing, which the same Doctor Martinus gave us next to it; and it is no less, we have never liked to see that some have intruded themselves to preach and do otherwise. What we have at all times done and allowed to be done against this is known to you and others whom we have used for this purpose. Wherever we were followed, there would undoubtedly have remained many things that would now be a further development and a burden.

(2) We have also overlooked the writing that Doctor Martinus gave us, in which he apologizes for having gone to Wittenberg again without our knowledge, will and consent, and know of no particular change in it, except for the words in which Doctor Martinus writes: "There is much different in heaven than decided at Nuremberg" 2c. We have had the same and several other words, which in our opinion are somewhat too sharp, moderated and changed, as you will learn from Magister Spalatin's handwriting.

We also send you Doctor Martinu's letter, which he has now written to us, herewith; and it is our gracious request that you speak to D. Martino about it, and inform him of this, and also move it for yourself. And we believe that if he were to write to us with a copy that has been touched, it would not be improper; we would then also have to report his writing to our lords and friends, with whom we are under suspicion. We do not seek anything else here, except that the writing be presented in such a way that it may be held up to our lords and friends.

4 For you know that we are completely innocent of these things, and that everything happened without our will and knowledge; if Doctor Martinus had wanted to follow us, he would not have turned to Wittenberg.

5. and otherwise keep these writings secret everywhere and not let them reach anyone, but send us all of them again, together with the instructions that we recently sent you, kept under your care. And what information and answer you will receive from Doctor Martino, you will let us know by your letter. And do us all a favor in this. Date Lochau, on Tuesday after Invocavit [March 11], Anno 1522.

(6) We also make known to thee that we seek nothing in this matter, but that sedition and other things may be prevented; wherefore, be diligent to help the matter for the best, and be concerned that we obtain a writing which we may show of ourselves.

651. Luther's letter to Spalatin that he did not like the change that had taken place, but he wanted to give way to the prince's weak faith; at the same time, he reported how Carlstadt was making it difficult to give in, but that Christ would force him to do so. March 13, 1522.

The original of this letter is in the anbaltnMn Gesamt-Archiv. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 56d; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 150 (with the wrong date: March 12) and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol.III,p^8vs. According to the latter, which brings the original, we have translated.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the servant of Christ, Mr. Georg Spalatin, his brother in the Lord.

Hail! That you are an evangelist rejoices me, dear Spalatin, and I pray that the LORD

make your word a word of power, so that your faith and that of those who hear you may be complete. But that you wonder why I have not written to you is proof of your weak faith, as if I were evil because I have kept silent. But what can be the point of Luther being evil, since you are already rich and reigning in Christ [1 Cor. 4:8], of which alone one must boast?

I am sending here the letter to the prince; 1) as in the same the prince has shown many signs of a despondent unbelief (this weakness of his must be borne), so above all this word has annoyed me that I am forced to call the emperor "my most gracious lord", since the whole world knows that he is extremely hostile to me, and all will laugh at this obvious falsehood. But I would rather be ridiculed and accused of falsehood than resist the prince's weakness; but I so appease my conscience against this falsehood that the usage and spelling entails calling the emperor thus, as it were, by a proper name and title, which is also done by those to whom he is exceedingly hostile. For I hate such deceptive pretense extraordinarily and have conceded him so much so far; at last once one must also speak freely (παρρησία praestare). Do not refrain from praying for me, and help me to tread this Satan underfoot, who has risen up against the Gospel in Wittenberg under the name of the Gospel; we are now fighting with an angel who is disguising himself as an angel of light [2 Cor. 11, 14]. The Carlstadt will find it difficult to depart from his mind, but Christ will force him if he does not depart of his own free will. For we are masters of life and death, who believe in the Lord of life and death. Another time more; now be well and be confident in the office which you have taken upon you. The day after Gregory 2) [March 13] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

1) No. 652.

2) Walch has the wrong date: "Den 2. Georgii" [April 24] instead: Htsra OrsZorii.

652 Luther's previous letter to the Elector, moderated and amended by Spalatin at his command. March 12, 1522.

The original of this letter is in the Weimar Archives, Registrande O, p. 74, FF No. 2. Printed in Spalatin'sS . 53. In the Gesamt- In the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 151; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 76; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 96; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 278; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 114 and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 146. A diplomatically exact print of the original is found in Seidemann's "Lutherbriefe," p. 15. After this we give the text.

To the most illustrious and highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Archmarshall of the Roman Empire, Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord and Patron, in S. C. G.'s own hands.

JEsus.

Favor and peace from God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ, amen; and my humble service.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I humbly beg Your Electoral Grace to know that, by divine help, I have again turned here to Wittenberg, which is undoubtedly against and too much for E. C. G., who have never wanted to get involved in this matter, since it looks as if it might cause great harm to others, and especially to myself, as he who, banished and condemned by papal and imperial mandate, must await all hours of death.

But how shall I do to him? God compels and calls, and cause presses. It must and will be so; so be it in the name of Jesus Christ, the Lord over life and death.

3. so that E. C. G. does not take it for granted that I have so unintentionally, and without E. C. G.'s knowledge, will, and approval, inserted myself into E. C. G.'s work. C. G. University and the city of Wittemberg, out of human willpower and unnecessary arrogance, I want to inform E. C. G. of some of the causes that I now feel.

4. first and foremost, I hereby declare that I will not allow myself to be held in contempt of the roman emperor.

I have never been subject to the authority of my most gracious Majesty, my most gracious Lord, or of any other authority.

For although one should not always obey human authority, namely when it does something against God's commandment, one should never despise it, but honor it. Thus the Lord Christ did not justify nor praise Pilate's judgment, but nevertheless did not expel him or the emperor from the throne, nor did he despise them. Now these are the causes of my coming here to Wittenberg, in such my complaints.

6 First, that it is undeniable that the being has begun through me, and I must confess myself to be a servant of the congregation at Wittenberg, to which God has sent me, and for which reason I have not been able to withdraw from Wittenberg for a long time, because I wanted to be highly burdensome to others and to myself, to have failed in faithfulness and work of Christian love.

(7) Although there may be many people who consider this being a devilish thing, who condemn it, and who undoubtedly do not regard this cause as anything, but rather consider it reasonable to let Wittenberg and what has been started there sink, I am not excused by this. For God will not judge me according to others' faith, be it much or little, but according to my conscience. For I know that my word and beginning is not from me, but from God, which no death or persecution will teach me otherwise.

(8) Secondly, that in Wittenberg, through my absence, Satan has fallen into my hurdles, and, as all the world is now crying out, and is also true, has wreaked havoc on some pieces, which I cannot satisfy with any writing, but must act with my own person and living mouth and ears, no longer saving nor pardoning has been deceptive to me in my conscience.

9 For this reason, not only E. C. G.'s grace and disgrace, but also the wrath and anger of all the world has been put behind me. For Wittenberg is my hurdle, commanded to me by God, they are my children in Christ, there has been no more disputation, whether I am to them or not.

should come or should not come. I am obliged to suffer death for them; this I will also do gladly and cheerfully with God's grace, as Christ demands Joh. 10, 12. But if I had been able to help the cause with writings, why should I not have gladly given myself up to remain eternally outside of Wittenberg, since I should also die for the sake of my neighbor?

(10) Thirdly, I have been grievously afraid (and fear that I am all too sure of it) of a great outrage in German lands, so that God will punish the German nation. For we see that the gospel falls well with the common man, and they take it carnally; they see that it is true, and yet will not use it aright.

(11) Those who were supposed to quench such indignation, who saw to dim the light by force, do not see that by doing so they only provoke the hearts and force them to revolt, and act as if they themselves, or their children, wanted to be destroyed, which God undoubtedly sends to plague them.

(12) For the spiritual tyranny is weakened, to which I alone have aspired with my writing; now I see that God will continue to drive it, as He did Jerusalem and its two "regiments". For I have recently learned that not only spiritual, but also worldly power must give way to the Gospel, be it with love or suffering, as it is clearly shown in all the histories of the Bibles.

Now God has ever required through the prophet Ezekiel [Cap. 22, 30] that one should set oneself against Him as a wall for the people, which is why I have also thought to discuss it with my friends, whether we want to turn God's judgment or to forgive. Whether this matter will be in vain for me, and also ridiculous and mocking for my enemies when they hear it, I must nevertheless do what I see and know must be done. Because E. C. G. should know that and rely on the fact that it is decided in heaven much differently than on earth.

14 There are also more causes that do not yet really penetrate me; therefore I do not penetrate them or think deeply about them. It is

too much in that the gospel is in need, because of which I should not have looked at, shunned, or feared anything on earth.

15 Therefore, my humble, submissive request to E. C. G. is that you graciously grant me and forgive me that I have come here to E. C. G. behind and without E. C. G.'s knowledge, will, favor and permission. C. G. city of Wittenberg, and graciously see and consider the above-mentioned high and moving causes, and that I intend to refrain here, with God's help, from any unjust burden or insult. For E.C.G. is only Lord of goods and body, but Christ is also Lord of souls, to which he has sent and awakened me; I must not leave them.

16 I also hope that my Lord Christ is mighty over all enemies and adversaries, and if he wills, he will protect me and handle me well. But if he will not, let his good will be done. I know for certain that no harm or suffering shall befall me.

17. may god mercifully command him E. C. G.. Date at Wittemberg, middle week after Invocavit [March 12] Anno dni 1522.

E. C. G.
servant Martinus Luther.

658. D. Hieron. Schürf, March 15, 1522, reports to the Elector, at the time of the transmission of Luther's changed form, how Luther's return and sermons are causing immense joy in Wittenberg, and how the people are already beginning to recognize the truth again.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition <1569>, vol. IX, p. 152; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 77 b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 98; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 281; and in the Erlangen correspondence, vol. III, p. 306.

To the most illustrious, highborn prince and lord, Lord Frederick, Archmarshall of the Holy Roman Empire, Elector, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious lord.

Most Serene, Highborn Prince, my most willing, subservient, obligated services are E. C. F. G. before. Most gracious Lord! I have obediently presented the copy provided to E. C. F. G. to Doctor Martino, who then accepted it with all humility, and according to which I have humbly written to E. C. F. G., as I hereby humbly send to E. C. F. G..

2 And please E. C. F. G. humbly "to know that great joy and rejoicing, among the learned and the unlearned, will arise among us from D. Martini's future and sermons. Martini's future and sermons, for he thereby, by means of divine help, daily points us poor deceived and angry people back to the path of truth with irrefutable evidence of our error, in which we have been miserably led by the intruding preachers: so that it is obvious and evident that the Spirit of God is in him and works through him. And I have no doubt that by the special providence of the Almighty he came to Wittenberg at this time. Gabriel 1) also confessed that he had erred and done too much.

D. Capito has also been with us for two nights, and has listened to two sermons by Doctor Martino, 2) in which he has shown how grossly the reverend sacrament of the altar and its use has been erred against, and he is highly pleased about it, as he told me himself. And therefore, since without any doubt this work that has been started comes and flows from God, he will also represent it and send it in such a way that it will remain undisturbed, neither by the devil nor his followers, where it is commanded and sent home to God in true confidence and trust, in right humility and fear.

4 It shall also, if God wills what E. C. F. G. commands and orders me, remain with me in secrecy until the pit. Carlstadt is not well satisfied, but he will neither accomplish nor create anything, I hope to God. And I hereby command myself to E. C. F. G. in all submissiveness, which the Almighty God in true constant faith keep until the end of this miserable life, amen. Date Wittenberg, Saturday after Invocavit [March 15] Anno 1522.

E.C.F.G.
Hieronymus Schurpff, subject
and obligated.

1) Gabriel Gemini.

2) The fourth and fifth sermons on March 12 and 13, 1522, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 28 ff.

654: Prince Frederick of Saxony's letter to Duke John of Luther's return to Wittenberg, together with an enclosed copy of Luther's letter of apology, with a request that a copy of it also be sent to von Planitz in Nuremberg, so that he may she could show at the Reichstag [March 16, 1522].

From Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden," Vol. II, p. 261. This letter was presumably written at the same time as the next one; according to it, our time determination.

And after E. L. knows that Doctor Martinus is back in Wittenberg, therefore E. L. and we want to give him a lot of trouble; but with which we are excused, that he is here on our will and permission, so he has written to us, from what causes he has come here. We hereby send copies of this letter to your lordship, because we believe that it will also have been sufficient in Nuremberg that Doctor Martinus is back in Wittenberg. For this reason we ask E. L. to send copies of Doctor Martinus' letter to Hanssen von der Plawnitz, so that he can show them to E. L. and to my family and apologize. Gladly at the service of E. L. Dat. ut supr.

Zettl Hertzog Johannis.

655 Instruction enclosed by the Elector to Planitz concerning Luther's letter of apology. March 16, 1522.

From Cyprian's "Useful Documents," vol. II, p.262.

Dear Council. Since you also know that Doctor Martinus is back in Wittenberg, in which we may have a lot of trouble, but with which we are excused, that he is here at our will; So he has written to us, for what reasons he has given himself, as our brother will send you a copy of it, the same copy you may well let see for your own benefit and excuse, so that we may not be charged in this, in which case it has fallen to us. Dat. ut supr.

At Werthen on Sunday Reminiscere [March 16, 1522].

To Hanßs von der Plawnitz.

6. how Luther, immediately after his arrival in Wittenberg, seriously opposed the innovations of Zwilling and Carlstadt and other estates.

The eight sermons delivered by Luther after his return to Wittenberg against D. Carlstadt's innovations. March 9-16, 1522.

These sermons are found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 5 ff. Here also belongs the short Summarium of the first five sermons, in this volume No.641.

657 Luther's paper "Von beider Gestalt des Sacraments zu nehmen und anderer Neuerung. Mid-April 1522.

This writing is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 62.

D. How Luther announces his reart to good friends, as well as his opinion, what he thinks of Carlstadt's actions, and how he enrages him very much by his contradiction; also that he is in great danger as someone who is still under the rule of the Reich.

658 Luther's letter to Nicolaus Hausmann, addressed soon after his arrival in Wittenberg, in which he encourages him to stand firm because of the new prophets, informs him of the evil that has broken out there, and shows how he dares to control it only by means of the Word; but he should also follow his example in it. Wittenberg, March 17, 1522.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches GesamtArchiv. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 49; by Schütze, vol.II, p.39 with the wrong year 1521; in DeWette, Vol. II, p. 151 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 311. A translation of this letter from 8° 2 on, with the wrong address: "To Spalatin" and the wrong date: "Freitags nach Estomihi 1522", has made the rounds of all previous editions as a special letter; namely in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 146; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 71 b; in the Altenburg, vol.II, p.92; in the Leipziger, vol.XVIII, p.273; in Walch, vol.XXI, 14 and in the Erlanger, vol.53, p. 112.

This error can be explained, as far as the wrong address is concerned, by the fact that the German translation was found among Spalatin's papers; the wrong date perhaps by the fact that one read March 7 instead of March 17. We have translated according to the Erlangen correspondence.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To the faithful evangelist of the church at Zwickau, Mr.
Nicolaus Hausmann, his extremely dear brother in
Christ at Zwickau.

Hail! Although I, my dear friend Nicolaus in Christ, am busy in many ways in such great turmoil, I still could not avoid writing to you, especially since the opportunity is pressing and this friend, your scholar, 1) requested it. But I hope that you are firm in the faith and grow daily in the knowledge of Christ. Your prophets, who have come from you, are up to strange things and are pregnant with them, which are not pleasing to me; if the same should be born, they will do no small harm. This spirit of theirs is very deceitful and apparent, but the Lord be with us, amen.

(2) Satan has done much evil here in my hurdles in such a way that it was difficult to oppose him without anger on both sides. But you see to it that you do not allow anything new to be started by a vile decree or with impetuosity; only with the word that must be fought, with the word that must be thrown down, with the word that must be destroyed which our people have undertaken with violence and impetuosity. This is how Satan has driven them. I reject the fact that the masses are held for sacrifices and good works, but I do not want to put my hand to it or to stop those who do not want to or the unbelievers by force. I reprove only with the word: he who believes, let him believe and follow; he who does not believe, let him not believe and let him go. For no one must be forced to believe and to do that which is of faith, but must be drawn by the word, so that the willing believer may come of his own free will.

I reject the images, but with the word, not that they should be burned, but so that trust should not be placed in them, as has happened so far, and still happens. They would fall of their own accord if the people were instructed and knew that they were nothing before God. Thus I reject the Pabst's laws of confession, of taking the sacraments, of prayer, of fasting, but with the word that I may free the consciences from them. When they have been freed, they can finally use them for the sake of other weak people who are still entangled in them, or not use them where there are strong people, so that love may reign in these outward works and laws.

But now no one is more annoying to me than this rabble of ours, who abandon the Word, faith and love, and boast only that they are Christians because they can eat meat, eggs and milk in front of the weak, use both forms, do not fast, do not pray.

4. teach in this way, dear one, you also want to walk. With the word, of course, everything must be punished, but the hearts, like the herds of Jacob, must be "maltreated." 2) [Gen. 33:14] so that they first take the word of their own free will, and finally, when they have become strong, do everything. But this is perhaps superfluous for you, but concerned love exhorts me to this service. Be well in Christ and support the gospel with your prayers. Wittenberg, Monday after Reminiscere [March 17] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

659 Luther's letter to Gerbel, a lawyer from Strasbourg, of March 18, 1522, in which he reports to him that he had had to plunge into the emperor's and the pope's fury by returning to Wittenberg because of the destruction that had taken place in his sheepfold, and that he was now

2) The Erlangen correspondence reads: insuvandu and notes: "This word, which is difficult to read in the original, has been rendered by the manuscripts in many different ways: minaiida, iueitanda (in the Zwickau manuscript XVII, IX, I, in the margin: vsl suvundu vsi mutundu), duetzudu, miinisuda, juvanda, mutauda.

1) In the original: litsrator - one who instructs others in a language. Aurifaber offers: Udsrator.

He lived in the midst of his enemies, to whom power was given to strangle him every hour, but he surrendered to the will of God.

This letter is found in Latin in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 51 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 153 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 313. German in Frick's German Seckendorf, p. 471 and subsequently in Walch.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To Nicolaus Gerbel, Doctor of Laws at Strasbourg.

Hail! I believe, dearest Gerbel, that the letter has reached you, which I previously sent to you from the desert 1) through Philip. Now, although you have not written anything back to me, I have not wanted to let this Aristobulus 2) of yours return to you without at least a short letter, which would greet you in Christ and address you in my name and ask that you command me your Lord. Satan is raging, and the neighbors are raging on all sides, I don't know with how many deaths and shells. Now, in fact, even my court has truly confused things to the point of despair. I have therefore been forced to throw myself alive into the midst of the raging of the emperor and the pope, whether I could possibly drive the wolf out of the hurdle. Therefore, I am now surrounded by no protection but that of heaven, but live in the midst of enemies to whom men have given the right to kill me at any hour. I take comfort in knowing that Christ is the Lord of all things, to whom the Father has put all things under his feet, including, without doubt, the wrath of Caesar and all devils who are not among the sheep the Father has put under the Son. So, if he wants me to be killed, let it be done in his name; if he does not want it, who will kill me? Only take care with your own that you support the gospel with prayers; for I see that Satan is dealing with it, so that not only the gospel is eradicated, but also the whole of Germany is flooded with his own blood. Woe, what abominations he is bent on! and if I am not mistaken, they are all too certain to be-

1) This is letter No. 71 in the appendix of this volume.

2) Seidemann in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 643 assumes that a Strasbourg city councilor is meant by it.

because there are no people who make themselves a wall against God for the house of Israel [Ezek. 22:30, 13:5], then because we have the gospel of the kingdom in words alone, but not in power, because of our hard ingratitude, and are more puffed up by knowledge than edified by love; therefore we will be given, I fear, what we deserve. Pray therefore, let yours also pray, let us all pray. The matter is a serious one, and Satan seeks us with incredible cunning and with the highest powers. Here I must rest my pen, because of the many affairs. Be well with your spouse and greet all of us. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Reminiscere [March 18] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

Luther's report sent to Wenceslaus Link on March 19, 1522, that he was staying in Wittenberg again because of the unrest caused by Carlstadt and Zwilling.

See Appendix, No. 107, § 1.

Luther apologized to Joh. Lang that he could not come to Erfurt; it was not necessary to tempt God, nor to run after danger, he had enough danger to wear out in Wittenberg, since he, who was under papal and imperial ban, could be beaten to death by anyone, and he had no protection but from heaven.

See Appendix, No. 101.

Luther wrote to D. Joh. Hess his opinion about the riots and innovations that had taken place. March 25, 1522.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, Vol. II, p. 57; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 159 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 318 (with the wrong date: March 15). German in Frick's Seckendorf p. 476 (not p. 47, as the Erl. Briefw. states) and subsequently in Walch.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Martin Luther wishes his Heß

Hail! I will write more at another time, dearest Heß, now that I am overwhelmed with work and a lot of things, I am forced to be shorter. I am glad that you have become an evangelist; the

Increase and strengthen your ministry, O Lord, that you may be complete in faith, and those who hear you, amen.

I am at Wittenberg to quell these disturbances where possible, even though the pope and the emperor have condemned me and I alone live under the protection of heaven. I praise the zeal of your prince 1) for the Gospel, but see that you inflame his heart more to faith and love than to the outward use of the Sacrament. For I see that even ours hasten to take both forms, although in the meantime they regard faith and love as nothing. Certainly, both forms do not make a Christian, but it is the custom and the work of a Christian. But faith and love make a Christian, even without both forms; but those think that they are Christians when they follow this custom. The pope is to be condemned, who by giving a law has abolished the one form against the gospel, but we are not to be praised either, if we leave love and faith standing, however much we may have taken possession of both forms according to the gospel. But this is more fully explained in the booklet I am publishing on this matter. Meanwhile, farewell in eternity, dearest Hess. Wittenberg, on the day of the Annunciation of Mary [March 25] 1522. Yours, Martin Luther.

663 Luther's report to Caspar Güttel, prior of the Augustinian monastery at Eisleben, of March 30, 1522, to the effect that he had offended Carlstadt by overruling his orders, indicating what Carlstadt's errors were.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, Vol. II, p. 56; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 177 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 326. German in Frick's Seckendorf, p. 476 and in Walch twice, namely here and in the appendix of this volume, No. 108.

Newly translated from the Latin.

1) Duke Carl von Münsterberg, whose court preacher was Hess. Cf. Oorp. kok. I, 566. The place where Hess stayed at that time was Oels in Silesia, not Breslau. (Erl. Briefw. III, 319.)

2) "To Take of Both Forms of the Sacrament," St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 62.

Hail! I am writing, dearest father, so that the messenger could bear witness that he has come here, otherwise I would have had no reason to write, especially since I have a lot to do with letters, strange stories and people's speeches. I hope that the venerable father Vicarius will also come to you, otherwise I would write to him at length. I have offended Carlstadt because I have cancelled his orders, although I have not condemned the doctrine. Only I am displeased that he has spent his effort on ceremonies and external things alone and meanwhile neglects the true Christian doctrine, that is, faith and love. For by his inconsistent way of teaching, he had led the people to think that they would become Christians by these trivial things, if they communicated under both forms, if they touched the sacrament, if they did not confess, if they broke images. Behold the wickedness of Satan, how he has undertaken to incite to the destruction of the Gospel by a new appearance! For hitherto I had sought this, that the consciences should be freed from these things contrary to the Gospel (*contrariū faciebus*), and the thing itself should fall away by itself through common consent. But he wished to quickly become a new master, and to establish his orders among the people with suppression of my reputation. Not so, you wicked, not so, but GÖtTe alone the honor! But more about that at another time. But, dear one, we want the father vicarius to be deposed in a short time, 4) because we do not want this one to rule over us, who wants to teach the gospel, not our articles! Fare well and pray for the cause of God. On Sunday Lätare [March 30] 1522.

Martin Luther.

3) Wenceslaus Link, not Staupitz, as Aurifaber and after him Walch assumed, because the latter had long since resigned from office.

4) This is what De Wette understands: "The Augustinians of Wittenberg wanted their Vicarius [Link] deposed because he accepted the Gospel." But the words are to be understood ironically; the *artionli nostri* are the teachings of the troublemakers.

Section Four of Chapter Eight.

Of Gabriel Zwilling's conversion and improvement, as well as of the hope for Carlstadt's improvement, which was soon overturned.

A. Von Zwillings Umkehr, Desterung und Schicksalen, und wie sich Luther bei dem Churfürsten treuen, obwohl fruchtlos, angenommen hat.

Luther's judgment of Gabriel Zwilling's change and improvement in a letter to Spalatin.

See Appendix, No. 88, § 1.

Luther's letter of recommendation for Gabriel Zwilling to the mayor and council of the city of Altenburg for a preacher's position. Wittenberg, April 17, 1522.

This letter is found in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 255; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 547; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 183 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 131. It is subsequently printed again from the original in the "Mittheilungen des Osterl", VI, 43, and the more important variants of it are noted in the Erlangen correspondence, vol. III, p. 341, which we have made use of.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of the city of Altenburg, my especially favorable gentlemen and friends.

God's grace and peace before, and my willing services. Honorable, wise, dear sirs! I have gladly received your writings, which were sent to me for the sake of a preacher, and I have heard with joy your Christian eagerness for the divine word. Therefore, I am willing, as well as obliged, to serve and advise you in this as much as I can. There is one called Gabriel, now at Düben, who is almost famous for his understanding and preaching, and is now well practiced; I would advise him and wish that you would accept him. However, it is a small shame that he has left the order and is now dressed as a secular priest; it is also necessary and good that he has come out, so that one could enjoy him for the salvation of many souls. Where this monster does not

I would not know how to improve it for you this time. And I have written to him about it, so that he will join you, that you will examine and try him yourselves. If you do not like him, there are two other secular priests here, also skilled men; if E. Wisdom will tell me again, I will see to it that I help you to one of them 1). Wherever it would be convenient or suffer, it should have no lack at all, according to your desire, to appear with you. However, if you have Gabriel, you may not have mine. Hereby commanded by the grace of God, who may make you all rich in faith and love through His holy Word, Amen. Given at Wittenberg, on Green Thursday [April 17] Anno 1522.

D. Martinus Luther.

666 Luther's letter to Zwilling, telling him to accept the Altenburg profession. April 17, 1522.

This letter is found in Latin in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 73 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 184 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 342.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and mercy and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, amen. The council of Altenburg desires from me an evangelical preacher; if they should come to you, you will go with them, and if they accept you, you will consider it the very certain voice of God calling you. For I, too, have applied and commended you to them. Therefore I pray that you will receive this counsel and action of mine in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who calls you through me and Philip, and go in peace, and the Lord make you increase in many thousands. Take heed therefore above all things, that thou be humble and honorable in priestly service.

1) In the original: "the one".

You will not do this if you do not work only with the word as you have heard from me and read in my last booklet.

1) You will not do this if you do not work only with the word as you have heard from me and read in my last booklet. 2) You will not do this if you do not work only with the word as you have heard from me and read in my last booklet. You will not do this if you do not work with the words alone, as you have heard from me and will read in my last booklet 2). The Father wants people to be drawn to Him through Christ, not to be compelled or led by our statutes or ordinances. The contempt of ungodliness must first be implanted in the hearts, then ungodliness will fall of its own accord, without hand; and the love of godliness must first be implanted, then godliness will come of its own accord, and it will happen that the kingdom of God will suffer violence, and those who do violence will snatch it to themselves. May the Lord give you understanding and spirit, that you may be a worthy servant of Christ His Son, and bless His word in your mouth, amen. Grace be with you, amen. Wittenberg, Green Thursday [April 17] 1522.

Brother Martin Luther.

Luther's letter of intercession to the Elector Frederick of Saxony to allow Zwilling to preach in the Altenburg congregation and the council's request there, even though the lords of the order were opposed to it, since he had improved and promised not to get into any more mischief. May 8, 1522.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 152b; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 94; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 253; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 545; in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 134 and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 192. The original is in the Weimarsche Gesamt-Archiv, from which the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 356 has recorded the more important variants.

1) About Zwilling's appearance during the events in Eilenburg, New Year's Day 1522, an eyewitness reports (Seidemann, "Erläuterungen", p. 37): "After the Gospel, the Wittenberg monk who had gone out began to preach, and the monk wore a long black skirt and a shirt with black braids and a black beret with two lapels, and had a ruff, no crown, but cut over the comb alone, and looks like the devil" 2c.

2) "Von beiderlei Gestalt des Sacraments zu nehmen," St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 77, § 41 ff.

To the most illustrious and highborn Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector 2c., Landgrave of Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord and Patron.

1. grace and peace from God, and my subservient services 2c. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! I humbly inform E. C. F. G. how the council of Altenburg has requested and asked me to appoint a good preacher. In response, I have proposed to them, not from myself, but from my dear lords and friends here in Wittenberg, in the matter of the most reasonable, Magister Gabriel, who is famous and respected before them as the best in understanding and preaching.

2) Now I notice from his letter and several other statements that he is almost pleasant to the people, but only gains an offence from the fact that the rulers on the mountain, as spiritual rulers over them, do not want to suffer him anywhere. To this I have given my advice that these rulers have no power to resist, but God Himself has given all authority and power where they act against the Gospel, 2 Cor. 10:8 and 13:10: Non est potestas a Deo data ad destructionem, sed ad aedificationem. Item, Act. 5, 29: Oportet Deo magis obedire, quam hominibus.

For this reason, the council of Altenburg and also E. C. F. G. are obligated to prevent false preachers, or to help or suffer that a proper preacher is hired there. No seal, letters, custom, or any right can help against this, unless they are forced to do otherwise by force. For against God no seal, law, custom, or authority will hold.

4. have sufficiently shown them that they have the power and right to recognize and judge true and false doctrine, Matth. 7, 15: Attendite a falsis Prophetis, so that the right, power, interest and authority of the lords of the rule is everywhere gone, because they are publicly against the Gospel, and the council of Altenburg should not refrain from its actions, unless they are driven away by tyranny and worldly power, which they should suffer, but still not approve nor give justice.

3) "Die Regelerherren" find die regulirten Augustiner.

5th About this I hear, E. C. F. G. complain that Gabriel had been reprimanded by me before and that I did not like his thing. That is true; but he turned around as soon as, confessed and corrected himself so thoroughly against me/ and chastised himself before everyone that I did not know to reject him, but because he has special grace to preach, to accept his repentance and correction. Would God that the other heads would remember a piece of his conversion.

6. Also, I have laid it on him very hard before all of us, and have shown that he does not start or initiate any innovation, but that he only promotes faith and love, and that he also attacks with words what is against it; so that he brings the gospel morally to the people first, and then lets God rule and act; which he has promised me not only now in this letter, but also before, very earnestly and faithfully, that I hope, as much as there is to rely on men, it should not be necessary for that reason.

7 But that he was a monk, E. C. knows. C. F. G. well knows that [it] is not annoying because with the blind and erring leaders, which annoyance is to be despised, so that God's word is not withdrawn from the poor souls.

8 Therefore, my humble request to the C.F.G. is that the C.F.G. help the poor people with their Christian opinion, right and nobility, or not hinder them at all, and let them prevail; who knows what God wants to do through this.

9 For E. C. F. G. cannot in good conscience protect the right and authority of the Lords of the Order in such a matter, namely to defend preachers of the Gospel, but is also obliged for itself, as a Christian member, to advise and help, also as a Christian prince, as far as it may be, to meet the wolves.

God, through His mercy, wanted to look at, save and keep C.F.G., amen. Such my letter E. C. F. G. did not want to receive from me to disgrace. Given at Wittenberg, on the Thursday after John xort. 1stat. [May 8] 1522.

E. C. F. G.
menial servant
Martinus Luther.

668 Luther's other letter to the mayor and council of Altenburg, in which he testifies to his joy that Zwilling pleases them, and lives in hope that the Elector will allow the request made on his behalf to take place. May 8, 1522.

This letter is found in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 255; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XXII, p. 547; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 191 and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 133. According to the original, it is reprinted in the Mittheilungen des Osterl., VI, 53, whose variants are noted in the Erlangen correspondence.

To the honorable and wise, mayor and council of the city of Altenburg, my especially dear gentlemen and friends.

Grace and peace from God our Father, Amen. Honorable, wise, dear lords and friends! I am glad to hear that Magister Gabriel pleases you, but the fact that you are still reluctant is not a bad sign. What comes from God must have oppositions, so that it may be tried. Therefore, stop and do not give up; ask God to help you. For the devil must be resisted with prayer, and not with our choice and ability. I have written to my most gracious Lord as you desire; I hope it will succeed. But we must wait for what God will give and accept His will. Often our sins have earned what is detrimental and obstructive to us. And as I told you, the rulers of the rules no longer have any authority if they are contrary to the Gospel, but are to be shunned and abandoned as wolves. And it behooves every man to judge their doctrine, and to know the wolves. For each one must believe for himself, and know what is right or wrong faith. I stand up, and you stand up. And God grant you His grace and strength to know and to do His will, Amen. Given at Wittenberg, on the Thursday 1) after Misericordias Domini [May 8] Anno 1522.

Martinus Luther.

1) In all prints the date is: "Tuesday after Misericordias Domini" f6. May], which cannot be correct, because the letter of the Altenburger to Luther, to which this is the answer, carries the same date. We have half assumed the Conjecture of the "Erlanger Briefwechsel" that "Tuesday" was read from Thursday.

669 Luther's sending to Spalatin of the petition of the Altenburgers that Gabriel Zwilling be left to them, together with his own enclosed plea that the Elector not take him away from there and expel him; whereby he reports that he had expressly ordered Zwilling in writing that he should not leave Altenburg until the Elector would send another.

See Appendix, No. 109,? 2.

Luther's exhortation to Gabriel Zwilling that he should not boast about what he would suffer and do for the Word of God, but rather walk in the fear of God and despair of his ability, let Christ do everything alone, and incidentally turn his congregation away from external things and ceremonies through the Word, and lead them primarily to faith and love. May 8, 1522.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 62; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 194 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 357.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To Gabriel Zwilling, evangelist of the church at Altenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! I wrote to the prince about this matter, but your letter did not please me at all, because I sensed I don't know what spiritual presumption in it. Do not boast that you will do and suffer many things for the word. Whoever stands there, see to it that he does not fall [1 Cor. 10:12]. You have not yet struggled with death; that is not so easily done as said. Let the example of the Prior of Antwerp 1) and many others frighten you,

1) Jakob Probst, Luther's student, had become a master's student at Wittenberg in 1509 and had attained the degree of licentiate there on July 12, 1521. He then returned to Antwerp, where he was summoned to Brussels on December 5 by Inquisitor Franz van der Hulst, imprisoned and put on trial. After much reluctance, he recanted before Aleander in Brussels on February 9. He was then sent to the Augustinian monastery in Ypres, where he began to preach the Gospel again; taken to Brussels again, where he faced a certain martyrdom, he managed to escape to Germany with the help of a friar, where he first found refuge with Luther (Erl. Briefw. III, 329).

Which daily fall, and few stand. Therefore walk in fear and contempt of thyself, and pray the Lord that He may do all that is thine, and that thou mayest do nothing, but be a Sabbath to Christ. By the way, as I have exhorted thee to abstain from new doings, but by the word alone to make consciences free, acting and urging pure faith and love: so I beseech and exhort thee still, that thou do so. For I promised the prince that you would do so as much as I could promise; therefore see to it that you do not disgrace me and yourself, and at the same time the gospel, if you do otherwise. You see that the great heap falls on external things, on the sacraments, on ceremonies. This must be countered, and only care must be taken that the people are held back, and first brought to the point that faith and love gain a form in them, so that they prove by the fruits that they are branches on our vine. I trust 2) in the Lord that you will do so. In him, be well and greet the pharmacist and his wife, to whom I have not had time to write, for I am overwhelmed with letters from all sides. Thursday after Misericordias Domini [May 8] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

671 Luther's letter to Zwilling, in which he admonishes him to wait calmly to see whether he will keep the office or not. May 27, 1522.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 656; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 199 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 373.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ! Put on faith, dear Gabriel, and do not look at this thing with closed senses, whence it comes or whither it goes, as befits him who is born of the Spirit.

2) Aurifaber: eonüão; De Wette and the Erlanger: oonkläk. We have followed the former reading.

3) The evangelically minded Sebaldus Nebe, with whom Zwilling found accommodation, since there was a lack of a parish apartment (Erl. Briefw.).

The Lord will order them, meanwhile you preach and stay until you are ordered to go out with Abraham, and you do not know where to go, and ask the Lord for this matter and everything else. For thou hast done enough, if thou hast been willing to leave the city and the ministry at the command of the superiors; but go not away until another be procured by the prince, or by me. For I have taken upon myself the obligation and the work of procuring another. If then the prince should precede me, let the will of the Lord be done. 1) Let the priests of Baal boast, for this must be done; for otherwise how could this be their end, that they should be put to shame? Be thou ever fugitive and iniquitous in their eyes: who knoweth whether the LORD will not strengthen thee, and let thee not wander, though they all will not? Greet and comfort the apothecary and his wife and all the others. Then excuse me for not having written, for the time and the amount of business do not suffer it. And now be well, be confident and be strong in the Lord and act manly in complete faith. Wittenberg. 1522, on Tuesday after Urban [May 27].

Your Martin Luther.

672 Luther's answer to Gabriel Zwilling when he reported to him that he had had to leave Altenburg and that the Elector had put someone else in his place.

See Appendix, No. 110.

673 Luther's testimony of his displeasure against Spalatin that Zwilling had been expelled, along with his avoidance of how he had had very good praise from the Altenburgers.

See Appendix, No. 92, § 1.

B. As Luther sought to appease the enraged Carlstadt in kindness and to bring him out of better thoughts, this also turned out quite well.

1) *liat voluntas do.* These are exactly the words of the third petition in the Lord's Prayer. The Erlangen correspondence has in one note the conjecture: *sua*, which does not seem to us to be appropriate.

and seemed to have renewed his friendship with Luther, so Luther carried him again with great patience.

Luther's report to Spalatin, how he had asked Carlstadt on Easter Monday to stop writing against him, otherwise he would have to oppose him against his will, which he did not want to do because of the papists. Carlstadt was very presumptuous in saying that he would not consider a pen against him, while the Rector already had some printed sheets in his hands, who was working together with the Senate to have Carlstadt take back the book.

See Appendix, No. 111, § 2.

Luther's report to Spalatin that he had written to Carlstadt about a meeting and settlement with him.

This letter of Dec. 29, 1524, which Walch provides with a wrong date and erroneous content, belongs to the next section, sub 6.

Luther's report to Wenceslaus Link, April 8, 1523, that he and others were traveling to Link's wedding, but Carlstadt was not at home.

See Appendix, No. 113.

C. How Carlstadt broke with Luther again at the beginning of 1624, had writings printed against him and escaped to Orlamünde, cunningly drove out the priest there, took his office and income, and in addition sought to justify himself to the Elector by very impudent and presumptuous writings.

Luther's account of the changes and incidents with Carlstadt, together with his thoughts about them.

This story is found in Luther's writing "against the heavenly prophets" in the first part under the heading: "Auf die Klage D. Carlstadts, dass er aus dem Lande zu Sachsen vertrieben ist", St. Louis edition, Vol. XX, 157 ff.

678 Luther's report to Spalatin that Carlstadt, in his own way, has not yet ceased to make trouble, but intends to have eighteen tracts printed against him at Jena, and has already made a start on some of them.

See Appendix, No. 115.

679 Luther's thoughts to Spalatin about Carlstadt's departure from Wittenberg, along with a heartfelt wish that God would not give him away in a wrong way, and an exhortation to Spalatin to pray for him as well; Luther, however, is concerned that he will not cease to hurry toward his downfall.

See Appendix, No. 116, Z1.

D. How Luther had to travel to Jena by princely order and warn the people there against the heretics, which offended Carlstadt and started a disputation with Luther.

680 The so-called *Acta Jenensia* or Martin Reinhard's, preacher at Jena, report of the action between D. Luther and D. Carlstadt, which took place at Jena on August 22, 1524; printed at the end of September.

This writing appeared at the time we indicated (because Luther already gave his verdict on it on October 3, 1524; see No. 681) under the title: "Weß sich D. Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt with D. Martino Luther in Jena, and how they decided to write against each other. Item, The action of Doctor Martini Luther with the council and community of the city of Orlamünd, on the day Bartholomei Dasselbst geschehen. Anno etc. xxiiij." Without place and printer. 3 quarto sheets. The author of this writing is the Carlstadt-minded Martin Reinhard, preacher at Jena, therefore it is also, as Luther states in the next number, a mixture of lies and truth, and reads entirely in favor of Carlstadt, in order to undermine Luther's good name. In the collections, our writing is found: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 209b; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p.446b; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 797; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 148 and in the Erlangen, vol. 64, p. 385. In the following number, Luther indicates why he does not want to answer this writing.

Ascension, which is the 22nd day of August, the highly learned 2c. Martinus Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures 2c., after he had come by princely command of the noble, highborn princes and lords, the dukes of Saxony 2c., on the Sunday before after noon to preach at Jena, there and elsewhere, the above-mentioned D. Martinus began to preach on the above-mentioned day early at seven o'clock, and preached until an hour and a half about and against the doctrine and fruits of the spirits. Among other things, he called the spirit of Altstadt, told some fruits, as riots and murder, so before also by the same spirit, as its high fruits one, in Zwickau quite sublime.

He said that the works and fruits of this spirit were to tear down churches, images, wood and stones, and in sum, to take away baptism and the sacrament of the altar, to eradicate them and not to make them at all, as this all-city spirit now and then subjected itself to many more, from the same inspiration of a devilish spirit; in sum, that all these fruits were worked by a devilish spirit. But let not the elect be dismayed at this," Luther comforted them in the sermon, saying, "There are not many of them, though there are many of them; more must come to them, and there must be sects, that the elect may be proved, and the ungodly put to shame [I Cor. 11:18, 19]. But we, he said, have judged them before, as the Sermons 1) further indicate, and by the grace of God we can still judge them well, that it is not a good spirit who subjects himself to such things, but is the devil himself.

These and similar words of the sermon, when Doctor Carlstadt heard them (for he himself was in the sermon), he took to heart, was struck by several things, as indicated below, wrote a letter to Doctor Luther, which some read in the above-mentioned inn "zum schwarzen Bären" over the midday meal; requested, where Doctor Luther was not opposed, he would like to talk to him. Doctor Luther gave Doctor Carlstadt's envoy a verbal answer: if Doctor Carlstadt wanted to come to him, he would like to suffer it; if not, he would like to leave it alone.

After that Doctor Carlstadt sent again to Doctor Luther: if it is convenient for him, he wants to come. Luther answered: In the name of God, he comes when he wants, so I am ready. When Doctor Carlstadt was informed of this, he came and

1) Thus, the "act Sermons Wider Carlstadt's Innovations" must be meant. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 5 ff.

Doctor Gerhard Westerburg with him. There were also many foreign imperial and margravian messengers, as well as many Jenische in the hostel, who listened to such conversation and were very pleased, some of the small-minded were frightened, but many were very surprised. But Carlstadt had a servant announce to Doctor Martin that he was there and wanted to talk to him. Doctor Martinus answered: "Let him come in and talk to me freely and publicly; this is what happened, and the conversation follows, as it is written here:

So Carlstadt went into the parlor, sat down on a sidel 1) against him and the other companions at the table, began to talk in this way:

Carlstadt. Dear Doctor, and all of you dear brothers, I ask you not to take it unkindly that I am overflowing you here; my innocence and great need urge me to do so. For you, Doctor, have touched me somewhat highly in your sermon today, and interwoven me with the rebellious, murderous spirits, as you call them, in one number and work. To this I say no. Even though you interpret such speech to the same spirits, from the living voice of God, which I have never heard from them in my days. I do not say that I want to defend their matter here, and so I say: Whoever wants to add me to such murderous spirits and bring me in, that he promises me such things without truth, and not as an honest man.

But that I am meant by you, and that I may take up the matter, is the reason that you have spoken of the sacrament, and have somewhat exalted me, I say: that I truly know that no man has written and taught about it in the way, opinion and reason, as I have, according to the apostles, I also freely confess to this. But that it is the murderous spirit, and the same, as you said today, one and the spirit of Allstädt, I say no to; because he has nothing in common with me in my speech of the sacrament.

To this Doctor Martin Luther answered thus: "Dear Doctor, I will start at the last and at the end, since you have left it, and say: That you can never prove it nor make it true that I have called you; but since you assume that you are touched or hit, then you are hit in the name of God. You also sent me a pointed letter; you should not have done so, for I have nothing to do with you. I am surprised at what you show yourselves. Well, I see

gladly that I have met you, and do not see it gladly. I like to see it, because I only know that you are one of them, as you suppose, of whom I preached; but I do not like to see it, because I am sorry that people should be deceived in this way. Today I preached against the spirits, and now I will do it again. If I have deceived you, I have deceived you.

Carlstadt. Doctor, I also want to start at the back. I accept what you said about the sacrament and will prove with writings that you have preached the gospel wrongly. In addition, I say that you do me violence and injustice by bringing me into the murderous spirit. And that I have not to do with the spirit in the riot, I protest publicly before these brethren all with one another.

Luther. Dear Doctor, it must not be so, I have read the letter which you have written from Orlamünd Thomä, 2) and have well heard inside that the rebellion is against and against you.

Carlstadt. Why did you say, Doctor, that it was just one spirit, the murderous spirit in Allstädt, and the spirit that breaks the images and touches the sacrament?

Luther. I have not named anyone, I have not named you in particular with a word.

Carlstadt. But I accept it because of circumstances, because I have attacked the Sacrament alone in the present abuse, and have nothing in common with the spirit at Allstädt in the matter of the Sacrament; and you preach that it is a murderous and seditious spirit. But what I have written to you, I may also and will well speak to you. There was a little silence.

Carlstadt said, "If I had erred, and you had wanted to do a Christian work when you wanted to be a Christian, you should have instructed me as a brother before you stabbed me publicly. You preach and cry, Love, love; what kind of love is it when you give a partisan to one, and see a brother err, and do not instruct him?

Luther. If I have not preached the gospel correctly, I do not know it.

Carlstadt. Yes, I will prove with the sacrament how you have preached Christ, whether you have preached Christ crucified or otherwise a self-imagined Christ. Yes, you have preached against yourselves, as it can be read from your books.

2) This will be the letter that Carlstadt addressed to Thomas Münzer from Orlamünde on July 19, 1524. It is found in Seidemann's "Thomas Münzer," p. 128 f., Supplement No. 21.

1) So in the Jenaer; Wittenberger: "Sydel"; it will probably mean "armchair".

Luther. Dear Doctor, if you know this, write it freely and come out bravely, so that it may come to light.

Carlstadt. I will also do this; it must also come to day, I do not shy away from the light, as you blame me; I offer myself for public disputation in Wittenberg or Erfurt, or to hear and accept a Christian instruction, where and when you want, as far as you provide me 1) a free escort, as you have it.

Luther. Are you afraid, do you not have escort to Wittenberg?

Carlstadt. Yes, I have been there for the very first time; but in a public disputation you will not spare me; so I will certainly not spare you either. So I know how you have attached the people to you.

Luther. My dear doctor, no one is doing anything to you, just come out freely.

Carlstadt. I also want to come out into the light, and wkl either be publicly disgraced, or God's truth must be revealed.

Luther. It will happen to you, your foolishness must come out.

Carlstadt. I will gladly bear the shame, that God may keep His glory.

Luther. It will also meet you; and I am surprised that you only dread writing, and no one is afraid.

Carlstadt. I am not afraid either, I know that my teaching is right and from God.

Luther. Since your teaching was right and of God, why did your spirit not break through when you broke the images at Wittenberg?

Carlstadt. I did not do it alone, but the three councilors, and some of your companions, decided it; then they pulled their heads out of the noose and left me standing alone.

Luther. That's where I come in.

Carlstadt. And me too.

Luther. I do not advise you to refer to those at Wittenberg; you do not have it so good with them as you mean.

Carlstadt. You do not have it so good as you think; but I take comfort in the truth, on the last day the Lord's day will reveal all secret things, then it will be seen how everyone, what you and I have done, and nothing will be hidden under the cover.

Luther. You always insist on the day of the Lord, but I desire mercy.

Carlstadt. Why not? He will never do anyone wrong, nor will he look at the person; the small will count as much as the great; I will be judged in this matter according to mercy and justice. But when you reproach me with my spirit, and say that it should have gone away, you come to measure honestly. You bound my hands and feet, and then you beat me.

Luther. Where did I hit you?

Carlstadt. Were you not bound and beaten, since you alone wrote, printed and preached against me, and caused my books to be taken from the printing press, and I was forbidden to write and preach? If I had been allowed to write and preach as freely as you, indeed, you should have experienced what my spirit would have done.

Luther. Why do you want to preach? Wouldn't you be called, or who told you to preach?

Carlstadt. If we want to speak of man's calling, then I know well that it is due to me on account of the archidiaconate; 2) but if we want to speak of God's calling, then I also know well something about it.

Luther. Who told you to preach in the parish?

Carlstadt. If I had erred there, you should have punished me brotherly for it beforehand, and not have stabbed and struck at me in this way. But is it not one people who listen in the monastery and in the parish?

Luther. You stabbed me before I stabbed you.

Carlstadt. I did not do that.

Luther. This is what your booklets show, since you put on my own words.

Carlstadt. Which booklets? I have one about the vocation, but I wrote it the other day, which may be too close for some. When did you instruct me then? show me a piece in which you have punished me all your life! You have never told me in my life where I have been guilty or have erred; you have done everything by force. And if you would not have done it between you and me alone, you should have taken one or two to yourselves.

Luther. I have done that.

Carlstadt. If you have done it, God grant that I may be publicly disgraced here in front of all of you.

Luther. It will happen to you.

Carlstadt. But I know that [it] is not true. Luther. I have done it.

2) In the original: "was gebüren".
This have already
the Wittenberg and the Jena given by "gebürete".

1) Thus the Wittenberg and Jena editions. Erlanger: "so fern schafft mir".

<p>Carlstadt. Who has been there? Luther. Philip and Pomeranus. Carlstadt. Where? Luther. In your little room. Carlstadt. That is not true; you may well have been with me, but you never took it upon yourselves to punish me or to give me the articles of the Jrrsal. Luther. We brought you the notes from the university, in which the articles we had missed were listed. Carlstadt. Doctor, there you speak your violence; it has never come to me nor been shown to me; I also remember that the articles of supposed error had not yet moved out of the university. Luther. Well, dear Doctor, if I tell you a lot, I will have to lie to you. Carlstadt. If it is true, God grant that the devils tear me apart before all of you; ei, you have never offered them to me. Luther. I brought it to your house myself. Carlstadt. Doctor, as if I had Doctor Jerome's writing in which he reproaches me that such erroneous articles would have been given to me if I had followed it; how will you stand there? After all, the university had not yet gathered the time to withdraw such articles. During this, Doctor Luther was silent for a while, and in the silence, Doctor Carlstadt turned to the others sitting near him and said: "Dear brothers, I beg you, do not take offense at my harsh speech, it is because of my complexion that I speak so harshly, and because of this my heart is not bad or angry. Luther sang again and said: "Dear doctor, I know you well. Carlstadt. I know you well, too, and I know what you mean. Luther. I know well that you all ride high, throb great, and want to be exalted and seen alone. Carlstadt. Where I would do this, you should instruct me; but I can see who boasts the most and seeks the most honor. Luther. I punished you at Leipzig because you were so arrogant and wanted to argue before me. Well, I granted you the honor and let it happen. Carlstadt. Ah, Doctor, how can you say that? Do you know, since I have already disputed, that you are still uncertain whether you will be admitted or not? I refer to the Duke George's Councilors and to the University of Leipzig. But you must always speak in such a way that you can</p>	<p>and arouse hatred in other people. What else have you done today in your preaching, as you have always done, but to arouse envy and hatred among the people at the first entrance against those against whom you intended to preach? Luther. I say as before: I have preached against the spirits today, and now I will do it again; in spite of him who tries to prevent me. Carlstadt. Well, dear Doctor, preach and do it well; other people will do their part, too. Luther. If you have something, write it out freely. Carlstadt. I will also do it fearlessly. Luther. Nevertheless, you stand with the new prophets. Carlstadt. Where they are right and 'true; where they are wrong, let the devil help. Luther. Write against me publicly and not secretly. Carlstadt. If I knew that you were in such need of 1) it, it may be granted to you. Luther. So it does. Carlstadt. Go ahead. Luther. Do it, I will give you a guilder for it. Carlstadt. A guilder? Luther. If I don't do it, I'm a prankster. Carlstadt. If you give it to me, I will truly accept it. Then Doctor Luther reached into his pocket, and pulled out a gold florin, and gave it to Carlstadt, and said: Take it, and attack me only bravely; fresh on me! Carlstadt took the guilder, showed it to all the assessors, and said: "Dear brothers, this is Arrabo, a sign that I have the power to write against Doctor Luther, and I ask you all to confess it to me and be witnesses. Luther. It darfs not. And Carlstadt bent it, and put it into his bag, and gave Doctor Luther his hand on it, and Doctor Luther drank a drink to it, and Carlstadt told him so; and then he said: Doctor, I beg you, you will not prevent me from printing, nor will you otherwise persecute me or hinder my nourishment; for I intend to feed myself with the plow; what the plow will give, you shall well understand. Luther. How would it behoove me to hinder you, if I desired it, that you should resist?</p>
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1) In the Wittenberg and in the Jena: gach----Me"

I will give you the florin so that you will not spare me. And the braver you attack me, the better you shall be to me.

The princely preacher 1) also said to Carlstadt: "The doctor shall not damage your food, nor harm you. Then Carlstadt said to Doctor Luther: "Well then, if I am missing you, it is my pity. And so they shook hands with each other. And Carlstadt went home, and Martinus preached, and after that went to Kahla.

Also present were Doctor Gerhard Westerborg of Cologne, Martinus Reinhard, preacher at Jena, Wolfgang Stein, preacher in the castle at Weimar, who also rode with Doctor Martino Luther, the prior at Wittenberg, Andreas Brenning, 2) mayor at Jena, the town clerk and many others, who also spoke about the matter with many good suggestions, so that the matter would come to light, as God would also arrange it by His grace. These speeches were omitted shortly, and thus the summa of both doctors' speeches is concluded herein. The Christian reader prays to God that He would teach us with the revelation of His truth, amen.

681 Luther's letter to Spalatin, in which he judges these Acta to be unfaithfully written, and lies and truth to be mixed together in them. October 3, 1524.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 234 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 552 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 32. A part of this letter is in Latin denominated in the Wittenberg and in preceded by the Jena edition.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord, Magister Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ.

Grace and peace! The booklet of my actions at Jena and Orlamünde pleases me very much in that I see that people who are not honest and have an evil conscience fear for themselves, and by this have wanted to get ahead and anticipate the honor and damage my good name, which the kind of that spirit tends to do. But because this will happen, that Carlstadt must come forth [with writings], and

- 1) Wolfgang Stein, court preacher at Weimar.
- 2) Wittenberg and Jena: Breuning.

this book, in which the truth is so mixed with lies, comes out without a name, one must overcome it with patience and eat it up, so that it does not appear as if I am seeking honor and revenge, and so that I do not come to a quarrel about our own affairs by setting aside the main matter through writing. For to write such books is to teach nothing, to be of no use, but to seek honor and excite the mob, which is really Carlstadt's way. I would have liked to strike out such a book far better, but Christ will finally judge his cause. I must also suffer my Absalom [2 Sam. 18]. Farewell. Monday after Michaelmas [Oct. 3] 1524.

Martin Luther.

682 Luther's letter to Amsdorf, with the same content as the previous one, in which he reports that Carlstadt had addressed a letter to Orlamünde, with a strange signature, and that the preacher Reinhard had received orders to leave Jena.

See Appendix, No. 117.

E. How Luther matured from Jena also to Kahla and Orlamünde, and what repulsions he encountered in both places.

683 Letter from the council and congregation of Orlamünde to Luther, in which they complain that he considers them heretics and false spirits and publicly declares them to be so in his pulpit at Wittenberg; therefore, they blame him for not being a true member of Christ himself and demand that he come to them so that they can give him an account of their faith. Aug. 16, 1524.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 214; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 450b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 801; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 153; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 64, p. 398.

To the Christian teacher Martino Luther, our brother in Christ.

1. divine peace through Christ our Lord before. Dear Brother! Our pastor and pastoral caretaker, Andreas Carlstadt, having now been in Wittenberg, has sent us this message.

The author of this book has given us to know, as he experienced and heard there, as if you should shout us out unashamedly on your preaching chair for heretics, erroneous and enthusiastic spirits, when you have not examined our spirits, not investigated them, nor spoken to us about them. And if you would deny this, you are to be referred to your own writings, which we ourselves and well read, when you wrote against the erroneous spirits to the sovereigns of Saxony; since you then despise all those, who by divine command kill dumb idols and pagan images, against which you mock up a powerless, worldly and unstable probation from your own brain, and not founded scripture.

(2) But that you so publicly reproach and blaspheme us, implanted as members of Christ by the Father, unheard and unremitted, shows that you are not a member of this true Christ and Son of God Himself, because you are using impudent words of reproach, and not Christian and brotherly punishment, as laid upon you by Christ, Luke 17:3, against us. If you have now become so unthinking and hot-tempered, we will write to you out of Christian and brotherly love, asking you not to defile and promise God his own, acquired through his only Son Christ, so poorly.

(3) Now thou mightest say, Behold, good Christians, they cannot suffer to be a little offended, which Christ hath done, and hath endured much more. We know this well, dear brother. But do you also know that Christ punished the scribes and supposedly pious Jews most severely and always, and cried woe on them, and prayed to his Father for the unreasonable crucifiers? 2c.

(4) Hereby we offer to confess and give an account of our faith and faithful works by divine power, help and assistance before you and everyone, even where nothing but the form of death appears.

5 We also ask you, after we have held you in such high suspicion, to appear before us in the most beneficial way, if it is convenient for you, to discuss with us, and where we are mistaken (God forbid), to instruct us amicably, and not with words of scorn, and to reprimand us with a ban on land. From this divine unity and Christian community may be established and built up to the special praise of God, ask your brotherly answer. Date Orlamünd, Tuesday after Assumptionis [August 16] Anno 1524.

Council and community of Orlamünd.

684: Luther's action with the council and congregation of the city of Orlamünde concerning Carlstadt, August 24, 1524.

This writing is found in the editions given in the previous number immediately before letter No. 683. It belongs to the so-called Acta Jenensia (above No. 680), and the same applies to it as to that one. Luther says (No. 688, §14) of the same: "They have decorated themselves very finely in the booklet of it.

1. on the mounting of the eighth day of the Assumption [August 22], in the year of the birth of Christ 1524, the princely preacher at Weimar in the castle, Mr. Wolfgang Stein, sent to Orlamünde to the council, and gave them written notice, after they waited for the future Doctor Martinus Luther, that he would be available and to get.

Thus the town clerk of Orlamünd quickly went to Jena. When he found Doctor Martinus, he 1) gave him a letter from the council and the community in Orlamünd, and asked for a favorable answer; which he gave him later in Kahla, in this form: "Messenger, tell your masters in Orlamünd that I want to be with them myself in a short time, and give an oral answer. Therefore, the council and the community hoped that Doctor Martinus would come the next day before St. Bartholomew's Day, and they provided the inn with food and drink as best they could; but he did not come, and returned to the new town. On St. Bartholomew's Day, at one hour of the clock, Doctor Martinus arrived, and the people were in the field waiting for the harvest. Martinus[2] before him to ask for the mayor, who found the mayor and said: After the council and the whole community sought Martin Luther in Jena with a letter, and delivered him there from their side, therefore Doctor Martinus Luther has now come, and the council and the community are to demand him, because he would have to talk to them because of the same letter.

The mayor immediately sent his councilors and the community to search for and demand some of them from the field. Immediately, some of the council went to meet him, as many of them as were present, received him in a friendly and brotherly manner, inclined themselves toward him, and spoke these words:

4. honorable, erudite, favorable doctor, welcome to all of us god. WhAt He

1) Erlanger: and gave.

2) "D. Martinus" is missing in the Erlanger.

I don't really know if he answered, but he kept his red-pointed banner on his head and did not honor her again. Then the mayor wanted to talk further with Doctor Martins; Martinus answered and said: he should soon be up again, but we want to talk to each other in the house. And when he came to the Schoesser's house, the mayor gave him back his former title, thanked him on behalf of the council and the whole community for his efforts, and came to them at their request, asking them for God's sake to preach a sermon.

(5) But Doctor Martinus answered that he had not come to preach, but that he had their letter, and that he would speak of it with the council and the congregation. In the meantime they drank with him for a while; in the meantime the people gathered, and in this the council, and as many of you as were with each other, stood up, talked, and went to him again, and asked the second time for God's sake that he would preach God's word to them, because he considered them suspicious in some articles, which he should give them on the day, and where they strayed, instruct them in Christianity; which they gladly and humbly accepted, and let themselves be instructed.

6 They also wanted to open their minds and their minds. Doctor Martinus shook his head and said: he did not want to do it, he would not have come to them for that reason; but he took the letter of the city of Orlamünde in his hand and asked: whether the city council acknowledged the seal? the city council and the community said yes. Doctor Martinus said: "I consider you to be simple-minded people, and I do not believe that you should have made this letter; I do not want to blame you for the letter, but consider it good; but I am concerned that Carlstadt made the letter and acted under the city's seal.

The city council and the community answered that Carlstadt had not made a letter of this letter, nor had they done anything with their city seal, nor were they able to do anything with it; they wanted to preserve this for life and limb, and for this reason they were too short; for they know how to make other and better provisions than that only men should handle and have to do with their seal. So Doctor Martinus read the council's letter at Orlamünde from beginning to end.

After such reading, Doctor Martinus spoke about each article in particular;

1) This is the letter reported in No. 683, which in the Wittenberg, Jena and Erlangen editions is only inserted here between § 7 and § 8.

and especially when he read: "Our pastor and pastoral caretaker, Andreas Carlstadt," 2c., he said: "You call him your pastor, but my lord, Duke Frederick, and the University of Wittenberg know nothing about it, nor will they confess it to him. To this a treasurer of the council answered: If Carlstadt is not our pastor, then Paul has taught falsely, and your books must also be false; for we have chosen him, as our writing, done to the above-mentioned university, proves and holds. And so it remained with this article.

9. conveyer he read thus in the letter: "by divine command, kill dumb idols and pagan images" 2c. And wanting to speak of it, Andreas Carlstadt just came to measure, and some on Doctor Martinus' side beckoned him to sit down; but Carlstadt went to Doctor Martinus and said: Dear Doctor, if you can stand it, I receive you. Then Martinus said, "No, I can't stand it. Then said Carlstadt: It is the same so much. And turning from Martins, Martinus said, You are my enemy, and I have given you a florin on it. Said Carlstadt: I will remain your enemy, and of all those who are against God, as long as you are against truth and God. Answered Doctor Martinus Luther: "Doctor, you want to go out, I do not want you in this matter. Said Carlstadt: But this is a public audience; if you act rightly, you must not shy away from me. Said Doctor Martinus: You are suspicious of me and my enemy. Said Carlstadt: Even if I were suspicious, I am not your judge; but your enemy would like to stand and listen to you.

10th Thereupon the princely preacher of Weimar, Mr. Wolfgang Stein, started and spoke to Carlstadt: Doctor, you have obtained your farewell in Jena, therefore you may well go out. Carlstadt answered: "You are not my prince, that you have to command me; but if he has a princely command, he would like to present it. But since Carlstadt wanted to listen and see, and not go out, Martinus said to his servant, "Tighten up, tighten up! I have nothing to do with Carlstadt; if he does not want to go out, then I will go; and he got up. But so that the discussion that had begun would not be prevented, Carlstadt escaped and went away.

When Carlstadt now escaped, D. Luther took out the council's letter again, apologized, said that he had never thought of the Orlamündischen in the pulpit or in his letter; they had

to send more to Wittenberg, than that they would be thought of. Thereupon the town clerk says to Martin Luther: "You have written, which can be proven from your own writings, that you have also conscripted us Orlamündians with the enthusiasts and floating spirits and meant, as if we should also, as happened in Allstädt, act and act in such a way, because we have also removed the images, and freely confess this. To this Martin Luther replied: "I have spoken in general, and there are still more cities that have done so; if I have hit you, what can I do about it? On the other hand Obgemeldter said: "But you have met us with falsehood, that you compare us to the spirits of the dark ones.

12 After this Martin Luther said further: You have written me an enemy letter; you do not give me my title, which some princes and lords, who are my enemies, give me, and do not break it off; therefore I accept your letter as an enemy letter. On the top of the letter you call me a Christian teacher, and inside you condemn me. The mayor said: "We have written to you as brothers, and have secretly spoken between you and us, and have not condemned you. Says Martinus: Brotherly? I cannot understand that in this letter of yours, for I consider it an enemy letter. Said one of the congregation: For what cause is it an enemy letter? Martin Luther said, "If I did not know that you are fanatics, I know it now; for you are all burning before my eyes as a fire; surely you will not eat me up? And immediately he began and said:

(13) Where do you prove in the Scriptures that images are to be removed? Said one of the council: "Doctor, kind brother, you allow me to say that Moses is an interpreter of the ten commandments? Said Martinus, "Yes." He continued, "Thus it is written in the ten words: Thou shalt not have strange gods; and immediately in the interpretation of Moses follows: Thou shalt put away all images, and have none. Said Martinus: Yes, this is what is said about idolatrous images; these are idolatrous ones that are worshipped. What harm is a crucifix on the wall that I do not worship? Said a cobbler: I have often taken off my hat before a picture on the wall or on the way, that is idolatry and dishonor to God, and great harm to poor people, therefore one should not have pictures.

14, Martinus said, "Then you must also kill the women and spill the wine because of the abuse. Answered another from

of the community: No, these are creatures of God, created for our help and abstinence and need, which he has not commanded us to kill; but the images that men's hands have made, these are commanded to be destroyed. But Doctor Martinus held fast to the word "idolatrous images," and the cobbler said again, "Yes, I would let you have it, if all images were not forbidden in Moses. Martin Luther said, "It is not written in the Scriptures. Said the cobbler, Let it be what thou wilt, it is written therein: and they joined their hands together, and wagered. Said the cobbler, What is this that God saith, I will have my bride naked, and will not let her put on her shirt? Then Martinus sank down, stroked his hand over his face, considered himself, and said, "Listen, this means to remove images; how strange German is this!

15 Another one spoke: Yes, it is true, and so much has been said, that God wants the soul of all creatures to be naked, that is, bare and unclothed, and as soon as I lust after a permitted creature, the soul is deformed; how much more is the soul covered and entangled when it ventilates itself with forbidden images. One of them brought the Book of Moses, and Martino was read the text, which reads [Deut. 4, 15-19.]: "Take heed therefore unto your souls: for ye saw no likeness of the day that the Lord spake unto you out of the fire of Horeb; Lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make unto yourselves any graven image, like unto a man, or like unto a woman, or like unto cattle upon the earth, or like unto fowls of the air, or like unto creeping things upon the earth, or like unto fishes of the waters under the earth; lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and behold the sun, and the moon, and the stars, all the host of heaven, and be cast out, and worship them, and serve them, whom the LORD thy God hath appointed unto all people under the whole heaven."

16 From this it follows publicly that not only idolatrous images, but all images are forbidden; indeed, that Christians should neither make nor have any images. To this Martinus said: it is written: you shall not worship any; therefore God would have meant the idolatrous ones. Then one of the community said: It is not written "idolatrous", but, you shall not make or have any. Worship is a special evil, which God also specially forbids. Said Martinus: read on; and he read: Thou shalt not lift up thine eyes unto heaven, to worship the star, the sun, and the moon. Doctor Martinus asked and said, "Why do you not remove them? Then answered

the cobbler: Stars from heaven are not made by our hands, therefore God does not give the stars in our power to remove; neither has God commanded us to remove them as images; therefore we should not do it.

17 Then Martinus spoke, saying again about idolatrous images. Said the mayor: "Hear, dear sirs, hear! There was a great silence. Then he continued: "Dear sirs, listen: We keep strictly to the word of God, for it is written: You shall neither add to it nor take from it. Then the prince preacher said: "Dear old man, be silent. Said Martin again: You have condemned me. Answered the cobbler: If you ever want to be damned, I hold you and every one damned, as long as he speaks or reads against God and God's truth. Said Martinus: The children would have told me this in the street. And with that he arose and hastened to the chariot.

(18) When the chamberlain saw this, he said, "My dear doctor, tell us about the articles of the sacrament and of baptism. Then Martin Luther turned back and said: I have written enough of them, read my books. He answered again, "I have read them in part, but I am not satisfied enough in my conscience. Martin Luther answered: "If you have something wrong with it, write against me. Next to him was the prior of Wittenberg, who said to the chamberlain, "What harm do the images do? Answered the chamberlain: Much. The prior: You should know and understand a lot about it. The chamberlain: I have forgotten more than you have learned; let them sit down, and I will tell you about the harm of the images. But they all hurried to the chariot, and so departed.

May God's truth help us to salvation and comfort, amen. I do not care about this division at all, because I want to keep to God's truth and not pay attention to what man says.

685 Mathesius' account from Luther's mouth of how Luther traveled to Kahla, preached a sermon there, and what special things he encountered during this sermon.

This story is found in "Luthers Leben" by Joh. Mathesius, St. Louis edition, p. 67. Walch has Luthern travel from Orlamünde to Kahla, while it is the other way around. The sermon at Kahla will be held on August 23, 1524.

I heard from the doctor himself that he was supposed to preach a sermon in Kahla at that time; as everything was ordered, these spirits broke a crucifix and strewed it on the preaching chair; When Doctor Luther finds this, he is moved at first, but he stands up and pushes the pieces into one place, and preaches a doctrinal sermon and faithful warning that one should keep faith and a good conscience in all submission, and does not remember with a word the sacrilegious will of courage that they had shown him. For one can also do to the devil with contempt at the appropriate time the burned suffering.

F. How Carlstadt finally had to vacate the land by order of the Elector and Duke John, against which the intercession of Orlamünde did not help.

Luther's report to Spalatin that Carlstadt, after his departure, had written two letters to Orlamünde, one to the men, the other to the women; the people were called together by the bells for the reading of these letters.

See Appendix, No. 118.

G. How Carlstadt went from here to Strasbourg and further to Basel, and Luther, when he warned the Strasbourgers against Carlstadt, began to blaspheme publicly through writings, also vehemently denied the true presence of Christ in Holy Communion.

687 Luther's letter to Gerbel in Strasbourg to comfort him and others about the Carlstadt tragedy. October 22, 1524.

This letter is found in Latin in Aurifaber, vol. II, p.235; in De Wette, vol. II, p.555 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol.V, p.37.

Newly translated from the Latin.

Grace and peace in Christ! How can we be surprised, my dear Gerbel, that under the prince, yes, the god of this world, the ge-

We know that the one who does not lie does not in vain attribute so much to Satan that he calls him prince and god, not of one people but of the whole world, because he wants us to be warned. This is not to be wondered at, rather, if under such a great tyranny only a few remnants can remain who stand right [in doctrine] and become blessed, so that the wonderful work of the true God may shine forth all the more gloriously. Therefore, Carlstadt does right that he, who has long since been handed over to Satan, finally reveals the secrets of his God. Nothing has driven man to this but the untamed desire for vain glory, so often prevented by Christ, from which this heart burns inextinguishably. Therefore, according to Paul's teaching [Phil. 4, 4-6.], it behooves us to be sure not to worry about anything, since we know that the Lord is near, only that we make our requests known before God with thanksgiving. For we will not fight or win the more happily the more we are anxious or worried, nor will we fall the more unhappily if we are cheerful and confident. Let us leave the sadness together with the anxious worry to the spirit of Carlstadt. We want to take this fight upon ourselves, as if we had something else to accomplish; the cause is God's, the worry is God's, the work is God's, the victory is God's, the honor is God's; he will fight and win without us. Now if he will keep us worthy to be his weapons, let us be ready and willing. This I write to exhort you and through you others, that you fear not Satan, and that your hearts be not troubled [John 14:27]. If we are unjust, what is more just than that we should be oppressed? But if we are righteous, God is righteous, who will bring forth our righteousness as the noonday [Ps. 37:6]. Therefore, let fall what falls, let stand what stands: it is not our cause, since we do not seek what is ours. Farewell, my dear Gerbel, and pray for me. Wittenberg, Saturday after Lucas [Oct. 22] 1524.

Martin Luther.

688. D. Martin Luther's letter of warning to the Christians of Strasbourg to beware of Carlstadt's ravings. Dec. 145, 1524

This letter was first published in 1524 by Joseph Klug in Wittenberg in a single edition under the title: "Eyn brieff an die Christen Zu Straspurg Widder den schwermer gehst. Martini Luther. sUnder the title border:] The LORD knoweth the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked shall be turned aside. Psal. 1. Wittenberg." 6 leaves quarto. In the Erlangen correspondence, four other individual editions are noted that belong to the year 1525, including one from Strasbourg. In the collections: in the Wittenberg (1551), vol. II, Bl. 66K; in the Jena (1556), vol. III, Bl. III; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 104; in the Leipziger, vol. XIX, p. 225; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 270 and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 574. Vincentius Obsopöus translated this letter into Latin; this translation is found in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 247b and in the Wittenberger (1558), tom. VII, col. 501 d. The date of the letter is derived from Luther's letter to Spalatin of 14 Dec. 1524, De Wette, vol. II, p. 573.

Martinus Luther, unworthy Ecclesiast and Evangelist at Wittenberg, the dearest friends of God, all Christians at Strasbourg.

The Lord knows the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked shall perish. Ps. 1, 6.

Grace and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Dearest lords and brothers! I am hitherto highly pleased and thank God, the Father of all mercies, for the abundant grace He has bestowed upon you, calling you to His marvelous light and bringing you into the fellowship of all the riches of His Son JEsu Christ, so that you may now, through His salvific Word, recognize and call with a joyful heart the true Father, who redeemed us from the dreadful darkness of the end of Christ, and led us out of the iron furnace of Egypt [5 Mos. 4, 20], of sins and death, into the wide, safe, free, right promised land.

2 Therefore see to it that you remember behind you what you have been, and that you are not found ungrateful for such great grace and mercy, as some already do, and arouse God's anger again, but remain, practice, and increase in the same knowledge and grace of Jesus Christ. For this is the right way to salvation, which you cannot lack. And see to it that you have one thing in common.

Keep your minds firm, and show brotherly love in deed toward one another, that your faith may bear witness that it is not false, slothful, or idle, and that the enemy, having been cast out, will not return and find the house idle and beautiful, and invade it with seven evil spirits, that the last may be worse than the first [Luc. 14:26].

But whether you are blasphemed or persecuted, blessed are you [Matth. 5, 12.]; if they have called the father of the house Beelzebub, how 1) much more his household! The servant shall not fare better than his master [Matth. 10, 24. 25.]. And what harm can it do, if poor men, who pass away like smoke [Ps. 37:20], blaspheme you, if you are sure that so many thousand times a thousand angels in heaven and God Himself rejoice over you, and praise and glorify you with all creatures? How all this your faith and good conscience feels in the Holy Spirit and gives you testimony, where you believe otherwise and have Christ truly living and reigning in you. For such sufferings only improve and promote our blessedness.

4) But these are dangerous things, where discord, sectarianism and error arise among Christians, which 2) distort and mislead such comforting knowledge and consciences, and secretly tear them away from grace in the Spirit into outward things and works, as the false apostles did, and afterward many a heretic, and finally the pope. Here it is highly necessary to watch. For if our gospel is the true gospel, as I have no doubt and am sure it is, it must also be challenged, tried and proved on both sides: on the left, by the outward reproach and hatred of the unrighteous; on the right, by our own division and discord, as St. Paul says [1 Cor. 11:19]: "There must be heresies, that they which are righteous may be made manifest among you. Christ must not only have Caipham among his enemies, but also Judas among his friends.

1) De Wette and the Erlanger: "or" instead of: like.

2) This is the reading of the Jena edition and Walch. In the Wittenberg and in De Wette incomprehensible: "Thus such comforting knowledge dislocates and misleads the conscience" 2c. In the Latin translation: per 6Uri8ti eognitio in simplieum eouseientüs variis involvitur erroribus.

(5) Knowing this, we should be armed and prepared, as those who must surely be provided for every hour of both offences, and not be surprised or frightened at all if there is discord among us, but think freshly that it must and will be so, and ask God to be with us and to keep us on the right path. For, as Moses says [Deut. 8:2, 13:3], God tries us whether we cling to Him with all our heart or not.

6 I say this because I have experienced how new prophets arise at some ends, and how some of you have written to me that Doctor Carlstadt is causing a ruckus among you with his raving about the sacrament, images and baptism, as he has also done elsewhere, and scolds me as if I had driven him out of the country. 3)

Now, my dearest friends, I am not your preacher, no one owes me to believe; each one looks to himself. I may warn everyone, but I can defend no one. I also hope that so far you have recognized me in my writings, that I have acted so truthfully and confidently on the gospel, the grace of Christ, the law, faith, love, the cross, the laws of man, what to think of the pope, the monastic state and the mass, and all the main things that are necessary for a Christian to know, that I am found blameless in them, and indeed cannot deny that I have been an unworthy witness of God, through whom he has helped many souls.

8. which piece has never wanted to make any right D. Carlstadt, nor can, as I now see from his letter, that I am truly not meant, and am immediately startled that the man still lies so low. And when I look at his thing, he falls out on the external things with such impetuosity, as if the whole power of a Christian being lay in the storming of images, overthrowing the sacrament and preventing baptism, and would like to darken with such smoke and steam the whole sun and light of the Gospel and the main pieces of Christian being, so that the world should forget everything that has been taught by us so far. And

3) In the signature of his letter to the Orlamünder. Cf. Appendix, No. 118.

But he does not distinguish himself by raising his voice, which is a truly Christian being. For to storm images, to deny the sacrament, to punish baptism, is a bad art, which even a knave can do, and never makes a Christian. Therefore, this is a crude devil who has little regard for me.

(9) Now therefore my faithful counsel and warning is, that ye take heed, and stand upon the one question, what is it that maketh a man a Christian, and by no means allow any other question or art to be equal unto it. If anyone brings up anything, look at it and say, "Dear man, does the same thing make one a Christian or not? If not, let it not be the main thing, nor fall out of it with all seriousness. But if anyone is too weak to do this, let him take his time and wait until he sees what we or others have to say about it. I have ever, praise God, done it right and well so far in the main parts, and whoever says otherwise must not be a good spirit; I hope I will not spoil it even in the outer parts, where such prophets alone insist.

I confess that if D. Carlstadt or someone else had told me five years ago that there was nothing but bread and wine in the sacrament, they would have done me a great service. I suffered such a hard challenge there, and struggled and squirmed, that I would have liked to be out, because I saw that I could have given the papacy the biggest puff with it. I have also had two who have written more skillfully to me about it, 1) than D. Carlstadt, and not so martyred the words according to their own conceit. But I am trapped, cannot get out: the text is too powerful there, and does not want to be torn out of my mind with words.

(11) Yes, if it should happen this very day that someone should prove with solid reason that there is bad bread and wine, I should not be touched so with anger. Unfortunately, I am all too inclined to do so, as much as I feel my Adam. But as D. Carlstadt says

I am so unconcerned about the fact that my opinion is only strengthened by it. And if I had not believed it before, I would first of all believe, through such loose, lame antics, without any Scripture, based solely on reason and conceit, that his opinion must be nothing, as I hope everyone will see when I now answer. I also hardly believe that he is serious, or God must have hardened and blinded him. For if it were serious, he would not mix in such ridiculous bits and pieces, and therefore juggle from Greek and Hebrew language, 2) which he has not forgotten much, as is well known.

I could easily bear his raging with the storming of images, because I too have broken off the images more with my writing than he will always do with his storming and raving. But the fact that Christians are urged and driven on to such work, as if they had to do it or were not Christians and wanted to capture Christian freedom with law and conscience, that is not to be suffered at all. For we know that no work makes a Christian, and such outward things as images and the Sabbath are free in the New Testament, as are all other ceremonies of the law. Paul says 1 Cor. 8:4: "We know that an idol is nothing in the world." If it is nothing, why should Christians' consciences be captured and tortured for nothing? If it is nothing, let it be nothing, let it fall or stand, as he also speaks of circumcision; but of this further in the answer. 3)

13) I would like to suffer that he scolds me for having driven him away, if it were true, and I would also answer for it, God willing; but I am glad that he is out of our country; I also wish that he were not with you, and that he himself could have been advised to refrain from such a complaint. For I am afraid that my excuse 4) will accuse him quite severely. Beware of the false spirit, whoever can; that is my advice, there is nothing good behind it.

14. he could have taken me to Jena himself, for cause.

2) In his "Dialogus," Walch, St. Louiser Ausg." Vol. XX, 2312 ff

3) This "answer" refers to Luther's writing "against the heavenly prophets. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 132.

4) Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 157 ff.

1) These "two" are Cornelis Hendricks Hoen in Haag and Franz Kolb, preacher in Wertheim. The letters are found in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 412 and vol. I V, p. 378. The second one beside Hoen is not Rodius, as Köstlin, Mart. Luther (3), Vol. I, p. 701 assumes.

1) that I would not have mixed his spirit with the all-city, rebellious, murderous spirit. But when I came to Orlamünde among his Christians by princely command, I found what seeds he had sown there, so that I was glad that I was not thrown out with stones and dirt, since some of them gave me such a blessing: Go in a thousand devils' names, that you may break your neck before you get out of the city! Although they have adorned themselves very finely in the booklet, from which they went out. 2) If the donkey had horns, that is, if I were prince of Saxony, D. Carlstadt should not have been expelled, unless I had been begged; only let him not spurn the kindness of the princes.

(15) But, dear friends, I pray that you may be wiser than we, if we become fools, and write of our doings. I am well aware that the devil seeks only cause to write and read about us men, however pious or wicked we may be, so that the main things of Christ may be kept silent and people's mouths may be opened with new newspapers. Let each one look at the straight path, what law, gospel, faith, Christ's kingdom, Christian salvation, love, patience, human law and the like are; we have enough to learn from them forever. Even if you do not break the law, you do not sin; even if you do not go to the sacrament, you can still be saved through the word and faith. The devil's only concern is to turn our eyes away from our Lucerne in this annual night, and lead us out of the way with his flying fires and lights.

16. and ask your evangelists, my dear lords and brothers, to point you away from Luther and Carlstadt and always to Christ; not, like Carlstadt, to the works of Christ alone, as Christ is an example, which is the least part of Christ, in which he is like other saints, but as he is a gift of God, or, as Paul says [1 Cor. 1, 30.], God's power, wisdom, righteousness, redemption, sanctification, given to us; which ver-

1) "of a writing," namely Carlstadt's letter to Thomas Münzer of July 19, 1524. See Col. 2031.

2) In the Acta Jenensia, above Ro. 680 and Ro. 684.

These prophets have never felt, tasted, nor learned, and therefore, with their lively voice, they are boasting from heaven, with the degradation, sprinkling, killing, and such pompous words, which they themselves have never understood, and thus only make erroneous, restless, heavy consciences, so that one should marvel at their great art, and in the meantime forget Christ.

(17) Pray, brethren, that God the Father will not leave us to fall into temptation, but, according to His causeless mercy, will strengthen us, keep us, and accomplish His work begun in us, as we are comfortingly exhorted to pray through Christ our Savior. What an advantage we have over the prophets. For I know and am certain that they have never asked God the Father for their cause, nor do they have so much of a good conscience that they could ask him for a blessed outcome, but as they have begun out of their own presumption, so they also rage out thunderously for vain glory, until their end, the disgrace, is found. God's grace be with you all, amen.

689. the Strasbourg letters and reports to Luther about Carlstadt. November 1524.

These two letters are found, from Spalatin's copy, in Kapp, "Kleine Nachlese nützlicher Reformationen - Urkunden", Vol. II, p. 641 and p. 644 and afterwards in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. V, p. 56 and p. 59. Both letters were carried to Luther by the same messenger. Luther received them on December 14 and wrote the "Letter to the Christians of Strasbourg" already on the following day.

Translated into German.

a. Letter of the Strasbourg jurist Gerbel to Luther, from Carlstadt's nobles against the Lord's Supper and baptism. November 22, 1524.

To the faithful witness of Christ and right angel of peace, Martin Luther, his patron, wishes

1. n. Gerbel Hail in Christ JEsu! Let it not grieve you, my dearest Luther, to give me, who love you so dearly, a little of your time in a matter that is so necessary and will serve your purpose so well. The cunning Satan, who has so far transformed himself among us into all shapes, into all monsters, and so

He has thrown around many threats, orders, torture, crosses and death, but he has seen that he has achieved nothing with them: listen now. Rather, with what cunning, with what treachery he tries to tear the minds of the weak away from the love of truth. For since most of our people gladly heard the servants of the Word and were a little in limbo between the old slobber and the new must, behold, now that roots were taking root everywhere and a few tender little trees were sprouting, Carlstadt, driven by I don't know what furies and what brakes, secretly came to our city. And he did not visit any of those who teach the gospel here, but first slandered terribly against you in the corners: you would have been the cause of his expulsion, then, he would not have been heard nor warned, and thus, by your counsel, by your deceit, you would have been expelled from the whole world; and since you could not have won by writings, you would have won only by force and by the prince's power and finally obtained the victory.

This and the like he has only brought out in a few who like to hear something new and seek their own honor, and has easily drawn them to his opinion, partly through the unfairness of the proceedings against him, partly through pity over his misery, over the pregnant wife, and the child wandering around in misery with her. For he does this everywhere fiercely, with great spite.

Then, if I am not mistaken, he goes to Basel, publishes his writings and sends them out in several armies. First, of course, with us, so that they would be spread quite widely before they came to you, and you, as I assume, would not be able to resist them at times. You should not think how both parts clamor in various ways. The papists take this as an opportunity for all kinds of quarrels. And never has a Faber, Eck, or Emser harmed your leadership as much as this few Carlstadt, since up to now it has been said of all of you that you otherwise did everything together, did everything together, yes, did the whole main thing together. In the meantime, however, those who have begun to grow in Christ are wavering and hovering doubtfully in the middle, not knowing whom they should follow, you or him, since they believed before that 1) one confesses the same doctrine as the other. They shout from both sides: there are only two sacraments left; what kind they are will also be put in doubt at the end. I have already cried out against this several times: Listen,

1) Walch: Instead of xrokssionsm, read prok "88or "m.

Dear people, first hear what Luther will answer. Do not, I say, let yourselves be moved from your post and place by such a light wind and start. You know that the 7-ovT-o, 7-0V7-O, 7-avT-J, 7-avT-H (*sic*) is a dispute about words, which was only devised by Satan to drive us away from the matter itself, namely faith and love, to a futile dispute about words.

That is why our people write to you with such great concern for the herd that is entrusted to them. Behold, you would have the best opportunity to write to the Strasbourg people, especially to the evangelists; not briefly, but rather in detail and emphatically, so that you may send healing medicine where that Cerberus first spat out his poison. Dear one, help the weak! Dampen the pride of the nonsensical spirit, which, since it has no other door through which it can sneak in, now primarily finds these nooks and crannies, which are the most harmful thing the human heart could have conceived. For these [namely, the sacraments] are the signs by which we, according to our weakness, can grasp the epitome of divine goodness and grace.

This, however, you will know how to handle far better and more gloriously according to your great intellect and according to God's unspeakable grace toward you. The rest you will hear through Mr. Nicolaus, 2) whom we are sending to you for this purpose. Farewell, and stay well with me. Give my regards to Philip. The brothers, especially my dear Hedio, then my wife and the whole family greet you. Strasbourg, Nov. 22, 1524. 3) Farewell, Apostle of God. Gerbel.

To the dearest man, D. Martin Luther, the afflicted apostle of Germany, his brother beloved in Christ.

b. The Strasbourg Protestant preachers Capito, Zell, Hedio, Althießer, Schwarz, Firn and Burcer letter to Luther. November 23, 1524. 4)

M. Luther, the apostle of Germany, our beloved and venerable father, [offer

2) Diaconus of Matthew Zell.

3) These words appear in Kapp immediately before § 1.- We have taken the following inscription from Walch.

4) The author of this letter is Martin Bucer, then preacher at St. Aurelien. This is evident from the fact that some passages of this letter literally correspond to his writing: "Grund und Ursach aus göttlicher Schrift der Neuerungen" 2c. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 352.

their greeting] the brothers at Strasbourg, the servants of the church, W. Capito, Matthäus Zelt, C.Hedio, Symphorianus, 1) Theobaldus, Antonius, M. Bucer 2c. Strasbourg, November 23, 1524.

May grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied among you. Dearest Father! As we have been taught by God and so often reminded by you, we strive, according to the measure of grace given to us, to prevent ourselves from teaching or raising anything in the Church of Christ of which we do not have certain proof in hand from the Scriptures, although we, together with you, have hitherto tolerated, both with regard to infant baptism and the Lord's Supper, a number of things which, although they have been brought into the way without reason from Scripture, are not at all inconsistent with the fact that a godly man could not make good use of them. With such tolerance, however, we also had the hope that soon afterward everything would improve in the way given by the rule of Scripture, when our people would have received the gospel of Christ more completely. In the meantime, while we are quite diligent, according to our thoughts, that both in private and in public everything is done according to the precepts of the Word of God, seven of Carlstadt's 2) writings are coming out, as it were, in one go, but we have not yet been able to see them all.

(2) But those whom we have seen dispute that in the holy supper there is the mere bread and wine, and not the body and blood of Christ. We send them to you with our brother, whom we have sent to you for this reason at our expense. The writings that came to us were published in Basel, but secretly, and there they were immediately taken away from the accountants at the mayor's behest; nevertheless, as many are curious, they are eagerly read by the citizens everywhere, and many are pleased with them. We, who hold to the context of the whole speech: "This is my body" 2c., preach so far 3) with you, that the

1) Symphorian Althießer (also Altbießer) or Pollio, called "Herr Zhmprich" by the common man, pastor of St. Martin. - Theobald Nigri, Diebold Schwarz from Hagenau, helper of Matthäus Zell. - Antonius Firn from Hagenau, preacher at St. Thomas.

2) "seven" writings: namely one that he had already published in Strasbourg and six others in Basel. See the introduction to the 20th volume of the St. Louis edition, p. 21 d.

3) Instead of dnjnsHne we have assumed liouou^us.

Bread is the body of the Lord, and wine his blood, although we exhort the people most to the remembrance of the death of Christ, and reproach them that this is the proper use of the Lord's Supper, but that the other does nothing for salvation, since the flesh is of no use, even if the whole Christ were already there, as he hung on the cross, and in the same form. Now we confess that Carlstadt has not yet persuaded us of his opinion, but nevertheless, since he has thrown apart the context of the words on which we alone relied, he has made us waver a little. For although he interferes not a little with his cricket catching, he also brings forward some things that are probable to many others besides us, although they have not yet completely convinced us.

3) Such is about this: First, the words of Christ are, "This is my body, which shall be given for you." And it is certain that only the one and true body of Christ is crucified for us. So the word "this" must be referred to this very one, not to the bread eaten by the apostles and never sacrificed for us. 4) And it is nothing new in Scripture that the demonstrative is referred to something other than the context gives. As can be seen, among others, in the saying: You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church [Matth. 16, 18; since "this" does not refer to the "rock", as the context would have it, but to "Christ", as the true understanding demands.

4.⁵) Then, since Christ commanded nothing else to eat and drink in remembrance of him, but bread and wine, and not to make of them his body and blood, as he commanded to preach, to baptize, to heal the sick 2c., and since the flesh is of no use, and the bread and wine alone are sufficient for the sacrament, as the water in baptism; Since the true miracles were only performed to confirm the word, there is no reason why it should be said that the body of Christ is in the bread and the blood in the wine, especially since Scripture does not have such expressions, and we also see that so many errors and superstitions have arisen from them, and that it has been to the great annoyance of unbelievers that they have everywhere said that the body of Christ is in the bread and the blood in the wine.

4) These thoughts are expressed in Carlstadt's "Dialogus". Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 2325 f.

5) The thoughts expressed in this § are from Carlstadt's "Dialogus," Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 2350 and 2351.

have: Behold, here and there is Christ, and is eaten. Finally, Paul does not call the bread and the cup the body and blood of Christ, and this bread and this cup were never held in such high esteem by the ancients as they are by us.

(5) What he concludes otherwise, 1) as that τοῦτο is a neuter, but x xxxxx a masculine; and that τοῦτο is written with large letters in Lucas; and that in Marcus [Cap. 14, 23/]: "They all drank from it," 2) precedes the words: "This is my blood," makes no great impression on us. But it, together with what we have mentioned above, finds such acceptance with many that they completely agree with Carlstadt. Others are doubtful and ask us for advice. To these we answer: The bread and the cup are external things, and although the bread is the body of Christ and the wine His blood, it does not help us, because the flesh is of no use at all [John 6:63]; but the remembrance of the death of the Lord is the only thing that brings us salvation, for which purpose alone such bread must be eaten and the cup drunk, therefore a Christian has more to consider for what purpose he eats and drinks, than what is that which he eats and drinks. And so, as much as we can, we draw the minds of our people away from this dispute.

Some, however, we cannot satisfy with this; they urge us to say: 3) what we believe such bread and wine to be. In fact, we cannot yet say anything certain to them out of complete conviction, and therefore we continue to draw them away from this question. We have therefore agreed with each other to write to you about this through our own messenger and most beloved brother, the deacon of our colleague Matthew Zell, who has planted here, and to send along the aforementioned writings, kindly asking that you not disregard this matter. For one can hardly believe how the minds of many people are troubled by it. Nor is it a small rejoicing of the adversaries that Carlstadt so cruelly sets upon you, who otherwise has been your faithful fellow helper in the Gospel, and now lays out such a great cruelty to you. We give him, in whom we also have many other things to criticize, which are

does not send an evangelical man, by no means faith. He knew well that we and the Basel brethren were in good agreement with you, and yet he did not want to speak to them or to us and teach us anything better, but wanted to remain hidden from us both there and here.

Therefore we ask you for the sake of Christ, who has abundantly given you his Spirit, to control this evil, for it is spreading beyond measure, and, since it is easy for you to strengthen your brethren, for example, by writing, and to deprive the enemies of the opportunity to rejoice over such evil, until you teach in right books what one must believe in this according to the Scriptures, and what we can safely assert according to the indisputable word of God, even against Satan. As many as are practiced in the Scriptures only at Zurich, Basel and here, as well as others more, are quite inclined to Carlstadt's opinion, although everyone regrets and detests that you are thus belittled and blasphemed by him. There are also some who think that man learned it from you and yours, since he was still present at your free discussions, but few agree with them.

8 They also say that he does not agree with you about baptism, because he does not want to have children baptized, which is what you teach and what we still hold with you. In this dispute we also console ourselves with the fact that baptism is an external thing. Therefore, although it might be better, according to the usage of the early church and also according to the Scriptures, which want those who have been taught about Christ to be baptized, that only adults be baptized, because **they have been** taught godliness, and then confess Christ through baptism, and the false trust in water baptism be taken away, in which many today are also ignorant, doubting the blessedness of the unbaptized: we would gladly concede to the common consent and unity to baptize the children, if only, since the vows of the godparents are found ridiculous, a certain time would be set aside to teach the children, if they can now grasp the doctrine of Christ, who, as far as we could know, did not yet understand anything about it when only they were baptized.

(9) Furthermore, it is also very repugnant to us that we see that the wicked therefore take occasion to mock us and to blaspheme the doctrine of Christ, that since we have received only two ceremonies from Christ, we have not kept them uniform, since where the Word of God is preached, the same also prevails over all the laws and ordinances of men.

1) These points are taken from Carlstadt's "Dialogus," Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. XX, 2324 f. and 2327 f.

2) Here Kapp improperly inserted the words that are repeated later: uonuullos tsust, r'ui sidi puletrrs Okristiani viasntur, omr'ua xrsstsr äoivLiaulL äisui adotsmus.

3) Instead of äieirus, "Hoamus will be read.

The Holy Communion is celebrated differently by you, by the people of Nuremberg. You celebrate Holy Communion differently, the people of Nuremberg differently, we differently, those in Nördlingen, our neighbors, differently, which, of course, many interpret as proof of inconsistency and uncertainty, even those who do not want to be regarded as carnal people. 1)

(10) We have long since prayed and taught in the church in our own language, so that our prophecy may edify, and the whole congregation may say Amen to our prayer, after the Latin language has been abolished, by which the Romans first kept us in the bondage of the bodies, and then also of the souls, for only too long, by which we finally received many unclean things, and nothing holy, which did not come from the Hebrew or Greek, and in that [language] has almost always been corrupted and polluted.

(11) We have the use of baptism almost exactly as you have described it in the booklet which you translated from Latin on this matter, 2) except that we gradually leave out the Chrism, the salt and the lights, which almost no one likes anymore. For we fear that a false confidence is immediately placed in everything that is done in the church contrary to the commandment of Scripture. And it is shameful to boast of the Scriptures, which abundantly teach all that is good, and yet not be able to prove thoroughly from them all that one does or undertakes. For if we reproach others for weakness, many reproach us for ours, that we doubt that the Lord will give the voice of power to his word. There are also many here who have not yet fallen in with the word, so that it is to be feared that they will never join it; so foolishly and foolishly do they resist it.

12) We still celebrate Holy Communion in the ordinary vestments of the vestments of the Mass; we also raise the bread and the cup of the Lord, after reciting the words of Christ. Since this is a use of the sacrificers, I would very much like it to be abolished. For we also do not like to use the garments. For what do Christians have in common with the papists? As for the rest, we have reason from Scripture, namely, that we first confess our and the people's sins to the Lord, and then the church sings a psalm in our courage.

The priest also sings the "Kyrie Eleison", "Glory to God in the highest". Then the priest offers a common prayer to God and reads a short lection to the people from the apostolic epistles. When this is finished, and the church has again sung either a psalm or the Ten Commandments, he ascends the pulpit and preaches on the Gospels for about an hour. Thereupon the congregation makes its profession of faith: "I believe in One God. After this song, he exhorts the people with a few words to sacrifice themselves to the Lord and to offer the farren of his lips, whereupon he immediately adds the so-called preface, and first the hymn of praise: "Holy", but then the common prayer for the authorities and the whole 3) church to God. This is followed by the words of the evangelists about the Lord's Supper, which he recites, and then, as has been customary up to now, he shows the bread and the cup to the people and prays again. In this prayer he recently explains for what purpose we are to celebrate the commemoration of the death of the Lord; then the priest prays the Lord's Prayer. After that, "Lamb of God." And then he takes the bread and the cup of the Lord, and gives it to those who wish to receive it with one another, after they have been carefully told about the Sacrament beforehand. Then the whole church sings: "Praise be to God", and the whole service is concluded with a very short prayer, and the congregation is dismissed with the blessing.

(13) This is the only custom we publicly observe at Holy Communion, which we celebrate only on Sundays, and which at first was observed in different ways by the brethren in different churches. But when we saw that many were offended by it, we became united about this custom, and lived in the hope that soon afterward the neighboring churches, and those at Zurich, and those who adhere to them, would also agree with us about a completely pure usage, and become one with the Scriptures, so that we could also stand against Satan, and among us, who preach the same Christ, who have one heart and one soul, and who are to walk in the same footsteps, everything would be uniform. We know, of course, that this will not be both graceful and decent, but useful and salutary. We also see and have experienced that everything we undertake on the good ground of Scripture and firm faith is finely accomplished by Christ's power. We also become aware that the cause of our hesitation is the power of Christ.

1) stiaiu hui kũöi noluut viästri uniroalss. Walch translates: "even those who still hold something on their souls". This passage will probably remain an orux iutxrxstuaa.

2) "Das Taufbüchlein verdeutscht," 1523. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2139.

3) Instead of tot, read tota.

derns 1) is not seldom the fear of man, and that the 2) abominable [that is, who does not despise ungodly enough in our eyes, more than the consideration for the weak, which comes from love.

14 We give the Lord's Supper to the sick while they are still in their homes, and have had the council ask us to be at their beck and call for a time, if some have not yet been brought to agree with us and persistently desire to be communicated with according to the old custom, and have first been carefully reminded; but few have yet asked for it. This is because those who are not moved by the Word to walk in the same way with us have such an abhorrence of us that they prefer to ask for nothing at all, so that the whole flock, having lost all but one parish, goes there on holidays from the most distant parts of the city.

(15) The festivals by which the youth here have been miserably corrupted, and which are still in the minds of some who consider themselves good Christians, let us abolish them all, except Sunday, and from Christmas on, let us celebrate on Sunday all the wholesome commemorations mentioned in Scripture.

16 The idolatrous images have been removed from the churches by order of the council, but only the most noble ones, to which the foolish women consecrated wax candles 2c. We hope, however, that soon all of them, at least in some churches, will be removed. For we obviously see and experience that they are a nuisance to the weak, although those who are founded in their Christianity and godliness can suffer them without being disadvantaged in their godliness. Let us not mention that the antichrists, to the disgrace of the Gospel, now worship them even more fiercely.

17. from the uproar that almost arose here because of the exceedingly blasphemous book of Treger, 3) the Augustinian provincial, an un-

Shameful fellows, do not let yourselves be falsely led to believe anything, although there are always people there who constantly accuse us of sedition, while ours daily tolerate the greatest insults of the papal congregation, and it is also said that the very Treger, who has defiled us and the citizens in his pamphlet, is still here and continues his good life. For no one was harmed by the gathering of the people, who wanted nothing else than that this provincial and a preacher-monk, who barked against the word of God in an exceedingly insolent, coarse and blasphemous manner, should convict us of the heresy, which he always accused us of. Only in a monastery of the preaching monks, where they had found a whore, when they were looking for the preacher, they broke open some cells, and there they hunted up such silent game. Now everything is quiet, except that the priests are making noise, and the council is urging them to accept citizenship, so that if they do not want to, they will be forced to vacate the city. For it is said that it has been firmly decided that they will not tolerate their fornication any longer.

18 We also send here Erasmus' recently published booklet, 4) in which the unfortunate slave of ambition continues to put his slander on the Scriptures, which in truth is not worthy of being defended by some. We also confess, 5) that through him we have been given much cause to recognize the truth. But what is more? Why do we not rather recognize Christ as the author? What he wrote about you, the proverb about the Scyrian goat, fits him in truth, 6) since he now harms the kingdom of Christ much more than he does the kingdom of God.

Treger replied in May with a "Vermanung Bruder Conradis Treger an ein löblich gemein Eidgenossenschaft, von der böhmischen Ketzerrei" 2c., in which he very dishonorably attacked the Strasbourg. It was not until August that this writing appeared in print and Treger himself sold it at his monastery. The citizens demanded that he stand trial for the dishonor done to them and, to prevent his escape again, placed a guard in front of the monastery. But when the rumor spread that he had already escaped, they forced their way into the monastery on Sept. 4, where they found him and delivered him to the authorities. In the monastery of the preaching monks they searched for the preacher who had enraged the crowd with his sermons, but they did not find him, but a number of prostitutes hidden in the cells and in the cellar. The whole thing passed without further mischief.

4) The "Diatrobe," in September 1524. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1600.

5) In the Erlangen correspondence here is wrongly interpung: H'atknur, 6t nog; the comma should only be after Q08.

6) 6apr6a, Levriu, a wild goat which, having given the milk, immediately knocks over the milking cask.

1) Gautationig is wrong, it must be osggationis or eausationig (excuse, bald pretending). (Walch.)

2) According to the basic text Ps. 15,4, where it says of the righteous that he does not respect the wicked. (Walch.)

3) The Augustinian Provincial on the Rhine and in Swabia, Conrad Treger, had challenged the Strasbourg preachers with a hundred paradoxes <16 Deelsiu," GonoiiiorumHUK autotrituk on March 12, 1524 to the disputation, but had gone to Switzerland to escape it. Therefore, at the beginning of April, Capito sent out his "Warning of the Servants of the Word at Strasbourg to the Brethren of the Common Confederation" 2c. Thereupon

he has ever been of use to him. For what does he seek but to destroy the reputation of Scripture everywhere, and to prefer the tranquility of the antichristic kingdom to the unrest of the kingdom of Christ? If only he knew 1) how much such shameful writings harm the godliness of Germany, of which Joh. Rode, 2) a very pious man who traveled through here to Basel, told us horrible things two days ago. For he [Erasmus] has made that also in Cologne many brethren have been turned from free will by his disputation. Therefore we ask you for Christ's sake not to listen to flesh and blood, and to respect what you once wrote of Erasmus, that for Christ's sake one must also hate one's parents, 3) better now than the advice of all orators. For this is Christ's word. All the adornment of the Latin language may perish; the wonder of scholarship may also perish, thereby obscuring Christ's glory! By His word we become blessed, by that of others we are only more corrupted.

(19) We have written this to you out of a heart that desires some things, that Christ's kingdom may grow and be furthered, which you, on no one's advice, want to throw to the wind. You know well how much depends on you according to God's will, how many thousands of souls hang on your mouth because they believe that it is the mouth of the Lord. You also know how, through your ministry, the world has come to disgust everything that is not written from the revealed word of God. It does not want to have anything to do with so-called well-meant, or as Erasmus says, acceptable interpretations. It wants to see the living and

They do not want to be children who are driven by everyone's opinion. This region also has children of God; it has those who are devoted to the Scriptures, who ask about the will of God and are concerned about it.

20 May the Lord grant that you also may be aware of ours, who have often strengthened so many other nations in word.

21 Answer carefully to everything that Carlstadt teaches. But answer without gall and anger; this he did not do, but thereby also made his writing very hateful. Let it be known that until now, and alone, you have always sought only Christ's glory and despised all human days. We thank Christ, who has granted that in your many writings you have not left a window or gap open to overturn your teaching, so that not even the outward things, which in themselves do not help to salvation, could be found fault with.

22 By the same grace of our Savior it also happens that the truly pious do not mind his blasphemy at all, but nevertheless wish for the sake of the weak, once the game has begun, that one might have something certain to answer and defend against all the subtleties of Satan. Help us in this.

(23) We also need to be instructed by you in some other matters, but this time we do not want to burden you with more.

24 Christ keep you, to whom you will diligently command us and our church, which wishes you and yours all salvation. Greetings to us from Philip Melancthon, Pommer and your other co-workers. We command our messengers to you in the Lord. Strasbourg, November 23, 1524.

1) Thus the old translator. Erl. Briefw.: scires.

2) ckodunnkg likockius, Hinne Rode, was dismissed from his position as Rector of the Hieronymus School in Utrecht in 1522 because of his Lutheran convictions, but returned to the Netherlands in 1525 and joined the Anabaptists. It is he who in 1522 delivered to Luther the letter of Cornelius Hoen together with a collection of small writings of Wessel. Compare St. Louis edition vol. XIV, 252, note.

3) Hence also Erasmus or all masters. Luther put odiendok, which is admittedly not graceful, so he aims at Redner Rath (Walch.)

690 Carlstadt's Tractate, in which he vehemently denied the true presence of Christ in Holy Communion, and sought to make Luther as black as he could.

Some of these tracts are included in the 20th volume of our edition, namely Col. 92. 2306 and 2312.

Section Five of Chapter Eight.

Of the renewed hope for Carlstadt's change and settlement with Luther, for which the latter again offered his hand, and not only pleaded for him with Elector Frederick, but also, after his death, obtained permission from the new Elector John for him to come to Saxony again, and again made every effort to bring Carlstadt back on the right path, who, however, after a friendship that had lasted for a while, was unresponsive and remained obdurate, secretly exchanged letters with the false spirits against Luther, and then escaped from Saxony forever.

A. What an effort Luther made during the lifetime of Prince Frederick the Wise to bring Carlstadt back into the country, but the court refused.

691 Luther's report to Spalatin of Dec. 29, 1524, that he had written to Carlstadt and hoped to have a meeting with him and make peace.

See Appendix, No. 119.

692 Luther's letter to Spalatin that Carlstadt had answered him, and he sent this answer along; he asked Spalatin to arrange for Carlstadt's safe conduct with the Elector in order to hold an interview with him. March 4, 1525.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 279d; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 629 (datirt: end of February) and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 133 after the original. The date of the original is: l'sria sabbato post I, - On Saturday after Quinquagesimä, which Aurifaber incorrectly resolved by: Laddatüo post liStLrs.

Newly translated from the Latin.

To his extremely dear friend in the Lord, M. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the Court of Saxony.

Grace and peace! I am sending Carlstadt's letter, my dear Spalatin, which is addressed to me, in which he answers mine, as you see, which I sent to him through Joachim. 1) Now only

that you help me to obtain from the prince an escort letter for Carlstadt for a while, so that we can have a conversation with each other. For although I have little hope that he, who is puffed up and hardened by the applause of the mob, will be able to leave, I must nevertheless do this, so that he will not seize the opportunity to blaspheme the gospel, which they are always and everywhere lurking for; at the same time, so that God will see and the world will know that we have not omitted anything that could serve to set these people straight. For I promised him in my letter that if what Joachim reported was true, I would see to it that he could talk to me under safe escort, or I would meanwhile live with him in exile in some place away from Wittenberg for the sake of the conversation. I will send back the new things. Farewell and pray for me. On Saturday after Quinquagesimä [March 4] 1525. Martin Luther.

Luther's further report to Spalatin on how he liked the Elector's negative answer, which he wanted to send to Carlstadt.

See Appendix, No. 120.

B. How Carlstadt after the death of Prince Frederick, fearing to be killed as a co-initiator of the peasants' riot, had gone to Luther

Luther sent a letter to Carlstadt on December 23, but it did not reach Carlstadt's hands until February 18, 1525. Luther did not receive the answer until March 2. (Köstlin, Martin Luther, Vol. I, p. 729.)

1) Joachim Camerarius was visiting Melanchthon from Bamberg in December 1524, and Luther gave

Carlstadt hid him compassionately in his house for more than eight weeks, induced him to recant through printed writings, trusted him this time as well, and obtained permission from Elector John for his return to Saxony.

694 Luther's letter to all Christians as a preface to Carlstadt's booklet, in which he apologizes for the riot. Probably late June or early July 1525.

This writing is the preface to the "Entschuldigung des falschen Namen der Aufruhr, so ihm ist mit Unrecht aufgelegt worden" written by Carlstadt on June 24, 1525. It is found in the Wittenberg edition (1551), vol. II, p. 68d; in the Jena edition (1556), vol. III, p. 1056; in the Altenburg edition, vol. III, p. 109; in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 227; and in the Erlangen edition, vol. 64, p. 404. Since Carlstadt wrote his paper on June 24 and then sent it to Luther, there is some time between the writing of the paper and the writing of the preface. After that, our approximate time determination.

To all the dear Christians before whom this writing comes, grace and peace from GOD our Father, and [the] Lord JESu Christo.

1. Andreas Carlstadt has made me a booklet, in which he excuses himself from the dangerous and grave rumor, 1) as if he were guilty of the sedition, or had been a head and instigator of the seditionists, and has asked me with great earnestness that I would let the same go out through the printing press, to save his name, and also, that he should not be condemned so miserably, unheard and unconquered, and without merit and cause be insecure of his life and property, now that the clamor is going on, as if one should go too fast with many poor people, and out of pure anger judge both guilty and innocent, unheard and unconquered. So I fear that the timid tyrants, who were afraid of a rushing leaf before, have now become so bold, until they accomplish their will of courage, that God also overthrows them to the ground in his time.

2 Although D. Carlstadt is my greatest enemy because of the doctrine, and we both have been so hard on each other that there is no hope for a contract or further fellowship, nevertheless, because he is so loyal to me in his concerns and temptations, more than to his friends who have set him on me, I will let him find the same loyalty with me, as much as I can, and gladly show him service and others.

3. considering that Christ has taught us and shown us by his own example to do good to our enemies and to love them. 3. Seeing that Christ has taught us, and shown us by his own example, to do good to our enemies and to love him, whom we owe to follow, if we want to be Christians and have a part with him in his kingdom. If I did not know how to keep my conscience before God, when I saw that he would be harmed in an unimportant way, and I could help to defend it, I would not do it. Of course, it would be as much to me in the sight of God as if I had done such evil to him myself, even though St. Paul teaches Romans 12:20: "If your enemy hungers, feed him; if he thirsts, give him drink" 2c.

4. and do this so much the better, that I hope God will give grace (if we ask earnestly), that this good beginning will be followed by even better things, and that he will finally recognize himself, and fall from his error in the sacrament and come back to the right truth along with many others. For Christ says [John 11:9], "The day has twelve hours." No man, because he lives, can despair of how high and low he has always fallen. And we know that God is marvelous in His works [Ps. 139, 14.], to which we can give neither time nor duration, neither measure nor goal, neither color nor shape.

(5) For I hereby freely state and make known that with this service of mine I do not affirm D. Carlstadt's opinion and doctrine, especially of the Sacrament, nor do I fall into it in any way, but, as I have previously written against it, so I still stand and remain. I also ask everyone most sincerely to beware of the same, regardless of the fact that many others also write about the same, but with such unfounded, solicited intrigues that I know of no other thanks to the same, except that

1) Walch and the Erlangeners: Court.

they only make me the stronger in my mind.

(6) But if anyone is so full of suspicion, and would blame me for believing Carlstadt all too soon, and not wanting to be serious, but having other things in mind, I answer, "It is not for me or anyone else to judge another's heart. Moreover, St. Paul says in 1 Cor. 13:4 ff: "Love is not suspicious." And again, "Love trusts all things." Although it is often deceived by such trust, as it is said, "Ride away the horse," it does not leave.

I now state my opinion: As long as D. Carlstadt is justified and wants to suffer what he wants to suffer, where he is found rebellious and overcome, I must believe his booklet and confession; even though I myself was moved before I heard such his expensive, high plea, that he had a rebellious courage, like some who were with him. But now I must leave room for his own plea, and not refuse to help the interrogation, but encourage it.

8 For, if one is to tell the truth and look at the matter in the light, this lamentation and turmoil is not the fault of the peasants alone, but much more of the mad princes and foolish bishops. For since the common man had righteous preachers and liked to hear the pure gospel, in which they learned faith and obedience, our nobles could not stand that, and without any cause drove out the righteous preachers, and set over the people rude asses' heads, who could do nothing, and wantonly incited the people against themselves. Therefore, God caused seditious preachers to come among the people, and they began such a miserable situation, which has caused such discontent among the common people that there will be no end to it until the tyrants also rise up in the mud. For there can be no endurance where a people do not love their lord, but must fear him alone; and it comes to pass, as he says, "Whomsoever fears much must fear much again; for he cannot be secure nor happy with those who have neither desire nor love for him.

(9) But our nobles and idols shall not hear nor accept these things, but shall become

and blame the gospel for what they deserve, and lead the fools' rhymes, which are called: I do not care; until one comes, who leads another rhyme against it, and says: It is my earnestness, that neither prince nor bishop remain under heaven. Therefore, let what is fled go, they will soon find what they have long sought; it is already on the way, God grant that they may be converted in time, amen.

(10) So now I ask both gentlemen and everyone, because D. Carlstadt so highly deserves to be excused from the rebellious name, that he be allowed to come to this, so that God will not be tempted further and higher, so that the displeasure and resentment of the mob against the authorities will not become stronger and greater justice will be gained. For it is not good to take upon oneself the common prayer and cry, since He cannot lie, who promised that He would hear the cry of the oppressed and not suffer; He also has power enough to avenge and punish such. May God grant us His mercy, Amen.

Luther's preface to "Carlstadt's Declaration, How He Respects and Wants His Doctrine of the Reverend Sacrament and Others".

Probably still in July 1525.

Carlstadt's "Declaration", which he wrote in Luther's house, who kept him hidden for more than eight weeks (see St. Louis edition, vol. XX, Introduction, p. 24 f.), is found in our edition, vol. XX, 312. The "Declaration" is dated July 25, 1525. Therefore, this preface is to be placed somewhat later. It is found in the Wittenberg edition (1551), vol. II, p. 70; in the Jena (1556), vol. III, p. 163b; in the Altenburg, vol. III, p. 154; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 229 and in the. Erlanger, vol. 64, p. 408.

To all dear Christians, grace and peace in Christ our Savior, Martin Luther.

D. Carlstadt has sent me a booklet in which he explains himself and his writing, especially that which he has taken from the reverend Sacrament. And I am highly pleased that he freely and publicly testifies that he does not want his teaching to be considered a certain and decided truth, as he himself does not yet hold it, nor can he hold it, but has his own opinion and mind.

The question is how to hear and learn where to prove and confirm the truth thoroughly and stately.

2 And indeed, when I think behind me and look around, I myself am well aware that almost all of his little books are titled or headed in such a way that he also presents a delusion and disputation, and concludes nothing finite, as an article of faith. For this is what his titles usually read: Whether one may prove this or that from Scripture? In addition, his prefaces also require that he question and research, and give others cause to question and stimulate them to research.

But because he handled the matter so well in his letter, and I saw that so many people fell on it and were attached to it, I forgot his titles and prefaces, 1) and truly did not think otherwise, because it was his serious opinion. And so perhaps it has happened to all others. For this reason, it is truly necessary for him, and he was also guilty of omitting such an explanation.

4 And though it is dangerous to waver, doubt, or at first dispute in matters and articles of faith, if anyone finally persists in them, yet we, who are certain, are obliged to help those wavering and questioning hearts, and in such peril to reach out a hand, to listen kindly to their questions and inquiries, causes and motions, and with the Scriptures to help them out. For there is no need to despair of those who waver, and ask and plead for just cause, as those who are not yet hardened and sunk, but still shoot up and swim, and would gladly reach the shore.

For let it be said to every man, that whatsoever is taught or understood by the Holy Ghost hath these two virtues in itself: First, that it maketh him sure and certain that hath it, as John saith, 1 John 2:27, "As the anointing teacheth you, it is true, and is no lie." Secondly, that it makes one courageous, joyful and confident, even to

to confess against death and the devil. Therefore he is also called *Spiritus veritatis*, a spirit of truth [Joh. 15, 26. 16, 13.]; spirit, that he makes courageous and confident; truth, that he makes sure and certain, that it cannot be otherwise.

6 Because now D. Carlstadt and also all others who deal with this article speak of it out of delusion and questioning, as they themselves confess, it is certain that they do not yet have the spirit in this matter, even out of human conceit, and do not speak out of the spirit. Therefore let every man beware of their opinion, lest he fall and cleave unto it, but, if he doubt and think with them, wait and forbear, until he be sure and certain, or else give up his soul in danger. For what we are to believe must not be delusion or conceit, but certain truth, about which we may let our necks be deceived. God's grace be with us, amen.

On Nov. 22, 1526, Luther petitioned Elector Johannes on behalf of Carlstadt that he be allowed to live in Kemberg, because he could not stay in the villages around Wittenberg due to the malice of the peasants, and the provost at Kemberg could also keep a better eye on him.

This letter to Churfürst Johannes is found in Walch, vol. XXI, 156; De Wette, vol. III, p. 135.

C. Of Carlstadt's former inconsistency, new false tricks against Luther, stubborn insistence on his error, secret correspondence with Krautwald and Schwenkfeld against Luther and the Wittenbergers, and his secret escape from Saxony.

697 Luther's report to Melancthon that Carlstadt had already been absent from the place assigned to him for several weeks and was perhaps looking for his nest elsewhere, adding that he should always move there because he could not be brought back to normal by any kind of good deed.

See Appendix, No. 121, § 1.

1) This is said with reference to Luther's writing "against the heavenly prophets".

698 Luther's report to Brenz on how Carlstadt, who until now had been carried in the fold, as it were, in the hope that he would get back on the right path, had become more and more hardened from day to day and still held to his opinion of Holy Communion.

See Appendix, No. 122.

699: "Luther's answer and refutation of some erroneous arguments which D. Carlstadt led against him to defend and maintain his false opinion of the Holy Sacrament. End of November 1527.

This writing is found in Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XX, 324.

700 Carlstadt's letter to the Silesians Krautwald and Schwenkfeld, in which he badly criticizes Luther's great confession of the Lord's Supper, also complains about his poverty and the poor mercy of the Wittenbergers, whether they already see and know that he must sell everything, and also reports that he has written a booklet about the Lutherans' disunity and wants to write another about their (the Sacramentarians') unity. May 17, 1528.

This letter is found in Latin in the German Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 277; in the German Jena edition (1566), vol. IV, p. 375d and in the Altenburg edition, vol. IV, p. 446; in German in the Leipzig edition, vol. XIX, p. 700 in a translation by I. I. Greif, which Walch has included. Because it is good on the whole, we have retained it.

Translated from Latin.

To the excellent and famous men and brothers,
Krautwald and Schwenkfeld, at their own hands.

Peace to you from God the Father through Jesus Christ. I have written many letters to you, famous men, and have dug them up in the hope that a messenger might be found who could deliver them properly. But since none came to me, I tore them up. Now, however, I come by chance to speak with the present brother, who says in conversation that he wants to take up his quarters with you. After I heard this, I asked him to be so kind as to take a small letter to you with him. And

he also promises. Accordingly, I wanted to tell you the course of our circumstances recently.

After I had taken much trouble, the Elector finally allowed me to exchange writings with Luther and to write my fill; Luther, however, had made this agreement with me beforehand. I presented him with an argument, namely that no man, except Christ, could offer the body of Christ for food. In this Luther agrees with me that Christ alone gives his body for food, but he denies the implication, namely, that others cannot give Christ's body for food. We have spoken of men. So now he admits that Christ alone gives his body for food; but this he wants to be proved, that other men cannot give it for food. 1) I do not know how to prove this. Praise be to God, who has given me sharp arrows; I do not doubt that the truth will have the victory. But, as it seems to me, Luther will chase me away again, or will make an effort that something more annoying will happen to me. I will write a booklet about the unity of all of us, if God wills it; I have already written about the disunity of the Lutherans. In a short time I will send you many Lutheran booklets, but I fear they will be without fruit and use. Because of you, I have been in great anxiety for the sake of the tyrant; I have been worried that the good Prince Frederick might suffer some harm.

3. I would like to visit you and discuss one thing and another with you; but I do not know what ours suspect, since they fear that I would turn to Silesia. Therefore, they want me to be here; but no one will be moved to mercy against me. I have to sell everything, beds, skirts, jugs and all my household goods. They know that, but no one has mercy on me; perhaps they would also like it if I and my children were to die of hunger.

Now about other things. There is a rumor that N. N. is willing to attack some bishops, and he would really have done so if he had not been restrained from doing so by the pleading of our Elector. Your N. is not the best of rumors here. Some say that he had in mind to destroy you 2) secretly; but it is said that he was

1) Compare "Luther's Answer and Refutation of Several Erroneous Arguments" 2c. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 339.

2) In Latin: "os, in the old translation: "you", as must also be read.

prevented from doing so by the Turk. He is said to be standing in Greek Weissenburg with a very large army. If you are well, it will be a pleasure for me, if not, I am sorry for you. If you can, I ask you to write to me; let me know (I am also concerned for you) about your condition, especially about the progress of the Gospel. I wish that your, indeed also my prince, is well. I have written in great haste and somewhat obscurely, for I do not know the messenger.

If it were in my power, I would have sent a messenger of my own to you long ago, primarily for the sake of the reason that people are saying strange things about the cruelty of the N. A messenger from Nickelsburg has been with me 2c. Doctor Martin's booklet, 1) which he has sent out against you and me, is full of forgetfulness of the benefits of God, full of ungodliness and blasphemies. As often as I look at it, bile rises up in my mouth. Among all, I am most enraged by the fact that he has written: In Holy Communion we drink the forgiveness of sins, from the cup. Oho! Be well in Christ JEsu. Given at Kemberg, May 17, 1528.

Andreas Carlstadt.

I send my heartfelt greetings to your provost and wish him all the best.

701 D. Carlstadt's letter to Chancellor Brück, in which he accuses Luther and defends his false opinion and error about the Sacrament. Kemberg, August 12, 1528.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol.IX, p.272; in the Jena edition (1566), vol.IV, p.367b; in the Altenburg edition, vol.IV, p.438; in the Leipzig edition, vol.XIX, p.692 and in the Erlangen correspondence, vol.VI, p.339. The original is in the Weimar archives.

1. respectable, high esteemed, great favored, beloved lord! E. Respectable are my quite willing services always ready beforehand. Kind sir! I hope I have favorable knowledge that the honorable and strict gentleman, Hans Metsch, Captain at Wittenberg, my decreed superiority, addressed me many times, and left me no peace, until I agreed to explain my reasons of the holy scripture, because of which I was divided by Doctor Martins in the article concerning the sacrament.

1) Luther's great confession of the Lord's Supper. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 894.

and how I do not want to put anything in before I have received my most gracious lord's permission and have been assured that no harm or damage will come to me from it, with the gracious promise that I will receive gracious and Christian instruction. For even though my most gracious lord has escorted me and given me a princely promise that I will not do anything wrong before I have been duly interrogated and, as is right and proper, overcome, as the princely grace will continue to guide me, and I might well have consoled myself in the above-mentioned article, but I know that their Electoral Grace would graciously allow me to live in their Electoral Grace's principality with this appendix, where I would sufficiently contradict my error.

2) Since from such a statement of my reasons it clearly follows that I have recanted with my miserable mouth, 2) but with my heart I have clung to the perfection of Christ's redemption, and must still cling to it, that is, that I do not believe that Christ is bodily in the bread, or bodily consumed, to make peace in the conscience of forgiven sins, or to forgive the sins, I hope E. A. will know that I am excused. A. will know me excused, if perhaps some are displeased that I desire my most gracious lord's gracious permission above all, or rather do not want to put in anything. After having obtained my gracious permission, I have divided my reasons into three parts: two parts of E.A. were given into your own hands at Torgau a year ago, kept quietly and secretly. That now to Wittenberg carried out, has happened without my will, as well as that Doctor Martini answer 3) before is written out, because it me behändet.

Now I have not behaved to E. A. in the next fast, as the Doctor Martin has taken great displeasure against me, as if I had inserted the thought book of the opinion to bring my most gracious lord's court to me 2c., that E. A. will well know my innocence without my excuse, also hope my most gracious lord will have excused me. I have also told Doctor Martin and Pomerano that the above-mentioned Mr. Hans Metsch, Captain, although I believe incited by them, forced me to do so at once 2c., and

2) In "Carlstadt's Declaration, How He Respects and Wants to Have Respected His Doctrine of the Reverend Sacrament and Others. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 312.

3) "Luther's Answer and Refutation of Several Erroneous Arguments, which D. Carlstadt Led Against Him" 2c. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 324. Compare the introduction to the 20th volume of our edition, p. 26.

I have satisfied them with the fact that I am in need of great help in the above-mentioned article. Then the doctor said: I should hand over to him one argument after the other with brevity. Thereupon I was fearful as a burnt child, and wanted to obtain my most gracious lord's other permission also before; which E. Achtbar 1) gave me in the next different fast, of which I thank him obligingly.

4 On this I have inserted a refutation and an argument: whether they bring humility or hopefulness, I put in my G.H. and E. A 2) cognition. In the other, I have thus humbly submitted and begged that I thought a hard stone should become soft and do me no harm if it fell on me. In the refutation this is my reason: After Doctor Martinus writes that Christ gave his body in the Lord's Supper as food, I put on it, and say: that not one word, not even one syllable is to be found in the Lord's Supper, from which it is clear what Doctor Martinus writes. If there were any, it would have to be the word *dedit* or *datur*: but none of them can.

For this reason, we must search for scriptures in which enough of this is written; I have shown the sixth chapter of John, from which I have decided that no man who is not the eternal, true and personal God can give the body of Christ as a food of salvation. About this I have shown a contradiction of his doctrine; from which one of his best reasons must sink, and other things, so dependent on the action, have been brought in. Thus Doctor Martinus has given me an answer that both teaches me and reviles me.

(6) As for the other, I have taken from this speech of Paul, 1 Cor. 11:26. "As often as ye eat the bread of the Lord, ye shall proclaim the death of the Lord until he come," an argument that Christ is not bodily with them that eat his bread for his memory's sake; may well say that I have armed and guarded such speech with so much scripture that he must be skillful, and truly know more than I, or perhaps more than a Christian should know; therefore I hoped he would use and prove his art.

007 For it is said, why a believer should not desire, neither can desire, that Christ should come to him bodily in the bread, or in the mouth, for the remission of his sins.

Sins, as Doctor Martinus now writes, namely, that one drinks forgiveness of sins when he bodily drinks the blood from the cup 2c., and has proved this with the saying of Paul: "The righteousness of faith speaks thus: Thou shalt not say in thine heart, Who ascends into heaven? for that is to bring Christ down. Thou shalt not say: Who shall go down into the deep? for that is bringing Christ back from the dead," Romans 10:6, 7.

8) It is reported that in the past I demanded Christ from heaven with words against this saying, and still demand them daily, and bring them here; I have also discovered my mind, as 3) I hear the repetition from the dead, and fortified it with writings in such a way that I considered it certain that Doctor Martinus would either give me something better from a higher cause, or become more favorable.

9 Because it is proved that Christ must give his body to death and die bodily, that he might take away our sin from our conscience and bring true peace and assurance of our salvation, that even today Christ with his body could not take away our sin without his bodily death. Sin is such a great and horrible thing in the sight of God that Christ also had to be cursed, just as He is cursed this time, since He took away our sin bodily and carried it, and redeemed us from the law through His body [Gal. 3, 13], that Christ also is a foolishness [1 Cor. 1, 23], a sin 2c. [2 Cor. 5:21.]: have proved all this with scriptures, and finally set it down that it is not possible to speak of the possibility of scripture, that he may bodily give his body for our sin, if he die not bodily; yea, that they cast Christ out of his name, out of his honor, nature, and essence, who speak otherwise of the body of Christ and forgiveness of our sins, that they also are blasphemers.

(10) I thought Doctor Martinus would think and feel that I needed a thorough instruction, because I put the reasons and articles of Christian faith to my mind. But he has let me read such an answer through the above-mentioned Herr Hauptmann: If Doctor Carlstadt makes from the *dedit*, and *donec veniet*, argument that we do not give or eat the body of Christ bodily, then also from these words, *Partes orationis* quot 4) 8nn? Argument to be made. This is the opinion of his answer. He also writes,

3) Erl. Briefw.: "where ... distinguished." Our reading is according to the Wittenberg.

4) Thus the Jena. Wittenberger: <Mock.

1) Erl. Briefw.: E. G. Achtbar.

2) Erl. Epistolary: "E.G."

that I take him and his part for great fools, or must be blind as a bat.

11 Truly, Mr. Chancellor, I have experienced what Uebermuth does, and, if God wills, no one shall testify to me with truth that I consider Luther and his followers to be fools. But that is true, if such arguments count for nothing, I am so blind as a bat that I do not understand a single letter. God willing, that my G. H. incumbent business could be discharged so much, that her C. F. G. with her own personal eyes would see our cause itself, which truly touches the highest honor of God and His Son JEsu Christ. Now may God our Lord grant that our Lord may have both our letters, Luther's and mine, recognized and judged by impartial, understanding, God-fearing people, if their C.F.G. is prevented from doing so himself. I could not experience anything better, nor do I know of anything on earth that would be more beneficial to his C.F.G.'s salvation and more useful in attaining an eternal name that would be dear and delicious in heaven and earth. I do not wish this because I have written it out, since I still have much to do and to put in.

But as he gave me an answer, so he does with the evangelists. For he writes that Matthew and Marcus write against each other; for this reason he wants to cast suspicion on the text of Marcus for falsity 1) and then scrape out the word biberunt and destroy it, because it is harmful in its teaching. If we allow this, good night has Scripture and God and faith. He probably puts it dubitatively, but one knows and sees what the scheme and figure dubitationiss means, because Luther leaves it at that, and has no other answer than that the word beaver is to be eradicated.

My Lord Chancellor, E. A. is concerned about hell or heaven as well as about me. Even if we do not respect God, he will not be denied or suppressed because of it. Behold, for God's sake, whether those write the contumacious speeches, one of which writes the commandment of a lord, and the other the obedience of his servants and performance of the commandment, when the execution and the commandment contend against each other. Why did Christ say [Luc. 12, 43]: "Blessed is the servant whom the Lord finds doing this" 2c. [V. 47. I:] "If a servant who knows his master's will and does not do it" 2c. Now Matthew writes the commandment of Christ, but Marcus writes the obedience of Christ's disciples. Matthew therefore [Cap.

26, 27.], "Drink ye all of it"; so Marcus [Cap. 14, 23.], "And drank ye all of it." Are these vile words, or senses? For my part, I can well prove that they are not contraries. For this and other articles, I also have more to put and write; but if I feared such a help from someone, I would have encountered it.

14 It is no less true when Doctor Martinus publicly prints, 2) that Christ was not broken on the cross. For Saint Paul, who writes [1 Cor. 11, 24]: "This is my body, which is broken for you," is a diligent copy of the prophet Isaiah, which testimony the Lord also gives after the Lord's Supper. But Isaiah writes twice, right in the chapter in which he prophesies of the suffering and death of Christ, that Christ was broken on the cross; once thus: "He is broken for our sins", *Attritus est propter scelera nostra*, Cap 53, 5. The other time thus [V. 10.]: "And God would break him in sickness", or God would break him in sickness; *Et Dominus voluit eum conterere infirmum*.

I have had to sell half of my Hebrew bibles, otherwise I would have shown more passages; but from the places now shown, it is obvious that D. Martinus suppresses the prophecy of Jesus of the death of Christ, and Christ himself. *Attritus et conterere, voces emphaticae sunt ejus, quod est fractum esse et frangere, quod tua clarissima prudentia multo me melius novit.*

(15) Then he shall know that Isaiah hath expressed the cause of the breaking, saying, And the LORD would make him sick, or break him in his sickness. *Dica* Hebrew means in German: he has broken; it is often described in the Psalms. But Luther leaves the sickness and makes a new breaking against the scriptures. For in the first place, according to his meaning, Christ had to be broken in the bread, as bread, if Christ was to be broken as bread. But that would be against this scripture [Ex. 12, 46. 4 Mos. 9, 12. Joh. 19, 36.]: "You do not break his leg", and D. Martinus would have to grant such breaking and pieces, and his synecdoche will not redeem him.

16 Secondly, he also says against the Scripture, that Christ was broken without suffering, against Isaiah, who says, "And the Lord would break him in sickness. What? If no heart and no spirit in the Psalms is broken without suffering, he takes the word shibar, or

1) Compare Luther's great Confession of the Lord's Supper, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, 1043, § 377.

2) 1. c. Col. 1066, § 436 s.

Dica, 1) both of which are at times in One Verse, and mean "to break" or the like; Pf. 34:19.: "GOD is near to broken hearts and broken spirits." The first has the nishbar; the other, the dica. As also this verse: Cor contritum et humiliatum. From which also to note that dica means a violent breaking, because shibar, and undoubtedly Isaiah the word dica not in vain, and Paul also not idly written, "broken for you." It does not brocket itself, however, as it would be useful to his opinion. This can be learned from the 143rd Psalm, v. 3, and 34, 19. 51, 19.

Thirdly, this is an undeniable 2) punishment of divine wisdom, if he says that Christ was not broken on the cross; for Isaiah says twice that Christ was broken on the cross; do not trouble yourself if you want to recognize this. Such pieces are found several in D. Martini books, which one can and must beat to the ground with legible writing. I have certainly presented Luther with good writings that would have admonished him to do better, for he is allowed to print that Christ was broken on the cross. But because he is now allowed to print what he wants, God also wants me to petition him with obvious writings and see that printing is as useful to him as reading out the matter; indeed, it would be a thousand times more honest for him to submit to the obedience of truth than for him to print (which no believer may print). 3) I would ever be unfaithful to God if I stood against the public testimony of Luther.

Heavenly Father, how gladly would I listen to Luther and all men, and comply, if your divine truth were not in my way! I believe that your holy witnesses have rightly and properly described the order of commerce and history, together with the speech of your Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; and behold, Doctor Martinus not only departs from the order in which he tells how and what Christ did with the bread and the cup, but also departs from the quality and natural simplicity of your speeches. What shall I do? From the story of the bread, Luther's contradiction comes to light, and is revealed as soon as Doctor Martinus says that the Lord took the bread and gave it, as the evangelists write. How Paul describes the unrighteousness of the Jews and the works of the time of Abrahah's faith.

1) xxx and xxx.

2) Wittenberger: unleachable; Jenaer: unleachable; Walch: unbelievable.

3) The words in brackets have been struck out again in the original.

Rom. 4, 3.], thus understands this contradiction whether the order in bread is reported and counted.

(19) If I go into the words of Christ and inquire why D. Martinus throws a soloecismum into the beard of Christ and his disciples, and accuses Christ that he or his evangelists say inconveniently: Hoc panis, or panis hoc, when he would like to repeat Christ and his evangelists without defect of construction, without figure, and with better reason, and say: Hoc corpus, then I truly do not find a reason, I cannot sufficiently wonder, that he confesses here either a defect in construction or figure, when he so grimly scolds the others on account of figures. He boasts of the quality and avoidance of all errors and figures, as if it were true that he accepts the word and speech by their natural quality and simplicity, and no one else.

20 Does he not see that St. Paul uses the tuto in the cup in eodem genere and does not make a soloecism? From this it can be seen that St. Paul could also interpret bread with the quality of speech and skillfully; as he does twice in the same chapter, v. 26: once there: "As often as you eat the bread," the other time down: "Which eateth the bread" 2c. There he writes not Duto or hoc panem, but Tuto or hunc panem; from which it follows that Paul does not point to the bread where he speaks, Tuto or hoc corpus meum; for he would have written ouros or the, as St. Paul did in the other two passages mentioned. If Doctor Martinus is so certain, he gives an example from the New Testament that the bread is shown with the tuto. But what seems strange to him? Is it not enough, if I give twenty examples, I will give a hundred each, and publicly prove that these pronouns ouros^ aoty; touto, and articulirten kio, kaoo, koo, tend to point to the and following nouns ^to]. With this I do not mean to deny, 4) that such also often point to the preceding nouns, but always conveniently and congrue, in the same case. For from the property of the pronoun we see where and to whom it points, as E. A. knows everything better than I do. For the sake of this demonstration, I have not even offered to give honest proof. If I were admitted, perhaps I would write that Luther does not suspect himself.

21 I know this when I point to the body of Christ and say, "This is the body that is for us.

4) In the old editions: "liegen". In the original: "leugen".

has been given, so that no man or angel has been able to punish me with lies. If I ask what body has been given to us, the Scriptures do not tell me any other than the natural body of Jesus Christ. What shall I do? If the articles of our faith protect and shield me in this interpretation, *hoc corpus*, and not in that, *hoc panis*, namely the article of the conception and birth of Christ, the article of the suffering and death of Christ, the article of our atonement and redemption, the articles of the works of God and of divine creation.

22 The old translation stands by my demonstration, for it thus represents: *Hoc corpus*, *hic sanguis*. Why *hoc* here, and *kiio* there? Because of the nouns *panis* and *calix*, which both precede each other? No, they are both *generis masculini*, therefore he looked at the following *nomina oorn8* and *sanguis*, and interpreted them. What Erasmus holds, and where the demonstration consecrates him to, is to be noted from this translation: *accepto poculo etc. Hic est enim sanguis meus*. Why not therefore: *Hoc est enim sanguis meus*? If the translation does not dispute, it nevertheless confesses its delusion, and testifies that it would much rather err with Carlstadt, and interpret rightly with truth, than have the doctor's glory.

The clause "which is given for you" is a final speech of our redemption, which recently comprehends the greatness of our sins and the full sufficiency of Christ's suffering, which also masterfully comprehends the divine and paternal love, together with the supreme obedience of Christ, also his love and grace, and holds all that this speech says [Luc. 24, 46. 47.]: "Christ had to suffer, and on the third day rise again, and repentance and forgiveness of sins be preached in his name." For it teaches true repentance and full salvation, how necessary, how useful, how good it is. And even though it has been a hundred times over laid out with divine teaching, it must still kneel down and lose its light and usefulness. We know that in all the arts it is forbidden, shameful and harmful to draw examples *non subjectae materiae*: how much more shameful is it in the holy Scriptures? What shall I do here, my Lord Chancellor? The scripture lays out such clauses in all the books of the apostles, and in one book many times. If I am to follow the Scriptures, then I remain of my own mind; if I am to accept Luther's teaching, then I must leave the Scriptures, as I will prove.

24) These words: "The bread we break, is it not a fellowship of the body?"

1 Cor. 10, 16, is Doctor Martinus' crown and firm foundation; yet he perverts word and sense, if he wants to build his delusion on it. For he says thus: The body is a fellowship of the bread, which Paul does not say; and continues to teach how the body is in the bread, and the bread partakes of the body, which all strives against the Scriptures now presented. For St. Paul says that the bread is a fellowship of the body of Christ; and not that the body of Christ is a fellowship of the bread. St. Paul also teaches who the body is. Namely, how many and how the body of Christ partakes of one loaf. As: if the body of Christ breaks and eats the bread of Christ, the bread is its fellowship, and thus the body of Christ partakes of one bread. This is so clear and public in Paul's text that a reader would like to be struck in the eyes: nor should I accept Luther's glosses against the bright day. Who will advise me to do so? From this you should realize that I am not to be mocked, ridiculed, scorned, despised, or to remain on my faith out of hatred and envy.

In the other part of Christ's supper, we have St. Mark's testimony as clear and bright as the sun at noon in the sky, that the disciples all drank from the cup before Christ began to say, "This is my blood. 2c. Doctor Martinus also confesses this, where the text has the word *biberunt*. Now he has it, and there is no copy that indicates otherwise. I have broken the supposed contradiction above with redemption.

26 I confess that Lucas [Cap. 22, 20] and Paul [1 Cor. 11, 25] call the cup a new testament; but that Matthew and Marcus call the cup the blood of Christ, I must not believe nor speak, because I find it not written. But because Lucas and Paul have called the cup a new testament in the blood or through the blood of Christ, we should not change their words, nor improve them, nor move them, but follow them straightway, and say in the same way as they do, that the cup is a new testament in the blood, for this is ever rightly and wisely said. But it follows that the cup would not be a new testament if it were not in the blood of Christ in some way. It also follows that the cup is not better still in the blood, because the new testament is in the blood. Whoever then understands how the new testament is in the blood, knows ready how the cup is in the blood. This scripture, "the cup a new testament in my blood" 2c., ever brings with it that the cup obtains the name of the new testament through the blood, and would not have it without blood. Since

But no one may speak otherwise if he wants to follow this Scripture, for the cup must be in the blood.

(27) If the true New Testament is not in itself bodily in the blood, nor does it pass bodily through it, as a man through water, or a knife through flesh, it is foolish for any man to forsake the manner of the Scriptures, and say that the cup is bodily in the blood, or that it passes through the blood. Nor do these words lead more firmly to such a sense than to this: The blood is bodily in the cup, or in the new testament. For this is a perverse and counterfeit scripture, contrary to this bright scripture: the cup a new testament in the blood.

(28) I do not teach Christ to speak as Luther teaches me, but I learn from the words of Christ how and what I should speak. I say that the cup is a new testament in the blood; no more nor better in the blood than the new testament. Now it is evident that the new testament signifies and reveals the blood of Christ with its power. But what blood? Paul writes the blood of the cross, Col. 1, 20. This is also the intention of the other evangelists. Lucas thus [Cap.22,20.]: "The cup the new testament in my blood, which is poured out for you." Matthew [Cap. 26,28.]: "This is the blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Marcus also says [Cap. 14,24.that the blood of Christ poured out for us is the blood of the new testament; of which St. Paul's teaching is rich and full. Accordingly, I must understand the cup also in the blood to be a new testament, that it is outwardly begotten of the same blood as the Scripture calls its witness. What wonder is it, since the anointing and bodily anointing is called a gospel in Luke [Cap. 14]. 1)

(29) Now there are two contumacious teachers: one is Christ; the other is Doctor Martinus. Christ says that the cup and the new testament are in his poured out blood; Luther, on the other hand, in the unpoured out. Christ says, in the blood the cup is a new testament; Luther: not in the blood, but the blood in the cup. What do I do? Which one do I follow? Give me advice. Shall I praise the word in my mouth, and by deed transgress and desolate, as Luther does? These are public contradictions: in the blood, not in the blood; in the cup, not in the cup. I see that Luther laughs at me and mocks me, because I contradict the simple words of Christ and say: the cup is in the blood a new one.

Testament. But is it unreasonable for me to love and guide and preserve the language of God?

30 Since E. A. see that I have the simple, loud and clear word of God, and Luther has not. Almighty God, how I would like to be of one mind and heart with Luther, if the Scriptures did not divide us! As this place Doctor Martini's ground and door shakes, and bends to fall, so it goes with the following words: "That for many, or for you, is poured out in remission of sins."

Effunditur must mean (if it does not want) confunditur, or bibitur. But I have drawn the difference between the blood of the old and new testament from this word, and proved it by scriptures; do not help me, there I am stuck, and shall and must rave, how strongly the scripture has taken me, and how none at all is set against it.

Then I must hear with what force this clause "poured out for us" must fall out of their meaning, which the evangelists put into two sections, Matthew and Marcus of the pouring out of the blood on the cross; Lucas and Paul of the blasphemous bodily pouring out of the blood over the table; 2) as if the evangelists were fooling with two masters' words, and whether Christ was divided, and Lucas said nothing of the pouring out, and Paul did not clearly say of the death of Christ.

Respectable chancellor! Doctor Martinus has promised me an answer, and not mocking words, dräuwort, Nachtrachtung. I am warned about five miles ago by a person who has been in the monastery 3) did not have to hear great joy at Wittenberg yesterday. Did I deserve that, I don't know. If he wants to hold me thus, then I am badly deceived. As I hear, he relies on the fact that he has a gracious master; but I do not want to be indignant about it, because I do not believe that your C.F.G. will let herself and her name be used for inequity. Thus, their C.F.G. have also promised me mercy, so that their C.F.G. will not let any punishment be inflicted on me before I have rightly, and how justly, overcome.

I have their C. F. G.'s gracious will and permission, on this and on my good, well-founded right and provable right I am also confident. I ever boast of the quality of words, more than any other. My foundation is not only based on the words of Christ and his holy evangelists, but also on the rules of the law.

2) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 1063, § 428 ff.

3) That is, in Luther's house.

1) It should read, "Marc. 14, 9."

of speeches, the simple and natural understanding of speeches; and where this is and stands, ordinary and well-founded interpretation of the holy Scriptures, item, the articles of our holy faith must follow. I lack, praise God, nothing, and may speak cheerfully and confidentially in this matter: Lord God, judge me according to my innocence; Lord God, you know my simplicity, before you is my righteousness.

34 I offer myself once again and unnecessarily to give a good, right, firm, upright account of my faith for the full proof of my mind. Do not doubt at all that my Lord will let me enjoy my rightful request and plea, first of all her C. F. G.'s gracious promise and approval, and if I ever have to leave C. F. G.'s lands again, show me mercy, grant me time and space, and also provide me with gracious and written leave, for which I humbly ask, so that I may seek services with his C. F. G.'s knowledge and grace. F. G.'s knowledge and grace, to provide for my poor children, of whom I have three, to turn mine into money, and to bring in what I have outstanding debts; I want to honor and spread praise, honor and praise to her C. F. G. everywhere out of Christian debt, duty and love.

If, however, their C. F. G. could tolerate and suffer me in this faith and confession in their principality, and would pardon me [with] town clerkship, with a service, or with a fair amount of food, I would gladly, especially, and faithfully serve their C. F. G. before all princes and lords, and thank their C. F. G. eternally. What their C. F. G. will consider good or advise me on, I will obediently accept. I wrote in haste and did not want to write this time, but left E. A., who is otherwise anxious, unburdened; but my concern drives me and makes me have to bother E. A. now.

36. asking E. A. for God's sake not to blame me, and if E. A. did not want to look at anything else, but to take heart in the bitter suffering of Jesus Christ, and to let me enjoy my refuge, to ask my Lord for the most merciful answer in view of the fact that I will be forced into such a matter immediately. H. that I receive the most gracious answer, in view of the fact that I will be forced into such a matter immediately. If the Almighty God helps me to get in, or to obtain something, I will thank E. A. with the work. But if I remain poor, I will ask the living and merciful God for E. A.'s health, long life and blessedness. I have left my G. H.'s letter open, so that E. A. can read it and what is too much or too little in E. A.'s letter. A.'s letter too much or too little,

I have written this because I was in a hurry or because I was clumsy. Eternally commanded to the living God. Date Kemberg, Wednesday after Laurentii [August 12], Anno 1528.

E. Respectable willing

Andreas Carlstadt.

Please for favorable response.

702: Luther's report to Chancellor Brück, in which he apologizes against Carlstadt's edition and at the same time warns against it. Sept. 24, 1528.

This letter is found immediately after the locations given in the previous number, as well as in De Wette, Vol. III, p. 378 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 54, p. 38. The original is in the Weimar Gesamt Archive.

To the eightable, highly esteemed Lord Gregorius Brück, the right Doctor, and Electoral Chancellor of Saxony, my favorable Lord, and friendly dear Godfather.

1. grace and peace in Christ. Respectable, dear sir, kind benefactor! I have received and read your writing along with Carlstadt's ramblings; I truly do not know what to say to such evil grasps, for whatever evil happens to him, or good remains, that must have been done by Luther.

At my most gracious lord's request, my instruction is this: that Doctor Carlstadt surrender to my most gracious lord and promise to be quiet, not to write anything, nor to dispute with anyone secretly, but to feed himself in silence. He has often repeated this to all of us, and has also been directed to remain in the country, and has kept it (at least publicly) so stubbornly until now that he has not wanted to change his mistake even with me, if he had the permission of my most gracious lord, as he has then obtained.

(3) For once I had mercy on him, and out of compassion offered him whether I could dissolve his arguments and set them right; which he accepted with thanksgiving, and the joy and hope of us all, but afterward returned, and would not do it until he had been given the opportunity.

He had M. G. H.'s will to do so; he wanted to keep the escort so cat-clean. But I do not have a copy of the answer given to him by Spalatino three years ago.

But so that you may see how false the man is, I hereby send you a copy of the answer, 1) which I gave him to his argument, that he shows me to be quite unreasonable that I did not answer him. It is true, since he brought up such loose theiding, I got tired of it. And, however, it happened that I came across a letter he had sent to Schlesing 2) from which I realized that he took my good will and mercy for a mockery. Sint the time my heart fell from him.

Then I went and wrote to our captain, 3) he should tell Doctor Carlstadt: I wanted to have nothing more to do with him. For if he considered *dedit* or *äoneo veniat* to be an argument, he might also consider *partes orationis* *quot sunt?* and the like to be an argument. He was so annoyed by this that he wanted to disparage me against M. G. H., when M. G. H. had given me no order to act with him in this, but my mercy drove me.

I hereby send you the same letter as a sign, from which you will see how well he kept his escort and what a virtue his humility was. However, I kindly ask you to send the letter back to me in good condition, if it would be necessary to meet the devil with it. So far, I have kept it all for him. What should he do when he is away from us, if he does this in our castle? A booklet went out a year ago without any names, which were his, and I could not deny it when I held it up to him, but I knew it. But he made me the nose, he would have written and left them outside, and would be brought by others in print 2c. I had to let it be so; and still today leaves much to him secretly, and yet is pure.

7 Because he is now caught in public lies, I want to be seen by my Lord and trust him no more. For it would be a ride for my G. H. a ride, as well as all of us, if he acts so maliciously against us and writes books. For who would believe that without my Lord's will and our knowledge Carlstadt would be with us, and yet his books would fly out, as I have persuaded him so harshly at that time? But if he should come from your country, he would cause great trouble, and would perhaps be laid at the door of my gracious lord, as he might have done with good grace, and have kept the man safe; as was also the case with Münzer, which example almost moved me.

But I don't know how he should be treated. Some think that M. G. Herr should dare as much bread on him and hold him as the ostrich 4) was held in Weimar. My opinion would be that my G. H. indicated in reply that he had presented me falsely and did not want to be rebuked; therefore, S. C. F. G. caused to take him again into the previous silence and vow and not to let him leave the country, 5) until further grace 2c. How one can do this with serious words; for the man is so despondent against your seriousness that I worry that if he is taken in like this, he will perhaps despair. We are well burdened with him, and it serves me right that I have invited the devil as my guest and invited him into the country.

9 I want to have reported this out of duty, so that M. G. H. knows to beware. For so far we have not been able to get anything, so great a pretense did he put on, so much evil deceit was apparent. But now he betrays himself, and perhaps God warns us so graciously, the devil is not to be despised, for he can make a fire out of a spark, as he has often done,

4) About D. Jacob Strauß., Preacher at Eisenach, compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 47 f.

5) Towards the end of 1528, Carlstadt escaped from Saxony. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 27.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 324.

2) to Silesia to Krautwald and Schwenkfeld, No. 700 in this volume.

3) Hans Metsch at Wittenberg.

I had hoped that E. A. W. would have come here, so we would have continued to talk about it verbally; but this time it is enough. For the bottom line is that Doctor Carlstadt thinks we are all fools, and yet he is the most humble student before our eyes. Well then, let us be fools

in Christo, Amen. Hiemit GOtt befohlen in seine Gnade und Stärke, Amen. Thursday after St. Matthew's [September 24] 1528.

E. A. W.
willing

Martinus Luther.

Section Six of Chapter Eight.

Of other, in part from Carlstadt's evil example originated ravings, errors, impetuous preachers and such aergermissen, all of which Luther has bravely resisted.

From the impetuous Predign at Oelsnitz, and others who had spread erroneous teachings.

Luther's testimony of his annoyance at such preachers who cause trouble with uncouth words and manners.

See Luther's preface on Joh. Apel's Schutzfchrtft in the 14th volume of this collection, Col. 260 f.

Luther expresses his displeasure with Spalatin that the Weimar court preacher Wolfgang Stein married an elderly woman for the sake of mammon, which is a disgrace to the Gospel.

See Appendix, No. 123.

705: Luther's letter to the Oelsnitz City Council on account of their impetuous preacher, in which he asks for God's sake to turn the people away from him and to prevent the mob from using force. Dec. 4, 1523.

This letter is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 277; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 366; in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 492; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 438 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 222.

To the honorable and wise council and the community of Oelsnitz, my special dear gentlemen and friends.

1. grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, dear sirs and good friends! It is

Come before me as a preacher 1) is with you, who undertakes to preach the gospel, but leads the people to it, or ever does not resist them, so that they refrain from doing it by force.

2 Now this is forbidden by Christ, that his preachers should be protected by human help, but stand freely under God's trust alone, as he says Matth. 5, 39: "You shall not resist evil. But flee from one city to another. For even if I had wanted to take comfort in the power of princes or lords, I would have long since made a different play, but not a good one.

For this reason, I kindly ask you, for God's sake, to turn away your people from such things. For it brings great dishonor to the holy gospel and to all of us, which unfortunately is all too great before, through much loose, careless preaching by boys.

4) One should preach and carry the cross, not teach and seek protection and shelter. But where the preacher will not let himself be guided, we must call upon God's hand with prayer, which would be very difficult for him to carry, for it is terrible to fall into God's hand, Hebr. 10, 31. Hereby commanded by God. On Friday Barbarä [Dec. 4] 1523 at Wittemberg. Martinus Luther, D.

1) This preacher was, as Seckendorf nist. l'utti., lid. I, x. 282, K160, äää.1. reports, Wolfgang Crusius.

706 Luther's letter to Michael von der Straßen concerning the preacher at Oelsnitz im Voigtlande, Wolfgang Crusius, who rejected confession and absolution, as well as papal law and the mass without communion, in very harsh terms. October 16, 1523.

This letter is first printed from a copy in the Weimar Archives in the Supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 34; then in Walch; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 422 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 218.

To the honorable and firm Michael von der Straßen, escort at Borna, my especially favorable lord and friend.

Grace and peace in Christ. These articles are much more valid, namely those about forced confession and mass are about money. But you have well heard my opinion in the booklet on confession and mass: that confession is good when it is uncoerced and free, and mass is not sacrifice, nor good works, but only a testament and God's good deed 2c. But this preacher lacks that he starts too high, and throws away the old shoes before he has new ones, and wants to put the must into old barrels; that is not fine. He should teach the people neatly about faith and love; this teaching would be time enough for a year, if they understood Christ well beforehand. What is it that one attacks the ignorant people so quickly? I have preached in Wittenberg for three years before I brought it to the people, and they want to do it in one hour. We are sorry enough for them, such honor-seekers. For this reason, I ask you to tell the Oelsnitz governor that he should order the preacher to start cleanly and preach Christ correctly for the time being, or leave his raving and go away; but especially that he should leave confession unpunished and unpunished with absolution, and not mix the parish office with monastery and cathedral work. I can see that [he] is an immodest head who has seen a smoke, but does not know where it burns, and has heard ringing, but not beating. Hiemit GOtt commanded. Your gift, if it comes, we will not refuse and thank you kindly. Greetings to your dear Ribben. God's grace with you. Amen. I think that this writing is enough also for the

Schösser zu Oelsnitz, because I am overwhelmed with letters. I will gladly be at the will of his son, where he needs me and I can. At Wittenberg, on Friday Galli [16 October] 1523 . Luther.

707 Luther's letter to the Elector John of Saxony in the matter of Hans Mohr, a soldier at Coburg, who had denied the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. January 16, 1528.

The original of this letter is in the Weimar Archives, printed from it in the Supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 49; in De Wette, Vol. III, p.256 and in the Erlangen edition, Vol. 53, p. 416. All editions have the wrong date: "January 9", because it has been overlooked, which Burkhardt, p. 126, states, that the date of the original reads: "Dornstag nachtriura reZuin."

To the most illustrious, highborn Prince and Lord, Duke of Saxony and Elector, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, my most gracious Lord.

Grace and peace in Christ. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! On the matter of Hans Mohr at Coburg, on account of the Zwinglian opinion, I give E. C. F. G. my humble opinion. First, because the same Hans Mohr has no command to speak of such matters publicly, and yet is annoying to others, since he is not required or urged by anyone to confess his faith, he should refrain from speaking of it among the simple until he is urged to do so. Secondly, because he is not certain of the matter, nor can he be certain, he should not speak of it to anyone, whether learned or unlearned, in the opinion that he wants to consider it certain, even according to divine right, 1 Pet. 3, but to the preacher (where he does not want to remain silent) and the pastor; 1) there first hear and ask that they first hear his cause and reason, and then act with him in a Christian way. Thirdly, because he blasphemes our faith with a public lie, since he says that we make the Creator out of the creature, he shall thereby justly deserve eternal silence, as the

1) There is no punctuation mark here in the outputs.

thus sufficiently indicating that he understands neither our faith nor his own, and out of sheer wilful ignorance wants to atone for his lust and blasphemy, and incite the poor rabble to the same lie and blasphemy. For we do not say that the creature is made the Creator when we say that Christ's body is in the Lord's Supper or the bread. He does not want to know that we do not make the bread and the body one being and nature, but only that the bread and the body are there at the same time; just as all blasphemers blaspheme. And even if one were to say that the creature became the Creator (as we do not do in this article), it would still not be all wrong, for we all believe and say that God is man and man is God in Christ, since man is the creature and God the Creator. Therefore, such speech is not so abominable among Christians as they blaspheme, and thus want to make it false that God is man. Therefore, such lies and blasphemies should be cause enough for his mouth to be controlled, as it is to be assumed that he prefers to deal with lies and blasphemies than with the truth. I order E. C. F. G. to judge this humbly. 1) Hereby commanded by God. Amen. Thursday after the Octave Trium Regum [16 Jan] 1528.

E. C. F. G.
subservient
Martinus Luther.

708: Luther's letter to the escort at Borna, Michael von der Straßen, against the rebellious preacher at Oelsnitz.

December 5, 1523.

This letter is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 177; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 366; in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 492; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 439 and in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 223.

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, dear Lord and friend! I have received and heard your writing together with the enclosed letter, and it is my counsel that my

1) Seckendorf, nist. lmtk., lib. II, x.124,? 43 (2), reports: After receiving this answer from Luther, this soldier's appointment was taken away, and he was dismissed, since he could not be reformed and silenced.

The most gracious Lord should do this by force and either expel the preacher at Oelsnitz or force him to talk the people out of such clumsy things and revoke them. For such preaching is neither evangelical nor human, but certainly of the devil. And because they do this with their fists, it is not enough to act against them with words, but to fight the fist with a fist. Let one or six be taken by the neck and thrown into the hole, and the devil will change his attitude. I have already written a letter to the council and congregation there. Hereby commanded by God, on Saturday, in Vigilia Nicolai [December 5] Anno 1523.

Martinus Luther.

B. How D. Strauss at Eisenach and Wolfgang Stein at Weimar have abolished imperial and papal law and want to reintroduce the Mosaic laws.

709 Luther's objection, written at the request of Duke John Frederick on June 18, 1524, to the controversy raised by V. Jakob Strauß as to whether one should judge according to the laws of Moses or those of the Emperor.

This concern, which is fragmented in Walch (namely the first part is found in vol. X, 402; the second part in vol. XXI, 70) is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. X, 354 ff. It is to be dated June 18, 1524. In the previous editions, the wrong date is: "May 21." Likewise, the wrong address: "An den Churfürsten Friedrich." According to Burkhardt, p. 71, the following corrections should be made in the text: Col. 356, line 2 v. u. read: "ob's" instead of: als; id. Z. I v. u. read: "GOtt" instead of: gar; Col. 357, Z. 7 v. u. read: "und lass da sehen".

710 Duke John Frederick of Saxony's answer to D. Matt. Luther, in which he testifies to great joy over the explanation he has received and the insight he has gained into this controversial question, adding that he hopes to win back his father, the Elector, whom Wolfgang Stein had completely taken over; he also wishes that Luther would hold a church visitation and remove unfit preachers with the help of the authorities.

This letter is found in Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 352.

Two imperial congresses held at Nuremberg in the years 1522 to 1524, and the consequences of the latter in particular.

Since the documents in this chapter are rather colorfully jumbled, we give the reader here for his orientation a short historical message about the Imperial Diet held in Nuremberg in the years 1522 to 1524. The first one was announced by Emperor Carl V on February 12, 1522, for March 23 (No. 711), and lasted until May 8, as can be seen from the Reichstag resolution No. 734. In this very convention it was decreed that a new Diet should be opened on September 1, 1522. The first Reichstag dealt almost exclusively with the imminent danger of the Turks and how to avert it; Luther is not even mentioned in the Reichstag resolution. The second Reichstag lasted until March 6, 1523, and was ended on that day by the imperial mandate No. 731 instead of a Reichstag conclusion. The third Reichstag was announced for the beginning of December 1523, but opened only on January 14, 1524, and ended on April 18, 1524, by the Imperial Mandate No. 741. Here it is actually only about the last two imperial assemblies.

First Section.

Of the former Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, which began in the fall of 1522 and continued until March 6, 1523.

From the imperial tender of this Reichstag.

711 Emperor Carl V's invitation to the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg, addressed to Michael Freiherr von Wolkenstein. Nuremberg, February 12, 1522.

From Lünig's first part of the "xieil. " seul., x. 1545.

Charles by the Grace of God elected Rome. Emperor at all times Merer of the Empire in Germania to Hispania, baider Sicilien, of Jerusalem 2c. King Ertzhertzog zu Oesterreich. Noble dear faithful, after we have reported, how then the undoubted truth and history also indicates, that the villainous and frightening enemy of Christianity, the tyrant, recently entered the Christian kingdom of Hungary with great earnestness and great march, there, according to his brutal way and use, he shed a lot of Christian blood, also committed other inhuman cruelty, destroyed several castles and fortresses in no small number and thus almost the strongest pass in the world.

The king has conquered Hungaria with many villages, hamlets and territories in a costly and serious manner, and has in part destroyed and destroyed them, and has also occupied some of them for his own benefit, and has provided them 1) with guns and other equipment, which is also to remain unconquered, but (as if he had the power of the army) to be in power and to be in control, to go back to Hungary in the near future, to gain the remaining part there, and to fight against the attacking Christians as well as against the Lower Austrian Bavarians and other lands, and to make the Christians' care even more burdensome, He has betrayed his sister to the great Tartar, for which reason it can be safely assumed that he will move on Poland and also corruptly damage the Christian kingdom there, and as such an insatiable tyrant will unscrupulously seek the Christian blood everywhere, so that, if he were allowed to do so, and if he were not given timely advice, necessary serious help, counter-attack and salvation, that he might quickly take his tyrannical power and gain the greater part of the Christianity, destroy it and finally exterminate the same Christians, he would not be able to do so.

1) "gespisiet" - verpallisadirt.

and to the most demanding of the German nation to small and irreparable trouble and disadvantage, and because the frightening intercession and the great importance of the matter demand from many well-timed deliberation, together with strong help, serious and wise education, most earnestly, which then, without a proper imperial assembly, the emergency meeting cannot be held, decided upon, or carried out in a proper or fruitful manner, so for this reason, and therefore because of the unavoidable emergency, we, together with our governors, princes, sovereigns, and councillors, of our Imperial Regiment in the Holy Roman Empire, have convened an Imperial Diet on the Sunday of Oculi [March 23] in the Basilica of the Holy Roman Empire. March] in the Basten negstkhombenden in our and the holy. We herewith bind you and sincerely request you, by the duties with which you are bound to Us and the Empire, to personally submit to such Imperial Day and to appear there at Nuremberg at the earliest possible time, together with and in addition to the above-mentioned regiment and other sentries of the Empire, which we have described in the same white on the aforementioned day, In the above-mentioned matters, for the meeting, dismissal and prevention of the Tyrckian complaints, and in other matters concerning the realm, you will advise, act, decide and execute, and you will not fail to do so, nor will you refuse or delay on the part of others, and you will do so entirely in accordance with the above-mentioned order, even as a Christian citizen and according to the realm's wishes, Our sincere opinion, for if you remain outside of it, thus giving cause for the obstruction of the serious and high duty, then we want to excuse ourselves from the Almighty and hereby only bezaigt and the other obedient, that such by us or our Vleiß not confessed, especially you, what such the disobedience and remaining outside of menige suspicion and otherwise may bring with it, have hereby graciously warned and reprimanded you, and in view of the fact that the present intention and the planning of the attack have been reported and then the action, rescue and counteraction, which otherwise, according to the occasion and against the attack, must be taken, ordered and carried out properly, effectively and finally, between now and the beginning of the month of May, must be taken, ordered and carried out negatively.

1) Köstlin, "Martin Luther" (3), Vol. I, p. 624, gives "March 26" as the day on which this Reichstag was announced.

2) "sover" - provided.

have not been allowed to continue or extend the above-mentioned day any further or longer. Given in our and the imperial city of Nuremberg on the twelfth day of February after the birth of Christ, five hundred and fifteen, and in the twelfth and twentieth year, of our Roman Empire in the third year, and of all the others in the sixth year.

Inscriptio.

To the noble our and the empire's dear faithful,
Wilhelm, Freyherm zu Wolckenstein.

B. What the Emperor has sent to the Imperial Estates and to the Pope himself in response to their request for the Annals.

712 Emperor Carl V's answer to the concerns of Count Palatine Frederick, Imperial Majesty's governor, and the imperial estates assembled at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg, concerning the Annals. 1522.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 158; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 1585; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 222 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 320. In the Jena edition it is under the year 1522.

1. that you, and others, the secular princes, princes and estates, who were assembled at the aforementioned Imperial Diet held at Nuremberg, have considered that the annals, which the archbishops, bishops and prelates of papal holiness gave to Rome, were initially permitted and approved to be given to Rome for good honorable reasons, and especially to resist the Turk 2c., and because the Turk of this time is breaking out in many places and causing great damage to Christendom, there are good reasons to keep the annals in Germany and to use them for the maintenance of peace and justice in the Holy Empire.

2) Likewise, the pensions which now fall from German lands to Rome, and also that of all high and low monasteries the tenth penny of all their income, for four years, but still at the least a benefice, the next one, which is settled by the death of a person, of each monastery, is sufficient and used for such maintenance. And further, that all monasteries, such parish priests, chaplains, and other common priests, who are not in monasteries, would be assessed a considerable sum. And also that each of the mendicant monasteries shall give five guilders annually. As

For all this is understood in your and the other imperial states' instructions and articles, more broadly and more clearly.

3. we add to your love, and to you others, to hear graciously that such articles would not be almost repugnant to us, in so far as they may be obtained and raised by papal sanctity. We therefore write to our holy father, the pope, requesting his holiness to grant such annotations and other articles, so that peace and justice may be maintained in the holy realm and the Turks may be resisted all the more valiantly. As you will hear all this from our letter, which we are sending you together with copies of it.

We also write our message to papal holiness, 1) so that it may also promote such matter and action, and E. L. and you others may then hand over such letter to papal holiness and our message, and let the matter be pursued as you will see fit. L. and you others may thereupon hand over such letter to Papal Holiness and our message, and, as it will seem good to you, have the matter pursued further.

713 Emperor Carl V's letter to Pope Hadrian VI, dated October 31, 1522, at Valladolid, in which he informs the pope of the request made by the imperial estates and asks him to take it into consideration, adding that a tax was needed to subdue the Lutherans with the sword.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 158d; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 159; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 222; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 320.

Carl von GÖttes Gnaden, elected Roman Emperor.

Most holy Father, most venerable Lord! Although your Holiness' kindness to us and fatherly love are so great, and our reverence and esteem for your Holiness so marked that they could not be greater, yet all the peoples who are subject to our authority before respect the same 2) your Holiness' kindness even greater, even so great that they consider it that we may ask nothing in vain from Your Holiness, so that Your Holiness will gladly grant us everything we ask for. Which also

makes us ask for things freely and confidentially from H.H., which we otherwise would not be allowed to ask for without shame, before, because they are such things, which are conceived for the sake of common salvation and peace, and are asked by us.

2. Because in recent months in our imperial city of Nuremberg all the estates of the Holy Roman Empire came together for the protection and salvation of the Empire in Hungary, and the princes, other princes and secular estates noted, among other things, that the German lands had become so poor and incapable that they were not only able to act honestly against the Turks, but also that there was not so much wealth and property of the Holy Roman Empire, not only to act and execute something honest against the most ferocious enemies of the Christian faith, the Turks, but also that they do not have so much wealth and property of the Holy Roman Empire that they would be able to protect and maintain justice and peace, and also to punish the evil deeds and unpleasant injustices of the evil-doers, if they were not also endowed by H. H. with clemency, paternalism, and the power of the Holy Roman Empire. H.'s clemency, paternal favor and help.

3 And among other things, report how their new bishops have been in the habit of giving annuities from the beginning, and especially for this reason, that with such money the enemies of the Christian faith should be driven out. Since the Turks had already conquered a large part of Hungary and were now seeking German lands, it would be fair that such annuities be kept in German lands and be used for such purposes.

(4) Further, because there is nothing more holy among men, nor more pleasing to God, than the honor of justice and equity, therefore they would have considered it neither displeasing to God, nor ungodly in some ways, that the things which are consecrated and sanctified for the honor of the divine majesty alone, to preserve peace and justice, should be so applied.

5 Following they desired, were also of the hope, it should be obtained by our intercession of your holiness:

6. first, that all pension and interest, which are given from the German fiefs and benefices of your Holiness Court and the Romanists, be kept henceforth in German lands.

Item 7: That all high and low monastery churches should annually tithe their income, or at least the income of the 3) next settled prebend, as forfeited and continuously unpaid, should be added.

1) This seems to us to indicate that this writing will have to be set at the same time as the following number.

2) Jenaer: dieselben; Wittenberger: dieselb.

3) So the Jenaer. Wittenbergers: "des".

Because German lands are also full of very rich monasteries, a tax should also be imposed on them. Likewise, that the other priestly estates, each according to his wealth, give something to it. Item, that each mendicant monastery shall annually contribute five guilders.

(9) And that all such income should be used to resist the Turks, and to confirm and dedicate justice and peace in German lands and in the Holy Roman Empire, and to nothing else. And that your Holiness will grant and graciously permit all this for four years.

10. When we diligently note that the Turks, the eternal enemies of the Christian community, have won the most solid oers, and almost the keys of the Hungarians, and are now most eager for German lands alone; Also that the income of the holy empire and customs, due to the indulgence and leniency of our ancestors to make the clergy rich, are so much diminished and torn, that not only is it impossible to resist the Turks, but also law and peace cannot be maintained for a longer time, if they are not helped with these and other tributes, which they want to impose on themselves, by your holiness's leniency and most gracious disposition.

They also indicate to us that the harmful Lutheran sect, which we have not refrained from dampening and eradicating, has taken hold of the minds of so many Germans as a deadly poison, so that we fear that the Christian community will also be burned there, if justice is not strengthened and fortified by this tax, so that one day the followers of this poisoned doctrine may be punished with the sword.

(12) To which cause we know many Germans to be inclined and willing, and before those who are the noblest, to maintain the peace and power of the common Roman church.

For this reason, we ask your Holiness most earnestly that she, with her divine mind and most gracious eyes, so that she may be respected for having enlightened Christendom, may graciously look upon all this; and set before her eyes the hostile paniers and almost insurmountable armies of the Turks, as well as the fire of the Lutheran doctrine, which has taken over the minds of all the wicked. Likewise our absence from German lands, and that the present flames of such great evils and troubles may be quenched by nothing else than the eternal fountain of your holiness, kindness and clemency.

14) And Your Holiness deigns 1) all this to grant and abate four years to us, the Holy Roman Empire, and the German Nation, which has always been well behaved against the Roman See, so many and so great evils and troubles.

15. And if Your Holiness will give the nation, which is invincible in wars, desired assistance, as we hope to do, to tame the Turks, in the greatest empire of Christendom, and establish in the nation, which is otherwise restless, 2) honor of justice and peace, it will make innumerable, and the most illustrious princes accidental and favorable to it, also to the other Germans, who now, seduced by the Lutheran heresy, who, seduced by the Lutheran heresy, have been thought to be somewhat opposed to the Roman See, will be lured and moved by this most mild and paternal benefit of Your Holiness, who will offer and promise all that they can do with diligence, work and reverence, all that they can do with faithfulness and understanding, all that they can do with wealth and power, and all that they can do to protect your blessedness and the dignity and power of the Holy Papal See.

(16) How your Holiness will hear all this from our deputy, the noble Lord John Emmanuel, Duke of Sesse, for a long time. And we desire that your holiness be healthy, and blessedly preside over the holy Roman and the whole common Christian church for a long time. Given in our city of Vallis Oleti [Valladolid], on the last day of October, Anno Domini 1522, of the Roman Empire in the fourth 2c.

Carl, by favor of divine goodness, elected Roman Emperor, always the ruler of the Empire.

714 Emperor Carl V and the commonwealth of the Holy Roman Empire complain against the encroachments of the Roman Pontiff and his court. Valladolid, October 31, 1522.

From Goldast's oonstitut. iinpsrial, torn. I, p. 442. This number is nothing other than another translation of what is given in No. 713. The title given there corresponds better to the content than the one given here.

Translated from Latin by M. A. Tittel,

1) "geruhe" put by us according to the following relation instead of "gern" in the editions, which is probably read from "gerue".

2) Here, in order to make sense, we thought we had to change the text according to the following relation. The old editions offer: "and otherwise the restless honor" 2c.

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Carl V, Roman Emperor (all time Mehrer 2c. offers)
Hadrian VI, Roman Pontiff (his greeting).

Most Holy Father, Most Reverend Lord! Although your Holiness' benevolence and fatherly love towards us, as well as our veneration and respect for him, is so great that it cannot be greater, all of us, and especially our subjects and peoples, consider it to be even greater, in such a way that they firmly believe that we can ask nothing of H.H. in vain, but that his Holiness would gladly be at our beck and call in all matters. Therefore, what we would otherwise ask only timidly and doubtfully, we ask everything from H.H. quite freely and confidently, especially if it is something that is for the common good, and thus seems to be desirable from us.

2. Since all the estates of the Holy Roman Empire met last month in our imperial city of Nuremberg for the protection and defense of the Kingdom of Hungary, and the princes, princes and other secular estates found, among other things, that Germany had fallen into such poverty and destitution, that they not only do nothing right against the arch-enemies of Christendom, but also can hardly muster so much in the Holy Roman Empire to administer and protect law and peace, and to keep ungodly, sacrilegious people's knavery and insolent damage in check, if they are not granted clemency and paternal favor by Your Holiness.

It was also thought that the annuities, which the new bishops are accustomed to pay to the Roman pope, were granted primarily so that the enemies of Christianity would be kept away by such money; but now the Turks have taken a good part of Lower Hungary, and are also snatching at Germany, and it is therefore reasonable that such annuities be retained in Germany and used for such purposes there.

Furthermore, nothing was more holy and pleasing to God than the practice of justice and equity, for which reason they were of the opinion that it could not be contrary to God, nor be called ungodly 1) if that which had been dedicated and sanctified for the honor of divine majesty, to preserve justice and equity, also common peace, was partly applied; therefore they also demanded and hoped to obtain through our intercession with your holiness, first of all, that the pleasures (interest,

Pensiones), which are paid to Your Holiness and the Roman Court by the ecclesiastical priesthoods in Germany, would henceforth be retained in Germany. Likewise, that every higher or lower monastery church be taxed annually the tithe of its income, or else the income of the first prebend to become vacant in the future, as a dead and always vacant position, be retained, and the richest monasteries, of which Germany is full, likewise be taxed according to each one's fortune; and also that each monastery of mendicants should pay five florins interest annually; and that such income should be used entirely to ward off the invasion of the Turks and to maintain law and peace in Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, but that it should not be used for anything else. Holiness to allow and graciously grant the above-mentioned things for four years.

5. As well as considering that the constant enemies of Christendom, the Turks, have conquered the most distinguished fortresses and ramparts in Hungary and are now striving almost alone for Germany; and that the revenues and customs of the Holy Roman Empire, through the forbearance and tolerance of our forefathers, the leniency and benevolence of our forefathers, and the enrichment of the ecclesiastical class, have been so degraded and torn apart that neither the Turks can be resisted, nor can common peace and justice continue to be maintained in Germany, if by such and other taxes, which the estates of the Empire will moreover willingly impose upon themselves, the leniency and benevolence of your Holiness does not give them a hand.

6. it also comes to our minds that the godless sect of the Lutherans, which we have taken all pains to eliminate, has crept into so many German minds as a harmful poison, and has taken such hold that we also fear a devouring fire in Christendom from it, if the right were not strengthened and supported by reported taxes in such a way that one could finally take sharp action against the followers of such a poisonous sect. To which we see many German minds, and especially those who are of the noblest and most honest class, quite inclined and eager.

(7) So we implore Your Holiness most earnestly that, according to your divine mind and blessed eyes, so that they may shine upon Christendom, they may consider all this most graciously, the Turks' flying flags and almost insurmountable armies, plus the fire of Luther's harmful teaching, which has taken over the hearts of most of the wicked, as well as our absence from Germany; likewise.

1) Here Goldast offers imprium instead of Impium.

that such flames of evil can be extinguished by no other than your Holiness' inexhaustible source of kindness and clemency, and that the above-mentioned request be graciously granted and allowed to us, as well as to the Holy Roman Empire and the German nation, which has otherwise always been well deserving of the Holy Apostolic See, for the prevention or control of such great evils, for four years.

8. If your Holiness will be pleased to grant this, it will give the otherwise brave people the desired assistance in restraining the Turkish wrath and cruelty, and help to establish justice and righteousness, along with common peace, among the most prominent people of Christendom and the otherwise turbulent empire, and unite with a single act of benevolence a group of illustrious princes, as well as the other Germans, who, through the Lutheran sect, seem to have turned away somewhat from this Holy See and to be disinclined toward it, a fine opportunity, if they are enticed by this most mild and paternal benefaction of Your Holiness, to henceforth offer and promise all honor, love and esteem, also loyalty and zeal, yes, everything they can devise and accomplish, for the honor and prestige of Your Holiness and of the Holy Apostolic See. As all this Your Holiness will hear from our envoy, and Mr. John Emmanuel, Duke of Sesse (Sesse), with more. With which we entrust Your Holiness to the divine care, and wish her to preside happily for a long time over the holy Roman and universal Church. Given in our city of Valladolid, Oct. 31, 1522, of our kingdom, the Roman in the fourth 2c.

Carl von GÖttes Gnaden gewählter Röm.
Kaiser, allzeit Mehrer 2c.

6) How the pope tried to make the Chursachsen fearful by sending them hard brevia, which, however, the Elector did not turn at all, but rather showed his displeasure about it.

715 Pope Hadrian VI's letter to Elector Frederick of Saxony, concerning the religious matter at the Diet of Nuremberg, dated Oct. 5, 1522, in which he admonishes him to defend at the present Diet of Nuremberg the dignity and majesty of the Apostolic See and the

The aim was to help protect and manage the tranquil state of all Christianity, as his ancestors did, to abandon Luther and his followers, and to return to the Roman Church.

This writing is found in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, fol. 351b; in the Jena (1566), tova. II, fol. 536 b; and in the Erlangen, opp. v. ur^h, tom. VI, x. 459; German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 157b; in the Jenaer (1585), vol. II, p. 158; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 370 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 369.

Adrianus, Pope VI.

Beloved Son, Hail and Apostolic Blessing. Having recently heard of the great and glorious gathering of the princes of the German nation to be held shortly in Nuremberg, we are greatly pleased, but even more so since we have heard that you, noble Lord, will also be coming there. For since so many Christian princes, but especially you, will be gathered there in the Lord, it is to be hoped that there will be acted upon for the common benefit, salvation and welfare of the Christian faith, or, above all, by what means and ways so much evil that has arisen in Christendom may be met and helped.

Therefore, so that we do not omit anything that is due to our pastoral office, to request and remember at such a meeting, we have decided, with the advice of the venerable of our brothers, the holy Roman Church Cardinals, to deliver our apostolicum Nuncium and Legate to the said place, which shall henceforth remain with the said noble nation (which has always been dear to us).

However, because our nuncio is preparing for the journey and getting ready, we have sent our dear son and chamberlain, Hieronymum Rorarium, who is always with us, beforehand and ordered him to hand over our Scriptures to the present, but especially, that he should dispose of you, noble lord (whom we, even when we were still in a lesser state, always loved before others, and also want to love paternally), and indicate to you our inclined will and fatherly heart for common welfare. You will hear further reports about this from our legate, which will follow soon after.

Therefore, we fatherly admonish, and earnestly desire, noble Lord, that you, in accordance with your office and profession (since you are Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and Advocate and Member of the Roman Church), show and strive with the highest diligence, and uphold the dignity, dignity, and majesty of the apostolic office.

I hope that you will help to protect and preserve the holy and peaceful state of the whole of Christendom and of the holy faith, as your forefathers (whose praise and good report you have increased and not diminished in other matters) have done, and are fully hopeful and confident that you will follow them in this.

Jerome will give further account of this and other things, in all of which we ask that you give him complete faith. Date at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, the 5th of October, Anno Domini 1522, of our Papacy in the first year. 1)

716 Pope Hadrian VI's extremely punitive breve to Elector Frederick of Saxony, in which, among other things, he falsely accuses the Elector that his princely house owes the Church to Pope Gregory V. and is now paying the apostolic see with such ingratitude. and is now paying the apostolic see with such ingratitude; in doing so, he violently attacks Luther and uses the most bitter words to denigrate him and the Elector, but finally admonishes the Elector to repent and return if he does not want to receive both swords, the papal and the imperial, at the same time. 1523.

This document is found in Latin in the Jena edition (1566), tonl. II, fol. 541 and in the Erlanger, opp. var. arZ., tom. VI, p. 478. German in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 180; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 261; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 221 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 319. Both the Wittenberg and the Jena editions place it in the year 1523. On July 11, 1523, Luther sent it to Spalatin. See Appendix, No. 102.

Beloved Son, blessedness and papal pardon. We have endured enough, and more than enough, beloved in Christ, if perhaps God's goodness has deigned to 2) petition your soul, and give it repentance, to know the truth, so that you may return from the devil's snares, by which you are held captive.

2. we know that you have been fatherly remembered by our ancestor, blessed memory,

that you wanted to separate from yourself the corruption of the Christian faith, Martin Luther. And after his most wicked deeds were revealed to the whole world, we hoped that you would also turn back to a repentant heart. But because we have waited for grapes, behold, there have been found hostlings, for the blower has blown in vain, for your wickednesses are not consumed. My mercy on you has moved me, my fatherly love has moved me, so that we have always meant you and your subjects, the Saxons, in the Lord, to address you with holy and fatherly remembrances, so that you may finally return and repent, lest the prophet soon after call them evil silver, for the Lord has rejected them.

3 And what shall we say unto you, but that Paul said unto his Galatians [Cap. 3:1.], "O ye unlearned, who hath bewitched you, that ye obey not the truth?" Ye ran well; Ask your fathers, and they will tell you, your ancestors, and they will proclaim to you, that from the time when Pope Hadrian and Emperor Carl the Great, planters of the faith in Saxony, lived at the same time and at one time, until our times, and the times of Carl, our most beloved son in Christ, your ancestors and forefathers, indeed all Saxons have always been considered lovers of peace, defenders of the faith, and everywhere peaceful children of obedience, and so done, that not unreasonably Gregory the Fifth, who was born a Saxon, about to become pope, appointed a Duke of Saxony a Elector of the Roman Empire.

4 Therefore, to what has the very best color so soon been changed? Why are we so soon maddened from him that called us into the grace of Christ, into another gospel, which is no other? Only that there are some who grieve you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ. Who hath destroyed the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, which was so beautifully planted? Verily a wild boar hath laid it waste, and a strange wild beast hath corrupted it. But the woe is from you, from the household and friends, and from the woe of the inward members.

5 We beseech thee, beloved Son in Christ, lift up thine eyes straight, and see where thou art cast down. Consider how great a battle you have brought to the Church of Christ, that she is surrounded, besieged, and crushed on every side, for that you have helped her to do.

1) In the Latin copies there is still the signature: Be: El: and the inscription: "To the beloved son, the noble Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire 2c."

2) In Latin: äiANKtur; in the old German editions: "gerwet" (-geruet); in Walch's old edition: "gereuet".

1) Outwardly it is warred against by the most cruel and powerful enemy of the Christian faith; inwardly and at home the princes and rulers of the Christian community are at odds and at odds, arming themselves to 2) destroy one another, contending against one another with the most bloodthirsty sorrows, and unsheathing their swords against the brotherly limbs, and so that the heathen hardly do it more cruelly and unkindly.

(6) If these troubles have not seemed burdensome enough to you, you have introduced sorrow upon sorrow, and nourished and kept the serpent in your bosom, who poisons heaven and earth with the poison of his tongue, so much so that the sword has now come even to the soul. But as much as the soul is more than the body, so much more grievous is all this, the dreadful and more than infernal poison, that by touching the heresies and breaking up so many thousands of souls are corrupted.

7. So we all have this to thank thee for, that they are now falling away far and wide from the unity of our church; that the unlearned people are deceived, and by innumerable deceits and enchantments are drawn away from the faith which they sucked from motherly breasts; that the churches are without people, that the nations are without priests, that the priests are without honor, and that the Christians are without Christ; that the holy things of faith are not held to be holy things; that the sanctuary of Christ is denied to be holy; that the holy days are deprived of their solemn glory; that men die in their sins; that souls are dragged before the dreadful judgment seat, neither reconciled by penance, nor confirmed by the holy sacrament; that the very finest order of the Tabernacle is disrupted, and that for the Christian peace and peace of mind one is aroused and hurried far and wide to mischief, disobedience, robbery, murder, burning, with great and manifest danger to the common good, as with a field cry.

8. for which of thy distinguished services in the church of Christ, what reward, thinkest thou, yea, what punishment and torture shall we know thee worthy of? You would perhaps say: The

Snake has deceived me. Surely, you have received your deserved reward for protecting the snake in your womb.

9. But art thou so foolish and so utterly without understanding, that thou hast believed more in those things in which they that err are sure to be damned, a few little men that are full of sin, than so many most holy fathers from the beginning, who have striven in the law of God day and night, than so many common conciliar things, against which the insolent mouth, like an open sepulcher, is not ashamed to open; and finally also, because of the holy and common Christian church, whose use, practice, custom, decree and constitution, from the time of the apostles on, has been kept unbreakable until now, this one man dares to condemn by ecclesiastical sacrilege? O of blind nonsense, and more than Jewish 3) blindness!

(10) But you may have been deceived by the fact that the deceiver Martinus and his followers, your eighth, strengthened their opinion with the chapters of the Holy Scripture. And what heretic has not done so? Are these not the guilefulnesses of the old serpent, who likewise blinded the angel as by this carrion 4) and always pursued the unholy souls by a thousand kinds of art and cunning? Which has also long ago undertaken to break the cornerstone of the right faith, to separate Christian unity, to sow its seed in the field of Scripture, and to introduce a perverse understanding of Scripture.

Because the greatest part of the church is always the inexperienced multitude, and hardly one or two are found who with spiritual eyes are able to judge worthily of the understanding of the Scriptures; for we read that the book is sealed, which only the Lion of the family of Judah 5) has trusted to open, and all his seals. What devilish delusion is this, that you have been able to give more faith in the understanding of the Scriptures to a carnal man, who constantly drinks wine and drinks more than to the rest of the world, than to so many spiritual fathers, whose will has always been in the law of the Lord, who have proved their doctrine by the holiness of their lives, by the demonstration of the Spirit, and finally by the torture.

O of the new and unheard-of blindness! Has

1) The meaning of this sentence is according to the Latin: Consider how great a defeat you have inflicted on the Church of Christ, which is surrounded and almost crushed by so many evils on all sides, instead of doing what you should have helped her with.

2) "um" put by us instead of "an" in the editions; Latin: in intutuin xernioism....

3) "Jewish" put by us instead of "the Jewish"; Latin: juckaiea oasoitak.

4) "Carrion" (esca) here is that which serves for eating; bait. - blinded" - withdraws from the eyes, hides.

5) Here also the Jena edition has wrong: "gerewet".

You some apostate and apostate may persuade that the ancients have deceived us all, that the descendants err, and that the kingdom of God has come in him alone, and those whom he has deceived, and that have come all the riches of the mercy of God, and the grace of the whole world? And why do we not speak with the prophets: Alas, alas, alas, O LORD, hast thou deceived thy people? Yea, why have ye not rather, according to the commandment of the apostle, shunned the questions and disputings of words, out of which arise envy, strife, blasphemy, suspicion, wicked strife of men that have mad senses, and turn back the hearts of the hearers with their works, and, after the Lord's report, be diligent to know the unconsecrated Son, which came unto you at first in sheep's clothing, but which inwardly is the most ravenous wolf? For you should not have known the tree from the leaves, nor from the blossom, but from the fruit.

13. But are not his most mischievous fruits evident? For this church thief is not afraid to break the holy images against God, yes, even the holy cross of Christ with his wicked hands, and to trample with his stained feet, so that this sacrilegious man does not cease to constantly incite the laity by ungodly fury, to wash their hands in the blood of priests, and disturbs the church of Christ with murderous weapons. He is always doing this, so that people are strangled in their sins; he alone works on the fact that divine mercy, through its sacraments, which it wanted to be powerful remedies for sin, does not heal and cure the wounded in their churches.

(14) For he has either so consumed all the sacraments, or so poisoned them with his deadly poison of heresy, that they leave behind them more poison than medicine for the souls. He has commanded the Semen that they should not do enough to God when He is angry; that no one should redeem his sin by fasting, prayer and cheap lamentation; that the sacrifice acceptable to God, the body and blood of Christ our Lord, should not be offered daily for our sin; he teaches not to keep the vows to God his Lord.

15) And because he is an apostate and an apostate of his profession, 1) that he may make many like him, he is not ashamed to defile the vessels sanctified to God, to take the virgins sanctified to Christ, and who have promised to keep monastic life, out of their monasteries, and to drag them, and to give them back to the world, even to the devil.

which the Lord did not suffer in the Old Testament, in the figurative priests, which all the pagans hated in their idolatrous priests. He gives the priests of Christ even to the most foul whores. The holy fathers, whose life and teachings have enlightened the whole world, he not only does not hold in cheap dignities and honors, but the more wicked he is, the more he despises them, mocks them, scorns them, promises them, persecutes them; he publicly contradicts all common holy conciliarities with an insolent mouth, and back-talks them with a blasphemous tongue; he refrains from introducing, in the semblance of freedom, an impudent life, which is not entangled with any laws, and is truly wild.

16. Therefore the lawless man, the despiser and criminal of all laws, has fallen into such a great folly of mind that he has not been afraid nor afraid to burn with an open fire the decrees and laws of the most holy fathers and the spiritual canons and law, and, in short, all Christian truth, all order and police, and the most beautiful form of the Church, so exposed by Christ, by the apostles, by the apostolic men and most holy fathers from the beginning, he alone, after so many hundreds of years, dares to tear up, pervert and disguise.

17. And if you do not yet sufficiently recognize whether these things come from the mastery of Christ or from the spirit of the Antichrist; If this juggler has so bewitched you that you can believe that this certain most unrepentant apostate, like the other Heliseus, has the spirit of Helia twofold, or that he is the other Daniel for whom he boasts, in whom there is more spirit, and a greater understanding of the Scriptures, than in all the most holy and most learned men, and than in the whole holy, common Christian church: what is more blind than thou alone? Or, if thou knowest the tree from the fruit, and yet remainest in error, what is more wicked than thou?

18. But let this devil be transformed before thee into an angel of light, and that he may persuade thee with his poisoned oratory, that the works which are public works of the flesh and devilish, are works of the Spirit and of Christ: Has he not everywhere also shown by what spirit he has, that all his speech is bitter, poisonous, provocative and most blasphemous, is everywhere full of blasphemy, profanity, and more than poisonous pointedness, contrary to all standards of Christian kindness, discipline, meekness, and goodness?

and gentleness? Did Paul teach this, the spirit of which he is famous for having? because there is not one of his epistles that does not indicate peace and unity and the like. Does he not admonish his Romans [Cap. 12, 9. 10.] in the Lord, that they should love one another in brotherly love, take care of the things that make for peace, and keep those things that are sufficient for correction? Does he not testify to the Corinthians [1 Ep. 14, 33] that he preaches in the churches the God who is a God of peace and not of discord?

19 And in short, does he not everywhere cry out, does he not everywhere teach these evangelical precepts, that we should walk honestly and worthily, with all humility and meekness, and bear with one another in love with patience, and be careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and that we should put away all wrath, ill will, malice, blasphemy, and all after-talk? [Therefore, how is it possible that even to a blind man it should not be evident and hidden that blasphemy, bitterness, wrath, ill-will, arrogance, boastfulness, which are so common to Luther, as those things are 1) to Paul and all his disciples, who is gentle and of a humble heart, not of a Pauline, not of a Christian, but of a devilish spirit, are the most sure signs? How did you know from his words whether he had Christ in his heart, 2) or the Antichrist? For as the truth itself says in the Gospel [Matth. 12, 34]: "You brood of vipers, how can you speak good, because you are evil? For when the heart is full, the mouth overflows."

20 And because it is written, Blasphemers shall not possess the kingdom of God. Further the Lord says in the Gospel [Matth. 5, 22.]: "Whoever says to his brother, Racha, will be guilty of counsel; but whoever says, You fool, will be guilty of eternal fire. To whom then could it be hidden that he is a messenger of the Antichrist, who not only reviles, tears apart and persecutes the brethren, but also the priests of God, yes, the prince of the priests, the descendant of Peter, the governor of JESUS CHRIST on earth, with such unspeakable and offensive names and blasphemies everywhere, that a pure tongue is afraid to tell them, and shamefaced ears are afraid to hear them?

21. Who ruled the apostolic see, on which the head of the apostles, Peter, presided over so many holy popes, which church the holy and highly glorious martyr Cyprianus did not shy away from as the most distinguished church, and from which the priestly unity has arisen, 3) with his impious and pestilent mouth to call the pestilential chair, the antichristic chair and the devilish chair, and what else he may have conceived more disgraceful, does not stop so often and thickly; Who, with his impure tongue, is not ashamed to call the Christian schools, which have brought us so many most learned and holy men, such excellent pillars in the Church of God, whore houses, Sodomas and Gomorras.

22. Who is not content to persecute the priests of the Almighty God with all their insults, curses, invectives, and terrifying and outrageous blasphemies, publicly and openly, making them lower and more vile than dogs, but also arouses the laity to wash their hands in their blood: when God the Lord Himself has indicated in the fifth book of Moses in what honor He wants His priests, and before the high priest, to be held, saying thus [Deut. 17, 8. ff.]: "If you see that the judgment will be hard and doubtful with you between blood and blood, between matter and matter, between leprosy and leprosy, and if you see that the words of the judges in your gates do not agree, then get up and go up to the place which God your Lord will choose, and go to the priests of the Levitical family, and to the judge who will be the time, and ask them. They will judge the truth of the judgment for you. And thou shalt do all that they shall say, which are before the place which the LORD hath mentioned, and teach thee according to his law. And thou shalt follow their judgment, and lean neither to the right hand nor to the left. But whosoever will be faithful, and will not obey the commandment of the priests, when the time is come to serve God thy Lord, that same man shall, according to the judgment of the judge, die, and thou shalt take away the evil out of the house of Israel. And all the people that hear these things shall fear; so that henceforth no man shall blow himself out in hope."

23 And unto Samuel, when he was despised of the children of Israel, said not the LORD thus [1 Sam. 8:7], They despised not thee,

3) Here we have deleted the words "the Luther", by which the construction is disturbed, which also do not stand in the Latin.

1) The words: "those things" (illa), which are missing in the German editions, we have inserted after the Latin.

2) Here we have deleted the word "erkennet"; it is not in the Latin.

but me, that I should not reign over them"? So that he publicly indicates that he, the invisible one) is despised, if one despises the visible priest. Therefore Moses also gave this answer to the people when they murmured against him: "You have not murmured against me, but against the Lord your God.

(24) If then the Lord desired that the Levitical priests, who alone were a figure and a shadow, should be in such great honor and dignity, and that they should set up the offices of the heavenly sacrifices in the figurative tabernacle, how great honor did he desire to have them to whom he gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven? And hath given them such great power, that whatsoever they bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever they loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven: and whosoever sins they forgive shall be forgiven, and whosoever they retain shall be retained [Matth. 16, 19. 18, 18.], who offer not the blood of goats, or of calves, but the living, holy, unblemished sacrifice, the body and blood of our Lord JEsu Christ, daily for our sins, consecrating with their word, and acting with their hands; and in short, all the holy things, that life and the blessedness of souls may be given to men, they spend with their prayers.

25 And as in great honor, as I have said, the Lord hath desired the priests to be held, who shall at last doubt it, because he himself hath not concealed it in the gospel, when he saith unto them [Luc. 10:16], He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me. But he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me." And what follows? That he who promises Christ and blasphemes, promises the priest of Christ and blasphemes.

26 Is not this "the first commandment of repentance: Honor thy father and mother, that thou mayest live long on the earth"? [Eph. 6:2, 3.] "But whosoever curseth his father or his mother shall surely surely be put to death." [Ex. 21:17] Is this to be applied to physical parents alone, and not as well to those who gave us birth in Christ the second time, through whom we are Christians, who forgive us our sins, who feed us with the heavenly sacraments?

How, if they are sinners and wicked priests? How, if our parents are also like that? Should they not be honored for that? Should they be

and therefore curse and speak evil of them? Was not Judas also among those whom the Lord sent before him, and to whom he said [Luc. 10:11, 12], "If any man receive you not, nor hear your preaching, depart out of the same habitation, or out of the same city, shaking off the dust of your feet. Verily I say unto you, that in the day of judgment it shall be worse for the land of the Sodomites and the Gomorites than for that city?"

028 Did he not thus command the apostles, "Be obedient and subject unto your rulers"? [And if a man be not obedient to the wicked and to sinners, to whom shall he be obedient? For if we shall say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

29. you are a sheep, you shall not judge the shepherd. You shall not set a judge of God and Christ. Did not the Lord command in the Gospel, saying, "The scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses' seat; whatever they say to you, do; but if they do evil, do not do it," to show publicly that they have dignity, if they are equal to a damned life.

030 Did the same our Lord, when afterwards in the time of his passion he received a blow from the priest's servant's cheek, and the servant said, "Answerest thou thus the high priest?" speak any profanity against the high priest? Yes, he rather answered and defended his innocence, saying, "If I have spoken evil, punish me; but if I have spoken right, why do you strike me?" [Joh. 18, 22. 23.] Did not also Paul, when he was beaten in the council by command of Ananias, and said to him [Apost. 23, 2. 3.], "Thou consecrated wall, God smite thee, sittest thou to judge according to the law, and dost thou command me to smite contrary to the law? When he hears from the bystanders: "Why do you compare the priest of God to a whitewashed wall, and curse him? Nevertheless, when he thought of the vain name and shadow of the priest, he trembled, and said [v. 5]: "Dear brethren, I did not know that he was the high priest, for it is written: Thou shalt not curse the prince of thy people."

(31) Therefore we are all the more surprised that you have not yet recognized the most evil tree from these devilish works, as from the most mischievous fruits. And who, in the end, is so rude and unintelligent that he does not see where his most insensate nobles are aiming? because

all the most evil, desperate and escaped 1) robbers or murderers will gather under his banner and banner and wage war against the Church of Christ with murderous weapons and church-thieving hands, not secretly, but publicly, burn and desecrate the places sacred to God, churches and monasteries, persecute the virgins sacred to God, the priests of Christ and monks in the cruelest way, plunder the goods of the churches, and in short, with robbery, drudgery, murder and fire destroy all things, murder and arson destroy all things, from that they blind the just judgment of God, and let them fall so publicly into nonsense, that no one may be hidden any more his most wicked presumptions, and when those who have finally recognized that they are poisoned by his pestilential touch, they have discarded the schismatic and segregationist errors, and have left the heretical nonsense, and come again into the dwelling of unity and truth, through the health of faith.

32. among whom, our beloved in Christ JEsu, when we hoped that you would not be the last one to return to our holy bosom, whom we also, if he would return, would have gladly accepted with willing arms. But we are finally deprived of our good hope, and see that your face has been hardened harder than a rock. We have seen that Luther, the corrupter of souls, lies hidden under your protection, and still spreads his poison 2) in length and breadth. But because God the Lord is still able 2) to raise up children of Abraham from the stones, before his wrath goes out and is kindled like fire, and there is no one to quench it:

33 Therefore we beseech thee, beloved Son in Christ, by the inward mercy of our Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, by Christian unity, by the love of the fatherland, and finally by thine own and thine own salvation and blessedness, have mercy on the church of Christ, which is now already burdened and challenged by so many storm winds of trouble everywhere, most of all by thy fault, and do thou this time help the church. Have mercy on our fatherland, which in former times has had a special fame because of the Christian faith and excellent obedience among the people.

the yoke of the Lord, and is not now 3) ashamed that it has borne the corruption of Christian faith, worship and godliness, the public enemy, Martinum, in its 4) inward members.

34. ultimately have mercy on yourself, and have mercy on your deceived Saxons, who, if you do not soon convert, will pass over the present and certain divine vengeance, from which you will not escape, either in this world or in the world to come. Thus says GOD the LORD: Hear, you foolish people, hear, you prince who has no heart, you who have eyes and do not see, you who have ears and do not hear; will you not be afraid of me? And will you not be sorry before my face? Have ye not seen what I have done unto them in times past? Read the Scriptures, in which you think you have eternal life, and you will find how great and how severe has always been the divine vengeance against those who have aroused schism, indignation and division among God's people.

035 Have ye not seen the terrible divine vengeance against Datan and Abiram, because they stirred up the common people against Moses, which devoured the earth and all that was therein, so that they went alive into hell? And against Kore, whom also, for the same cause, the infernal fire burned up with two hundred and fifty men?

036 And whether ye think that because of the hard rule, or because of some shepherds' lasciviousness, or because of their wickedness, there should be schism and division, have ye not heard in the book of Kings, that the LORD was so moved concerning the ten families of the children of Israel, and concerning all their seed, that he put them from him, and gave them to be spoiled, until he had cast them out of his sight? For what other cause than that they tore themselves away from the family of Judah and Benjamin because of Solomon's harsh rule and King Roboam's unwise and trustworthy answer, as soon as God smelled his priests.

037 Was not Saul deprived of his royal honors, and Osiah the king, punished with leprosy, because they submitted themselves to the priestly office against the priests?

3) "not" is missing in the German editions; Latin: uairnrne erudeseit.

4) "its" put by us instead of: "their". It refers to "Fatherland's".

1) "most unworthy" unworthiest. In Latin perditissimus. - For easier understanding we have changed the Latinisirende Constructiv: "because, as each one is the most evil 2c.". 2) "yet" put by us instead of: "again"; Latin: sckliue.

All of which may be a sufficient indication for you. And in short, do not all histories indicate that by the vengeful hand of God all those have died an unhappy end who have not been afraid to lay their ecclesiastical hands on the anointed of the Lord; and again, that all things have gone blissfully for them, and they alone have had long life who have honored Christ in his priests?

(38) Therefore be moved by the examples of others, and consider what you have to wait for, who dare to deliver the worthy assembly of God into unconsecrated hands. Accordingly, the Lord commanded all the people of Israel through Moses [Numbers 16:26] to separate themselves from the tents of Kore, Dothan and Abiram, that they should not touch anything that was theirs, lest they be involved in their sins.

39 We command the same to you, and before you, beloved Son in Christ, by the power of our Lord, and implore in Christ Jesus that you separate yourselves from Martin Luther, that you remove from yourselves the rock of offense, and touch nothing that is his, lest divine vengeance entangle you in his sin. Purge out with the most beneficial this leaven, which has leavened the whole dough of your faith, so that you may be a new dough and 1) a new creature.

40) Beloved son, do not be displeased to follow St. Paul. As you have preceded him by bringing about such a grave destruction of souls under your protection for the persecution of the Church of God, so come to your senses again; 2) be careful that all men take note of your conversion, and that those who are offended by you may in turn honor, praise and glorify God in you.

(41) But first of all, cause the impudent mouth to be stopped up, that the blasphemous tongue may be put in a bit, with which it will not cease to speak against God and His saints, and to spread its poison everywhere.

42 And that we may remind you with prophetic words, Stand up in the streets, and see, and ask of the old paths what is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find delight to your souls. I tell you to stand, and not let yourselves be troubled by some-

lei and foreign doctrine. Ask about the old paths, which is the good road on which your fathers walked, which so many thousands of martyrs have shown, which so many thousands of 3) confessors have taught, and walk them.

(43) And if we obtain this from you, as we fully expect, we shall rejoice together with the angels over a penitent sinner, and shall gladly carry again the lost and found sheep on our shoulders into the sheepfold of the Lord, and with fatherly kindness, as much as shall be in us, shall give you again the former garment.

44 But if ye shall say: We will not walk; and ye shall answer him that exhorteth you fatherly and holy: We will not hearken: therefore hear, ye nations, saith the LORD, and know what great things I will do unto you: Behold, I will bring upon the people grievances, the fruit of their thoughts and devices, because they have not heard my word, and have rejected my law.

We also offer you this, in virtue of the Almighty God and our Lord Jesus Christ, whose governor we are on earth, that you will not remain unpunished in this world, and that you will have to await eternal fire as a result. Pope Adrianus and the most God-fearing Emperor Carl, his most beloved son and foster child in Christ, 4) live in good agreement with each other, whose truly Christian mandate against Lutheran unbelief, and which was well suited to such an emperor, you were not afraid to break, not without grave insult and diminishment of imperial majesty.

We do not want to do such evil that we, Pope Adrian and Emperor Carl [V], now 5) those who were born in Christ in the past by Pope Adrian and the great 6) Emperor Carl, wanted to let them perish under the schismatics and the 7) heretical tyrant, through the poison of the schismatics, division and disruption. Therefore, convert again, and repent, you and your

3) Here we have the words "confessor and" getil-1, for 60Qk "88or68 here means only: confessor.

4) alurn "u8. Emperor Carl V had been Hadrian's pupil.

5) The words: "the pope Adrian and the emperor Carl, now" are missing in the German editions.

6) The words "in Christo" are missing in the German editions.

7) In the German editions "den", in Latin" tvi-Lnno. This can be understood to mean both the Elector and Luther.

1) "and" put by us instead of: "in"; Latin: novaque creaturea.

2) We have rendered the preceding part of the sentence according to the Latin, because it is very difficult, indeed almost impossible, to find the meaning according to the old translation.

unblessedly seduced Saxons; you will then learn about both swords, the papal and the imperial, in the following.
1) At Antorff, by Michael Hillemo, at the Ruben.

717: The Elector Frederick of Saxony's response to this papal decree. 1523.

From Spalatin's Annals, p. 78 f. There Spalatin notes that in 1523 in the name of Pope Hadrian VI a print had gone out Against D. Luther and his teachings, in which Duke Frederick, Elector of Saxony, was also mentioned by name, which prompted the Elector to write this letter. There, on p. 80, Spalatin says: "Shortly thereafter, however, before Pope Adrianus gave an answer, closer than a year later, Pope Adrianus died. Because the papal breve was written in such an unbelievably impudent manner, the Elector initially doubted its authenticity, until, as we learn from this letter, it was handed to him by the papal orator.

Dear God the Father! I have caught your present brew by sending your orator, Mr. Franciscus Cheregattus, elected in April &c. with born honor. And two things not, E. H. have not done such a thing of their own motion, but of my own misfortune, for E. H. shall, if God wills, never find out nor decide otherwise, than that my will, mind, and opinion has never been otherwise, not even with God's grace, nor should it be otherwise, than to keep me as a Christian man, and obedient son of the Christian Churches. I also hope that God, the Almighty, will grant me, therefore I also ask, his grace, that, which is conducive to the fulfillment of his holy word, service, peace and faith, in this my age, which has a good year, until the end of my life, faithfully, and so much in me, to continue. I ask you to report the same to Your Highness, who will undoubtedly report it to Your Highness. I ask your Lordships to acknowledge this in my cousinly opinion. This I am willing to do, as the obedient son of the Holy Christian Church. And I hereby beseech H. H. God's mercy to keep me in grace. Dat. &c.

1) The following is missing in Latin. It is the indication of the place and the printer where the breve was printed.

D. What the pope had his envoy, Franciscus Chieregati, who had been dispatched from the Imperial Diet, give to the imperial estates for reprimands on account of Luther, against which they in turn handed over to him the complaints of the German nation.

Most of the writings in this section, namely numbers 718, 719, 720, and 722 (as previously in no. 104), are contained in the booklet: "Was auf dem Reichstag zu Nürnberg Anno 1522 bis 1523 von päbstlicher Heiligkeit an kaiserlicher Majestät Statthalter und Stände Lutherischer Sachen halben belangt, und darauf geantwortet worden ist" 2c. To this Luther wrote two prefaces, which we have already communicated in the 14th volume of our edition, Col. 418 and 422. One should read the remarks made there. The title of the Latin edition (Col. 422), which we have taken from the Erlangen edition, is to be corrected as follows: 6ruvuruinu ekutu w u kontiücüdu s^o-r^r/ ?or siAuiüoutu 6te.

718: Pope Hadrian VI's instruction for his legate at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg, in which, with the transfer of what he fervently opposes to Luther, especially the papal confession of the miserable decay of the church and the highest necessity of a reformation is remarkable. 1522.

This and the following associated documents have been published in Latin and German in many individual editions, and have also been included in many collections. Latin in IVolüi lection. Iueworulz., com. II, p. 195; in Ooldusti "tut. 6t resoript. imperut. a Ourolo V. U8HU6 uä UutloIxU. II, x". 27 and eonstit. imperut., tom. I, p. 450; in Uiekerii kistor. oonoil. K6N6r., lib. IV, purt. II, oup. 5, p. 123 and in Lünig's 8picül6S. 666168th, tom. I, p. 389. German in the Wittenberger Gesamtausgabe (1569), vol. IX, p. 162; in the Jenaer (1585), vol. II, p. 163d; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 240 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 327. In einer anderen Uebersetzung in Hortleder "von den Ursachen des deutschen Krieges," vol. I, lib. I, oup. I, p. 4, which Walch has included. In it, we have improved several gross errors according to the older translation. - This instruction was read by the papal nuncio on January 3, 1523, after he had delivered his lecture before the Imperial Diet and handed over the pope's breve (No. 719) to the governor and the estates of the empire. (Weim. Ausg., Vol. XII, p. 58.)

First, you will explain to them the great pain we suffer from the increase of the Lutheran sect, and most of all because we realize how countless souls, redeemed with the blood of Christ and commanded to be cared for by us as a shepherd, have been taken away from us by Luther.

The people will be perverted to the right faith and spirituality, and will come under condemnation. And that this should happen in a nation of which we have the origin according to the flesh, which has always been the most faithful and spiritual from the beginning, when it was converted to God, until these next 'appeared years, and therefore our most eager desire is that such a plague be met with haste, before it happens to the German country, as it did to the Bohemian country in former times. And that in such a case we are most willing to do everything that may be hoped or expected of us, desiring with the utmost diligence that each of them, according to his ability, do the same. To this end, the following causes should induce them.

2. first of all, it is to move the honor of God, which is to be set before all things, to be greatly offended by these heresies; for the ordinary custom and adornment of it is not only diminished, but utterly broken.

3 Secondly, the love of one's neighbor should stimulate them, and each one should work diligently to lead him from error. And whoever does not do this, such ruin, neglect and diligence God will require from his hands.

Thirdly, they should be moved by the shame and disgrace of their nation, which has always been considered the most Christian before other nations, and now has an evil cry from everyone because of those who follow Luther's sect.

(5) Fourthly, they should be admonished by the reputation of their own honor, which is greatly offended if those who preside over others in the German nation with power and authority do not make every effort to expel these heresies. For in this way they would fall away from their forefathers, who were Christian people and were present in large numbers at the Concilio at Costnitz during the condemnation of Johannis Hus and the other heretics, some of whom (as it is said) led Hus to the fire with their hands. It will also be detrimental to their honor that they, or several of them, have made, confirmed, approved, and granted the imperial commandment to execute and enforce the papal sentences against Luther and his followers, and have done so with their power. If they would not do so to the best of their ability, they would either be considered unstable, or favorable to Luther and accidental, so that it would seem that they could easily expel him (if they wished otherwise).

Fifthly, they should be moved by the injustice or injuria that is done to them and their parents by Luther, since their parents and forefathers are the same.

They themselves have always followed the faith confirmed and approved by the Holy Roman and Christian Church, but Luther and his followers hold and contradict it far differently. From this it is evident that they are condemned by Luther as unbelievers and heretics, and thus, according to Luther's opinion, all their forefathers and ancestors who differ from us in faith are in hell, since error in faith makes people liable to damnation.

(7) Sixthly, they should well consider the end that the Lutherans put forward: namely, that under the color of evangelical freedom, which they hold up to the people, all the upper parts of violence are accepted. For although Luther at first intended to destroy or suppress spiritual power altogether (as if it were tyrannical and conquered against the Gospel), he did not intend to do so. However, since their reason and foundation is set on their given liberty, and that in virtue of such liberty also the temporal power by no commandment, however just and sincere they may be, may bind men to obedience in mortal sins: so the same liberty against the temporal power has not less, but more, place, neither against spiritual power. And it is openly evident that they also want to separate such secular authority, although they have glossed over and protected it with cunning, so that the secular princes should believe that their malicious plot is not directed against them, but only against the clergy (to whom the laity are commonly hostile), and if they thus bring some of them to their part, or else to watch and tolerate, they might the more easily disturb the clergy. If they accomplished the same, the common man would undoubtedly undertake and attempt the same against the secular princes.

(8) Seventhly, they shall signify the great disgrace and dishonor, riots, insurrection, robbery of goods, deathblows, quarrels and discords, which this most wicked sect would arouse, and daily arouses throughout the whole of Germany, and also move up the swearing, blasphemy, curses, foul talk, frivolous speeches and bitterness, which this sect has for and for in its mouth. And where they do not stop this, it is to be feared that the wrath and abandonment of God will come upon Germany, which is thus divided in itself, and also that such punishment will come upon the princes themselves, who will use the force and the sword to punish the evil of God.

and did not prevent their subjects from doing so. Cursed is he (says the prophet) who is negligent in carrying out the word of God, and contains his sword from the blood of the wicked.

(9) Eighthly, they should note how Luther uses a way to deceive the Christian people that is almost more despicable than the most despicable man, Mahomet, who deceives many a thousand souls by admitting that which carnal men are inclined to do and by freeing them from that which is considered the most serious in our law, because only Luther's action is seen as somewhat more abominable and leading to even more deception. For when Mahomet admits to taking more women, and to driving them away at will, and again to taking others, this Luther pretends, so that he may make monks, monastic virgins and priests, so eager for carnal pleasure, favorable to him and draw them to him, that the vows of eternal chaste abstinence from the pleasures of the flesh should not only be non-binding, but also unseemly, and that they, out of evangelical freedom, may take women and men. But he is unmindful of the apostle's word, since he speaks of the young widows, who, having become unchaste against God, want to be free, 1) thus: they have condemnation, because they falsify or mislead their first faith.

10. Now, if this and other things on this opinion, which you may then partly think out of our letters, also out of your own understanding, are brought before them by you, you will admonish reported princes, prelates and peoples, so that they finally wake up, 2) and such great harm and violence, which the Lutherans prove to God and His holy faith, also the great disgrace, which they inflict on the whole German nation and the princes themselves, together with the great shame and desecration, which they seem to have inflicted on their ancestors, which they inflict on the whole German nation and on the princes themselves, together with the great shame and disgrace which they apparently and publicly inflict on their ancestors, who (as we have said) finally condemn them to hell, and resist them, and finally proceed and proceed with the execution of the papal sentence and the imperial commandment. And yet, those who come to their right mind and vow to put away their error shall be forgiven; for they [the princes] shall always be more inclined to mercy than to vengeance. Just as God Himself did when He said: "I will

not the death of sinners, but rather that they may be converted and live. But those who remain obstinate in their error are to be punished, so that the others may receive a likeness of it and remain in the right faith, or, if they have fallen, turn back to the right way.

(11) Whether anyone might say that Luther was judged unheard and unaccountable by the papal see, and that he should therefore be heard in all ways, and not be condemned before he is overcome. Answer: As far as faith is concerned, since God has established it, we are to believe by divine imputation and authority, and not to prove it. Ambrose says: Take away the arguments where faith is sought; one believes the fishermen and not the dialecticists. Indeed, we confess that one should not deny him responsibility in what concerns the deed (whether he has spoken, preached or written it or not). But about the divine right, and about the matter of the sacraments, we are to remain with that which the saints and the church have instructed us. To this end, you may indicate that almost all things in which Luther is divided from the others were previously rejected by various conciliations, and that which is confirmed by common conciliations in the common Christian church is not to be doubted further, but is to be held as a credible thing. For he does an injustice or violence to the assembly of the church who wants to cast doubt on what has once been established. For how would anything certain and lasting be decided between men? Or when would the disputations and squabbles come to an end, so that every free and perverse man should again be allowed to deviate from that which has not been established by one or by a few, but long ago, by the approval of so many highly knowledgeable men, and confirmed by the Christian church (which God does not allow to err in matters of faith)? And if every city desires to keep its statutes unbreakable, how would all things, which have been established not only once, but often with considerable knowledge, be destroyed without disruption, annoyance and disorder, and not kept unchanged by men? Since Luther and his followers condemn the conciliation of the holy fathers, burn the holy laws, and destroy all things according to their will, and in addition grieve and distress the whole world, it is evident that they, as enemies and destroyers of a common peace, are of no consequence to the world.

1) Here the old translation has: "who, after having been unchaste, want to marry in God".

2) In the old translation: "that they will never awake".

all of the same peace lovers are to be exterminated.

(12) Thou shalt also say that we freely confess that God allows this persecution of His church to take place because of the sins of men, and especially of the priests and prelates of the church. For surely the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that he may not make us blessed; but he may also divide the punishment of sins among us and them, and keep and hide his face from us in dishonor. The Scriptures write that the sins of the people flow from the sins of the priests. Therefore Chrysostom says: "When our Savior wanted to cleanse the sick city of Jerusalem, he first went to the temple, so that he initially punished and healed the sins of the priests (like a good physician who heals the disease from the root). We know well that for some years now in this holy see there has been much impropriety with abuse of spiritual things, transgression in the commands or commandments, and otherwise all things have been perverted to vexation: therefore no wonder that the disease has descended from the head into the limbs, as from the popes into other, lower prelates. All of us (that is, prelates and spiritual persons) have left, each of us has gone his own way, and for a long time not one, not even one, has been found who has done good, therefore it is necessary that we all give glory to God and humble our souls to Him. Let each one of us consider by what he has fallen, and judge himself rather than be judged by God in the day of His wrath. As much as it behooves us to do in this matter, you may agree that we will make every effort, first of all, to reform this Roman court, from which perhaps all this evil has emanated, so that, as the disease has flowed out from there into all the subjects, so that healthy reformation may also ensue from it for all of us. We consider ourselves so much more strictly bound to accomplish this, as much more we see that the whole world is eager for this reformation. For, as we discovered to you earlier, we have never sought to possess this papacy, but when there was much in us, we would much rather have led a separate life, and served God in a holy, quiet being. We would have truly rejected this papacy, if the fear of God and the special pure way of our election, as well as the worry of the division of faith (which, if we had rejected it, would have been before our eyes), had not urged us to accept it.

So, we have not undertaken this supreme dignity for the sake of pleasure or the desire to rule, nor to enrich our friends, but to follow the divine will, and to help his deformed bride, the Christian Church, with reform, to come to the aid of the oppressed, to elevate the learned and the virtuous (who have long been despised), and otherwise to do everything that a good pope and a true successor of St. Peter is obliged to do.

But let no one be surprised if we do not correct all errors and abuses from the beginning. For this disease is almost obsolete, and not a few, but many, therefore to cure us in it foot by foot, and to meet the serious and more dangerous diseases first, lest we ruin all things with hasty reforming of all things. For all hasty changes (says Aristotle) are dangerous in the common way of doing things; and he who snaps too hard forces blood out.

14 As you write to us in your last letters that these princes have complained against you that the concordats and treaties (established between the See of Rome and the German nation) have been acted upon by this See, you may indicate that we may not be accused in the matters that have come before us. That such things, because we were still in an inferior state, have displeased us in every way, and that according to this (although they did not seek it) they actually have the opinion before us that at the time of our papacy each one should retain his justice. In addition, equity and kindness require that we not only not offend our laudable German nation, but also show neighborly favor.

(15) As to the processes which the princes request from the Rota and wish to be expelled again, let it be said that we are willing to oblige them in this, as much as we may do with honor. But because of the auditors' absence in present mortal runs, we can have no instruction of the same processes half this time. As soon as the auditors return, however, which we expect to happen shortly after the deaths have ceased, we will show ourselves to them as much as is always due to us.

16) Will you diligently solicit and urge a response to our letter, and request those to whom we write to inform us of the means by which they think these vicious sects may be most effectively countered, so that we may, as to

We will do the things that are to be provided for by us. In all of this, you should actually inquire and fully attribute the same to us.

In the collections of Luther's writings shown above, one finds the following words appended to the resolution of this Instruction:

Item, because we note that in German lands there are many pious and learned men who are therefore opposed and repugnant to the papal see, that not they, but rather fools with sticks and money and stable servants, are provided with ecclesiastical fiefs, we therefore request that you inquire who they are and send us their names listed, so that we, if German fiefs become vacant, may lend them to them of our own accord. For we know how much it has harmed God's honor 1) and the souls' salvation and improvement that for a long time now the spiritual fiefdoms, especially the pastoral care, have been granted to unfit people.

In order to obtain help for the Hungarians, we give you no other instructions than those we gave you when you left us, and we urge you to attend to these matters with the utmost diligence, as you are doing.

We also take care that the princes and communes of the French do their duty and help with their property.

At the end of this writing, the Jena edition (the Wittenberg edition almost as well) has this note: "Kaiserlicher Majestät Statthalters und gemeiner Reichsstände Antwort; item, der weltlichen Reichsstände Beschwerde 2c. findest du, christlicher Leser, in bemeldtem Büchlein vom Reichstag zu Nürnberg, Fol. 18 und 27 mit einer Vorrede D. M. L.". These are here numbers 720 and 722; the preface is in our edition vol. XIV, 422.

719 Pope Hadrian VI's breve to the estates of the Holy Roman Empire assembled at Nuremberg, Nov. 25, 1522.

This document is found in the collections shown in the previous number, immediately before the "Instruction" (No. 718). Also in Latin in the Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, fol. 352; in the Jena (1566), tom. II, fol. 536b; and in the Erlanger, opp. var. ar^h, tom. VI, p. 460. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 159b; in the Jenaer (1585), vol. II, p. 161; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 237 and in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 324. Here, too, Walch has followed the translation in Hortleder I. o. p. 2. We have improved this extremely poor translation according to the Latin.

To the venerable brothers, dear sons, noble lords, princes of the Holy Roman Empire and other ecclesiastical and secular princes, also to all the estates of the noble German nation, assembled at the Diet of Nuremberg,

Pope Hadrian VI

Venerable brethren, dear sons, salvation and papal blessing! Since we have been admitted to the apostolic office by the decree of Divine Providence, we have as a witness that He has required us, as one who is undeserving and not waiting for such, to be mindful day and night of nothing else than to fulfill at all times the duties of a good shepherd in caring for the flock that has been commanded to us, both in common and in particular; We have not considered any of our sheep to be so mangy, frail, or wandering and lost that we have not sought to bring them back to the Lord's sheepfold with all our diligence.

2 And truly, from the time after the beginning of our papacy, as we considered best at that time, we have not ceased to accept peace and unity among the Christian princes, who are unfortunately all too divided among themselves, and to lay down their arms, or to turn them (if they could be obtained) against the enemies of the Christian faith, to admonish, to remind, and to plead by various messages of ours, as well as by almost daily letters.

In order that we may prove an example to this desire of ours not only by words but also by deeds, God knows with what inconvenience of our own and domestic nature we have sent money and other aid to the Rhodian knights, strict defenders of the Christian faith, who are cruelly besieged by the most atrocious tyrant, the Turk, even to other places that are in danger from the same enemy's maw.

(4) Immediately thereafter, we turned our minds from external things to internal ones, and we noted with sadness Martin Luther (whom we may not call our son because of his own fault), after he had been seriously and paternally admonished by the papal see, as a man who brings up again the old and long since condemned and condemned heretical articles. And that the same, on the verdict of the best and most learned men and manifold

1) "GOD's glory" put by us instead of: "GOD's, their".

The fact that he has not relinquished his right to the high schools' counsel against him, that he has not relinquished his right to the most beloved Roman Emperor elected in God by our son Carl, King of Rome and Hispania, and that your imperial edict, together with the decision to enforce it, was made well known at the recently held imperial diet at Worms and proclaimed throughout all of Germany, has remained unpunished by those to whom it is due. And that he still does not desist from his wicked presumption, but, as a forgetter and rejecter of all Christian love and evangelical goodness, sends out new books full of error, heresy, disgraceful speeches and outrages, through himself and his helpers, into German and other surrounding countries, and strives far and wide, like a plague, to poison and corrupt the good hearts and morals with the arrows of his poisoned tongue. And the aforementioned Luther has not only the common people, but (which is even more evil) much of the nobility, as supporters and followers, so that (which may have been the main cause of such rebellion) to take hold of the priests' goods, to despise the obedience owed to the ecclesiastical and secular, is raised, which would subsequently grow among some of you to neighborly revolt and war. But what evil will result from this, especially at this time, for the Christian community, your minds and thoughts can easily judge. For although the apostle said before that heresies must be, so that those who are righteous may be revealed, nevertheless one would not see a more unfavorable time for this matter, or in which such heresies would be more urgently needed to be purified and eradicated. For since the eternal enemy of the human race, the devil, under the form of a roaring lion, rages on and on against the sheep of Christ through the great power of the Turks, we do not see how such great impetuosity can be resisted as long as we nurture this devil in the form of the deceitful dragon, who sows this heresy in our houses (and arouses discord and indignation among our extremely brave Germans). And even if we would dispute and overcome the foreign enemies, all our work and costs would be in vain, and completely useless to the souls for their salvation, if we were to subdue the external enemies and be afflicted with heresy and divisions at home.

5 We are also mindful, since we were of lesser standing in Spain, that we were often told a great deal and many things about Luther and his false teachings. Although such things were hard for us to hear about him ourselves, it is not

It would have been much more difficult for us that this would have come from the lands from which we have our origin after the body. However, we were first comforted by the obvious wickedness of this matter (because of which they do not last long and are respected by us), we also considered it, and hoped without a doubt that after these poisonous plants were brought to German lands from elsewhere, they would not bear fruit in this country, which has always produced the greatest enemies of heresy and unbelief.

6. But because this evil tree (either because of God's decree to punish the sin of his people in this way, or because of the negligence of those who were guilty of punishing it and were able to do so, and did not forestall it in the beginning) has begun to spread its branches far and wide, as you see and hear: You German princes and peoples must take care that you are not regarded as accomplices to this evil, which has arisen from elsewhere and for which you might easily have been excused in the beginning, by merely allowing it and watching it (because you do not resist it), and that they forget their old virtue. We refrain from this impropriety, that such a great and so God-fearing nation, through a little monk, who is said to have professed and followed the Christian faith and religion from his youth, and to have preached and taught it for many years, has recently departed, and become false to God, from the path which was pointed out to us by our Savior and his holy apostles, and which so many martyrs and excellent men, with doctrine and holiness, have also followed, and all your forefathers have walked it, and should think that Luther alone understands it, and that he has only now (when the heretic Montanus has also made himself famous) received the Holy Spirit, and that the church, with which the most gracious Redeemer of the human race has promised to be until the end of the world, has erred in the darkneses of ignorance and in the ways of destruction, until it is enlightened by Luther's new light. All this, even though it is mocked by the intelligent, is most harmful to simple hearts, and gives those who are eager for new things and great change in any order great cause and stimulus to perpetrate what we are now experiencing. Do you German princes and peoples not note that Luther's and his successors' teachings are nothing but a kind of prelude to these evils? Do you not see clearly that the Lutheran doctrine, which was initially given

Is the protection of Christian truth now revealed to be nothing but a robbery of your goods? Or do you believe that these sons of wickedness are directing their minds elsewhere than to withdraw all obedience under the name of liberty, and to give every one liberty to accomplish what he would desire? Do you also imagine that these, who not only despise the spiritual laws and the decrees of the fathers, together with the most holy councils (to which the imperial laws have always gladly yielded and been obedient), but also tear and burn them without fear out of devilish rage, and in addition deprive the priests, bishops, and the pope of their due obedience, will be obedient to your orders and laws? Or do you hope that they will refrain from their piratical hands from the goods of the laity, and will not rather appropriate all that they like to themselves, who daily carry away and lead away the things that belong to God in your sight and presence? Will even those spare your necks who have taken upon themselves to injure, strike and kill the anointed ones of the LORD, who shall not be touched? Against you, against your goods, houses, wives, children, authorities, dominions and temples (which you honor) this wretched plague is directed, if you do not meet it in time.

(7) Therefore, in the Lord, venerable brethren, noble and devout lords, we admonish you in general and in particular, and implore you by the Christian love and religion, which has so often been protected and strengthened by your forefathers' blood, but in virtue of the holy obedience which all Christian men owe to God, St. Peter and his governor. Peter and his governor, we demand of you to put down the enmities that may exist between you, and at least now to devote your whole diligence and heart to extinguishing this common conflagration, that you endeavor to restore Martin Luther and other instigators of these seditions and errors to the right path of faith and life by all wholesome means (which would be exceedingly pleasant to us). But if they would not listen to this (which God wants to avert) with blocked ears (like snakes), then, lest the remaining part, which is still pure and fresh, be poisoned to the great defilement of your nation and obvious danger of the whole Christian community, you shall, according to the holy orders and laws made by your emperors and recently commanded in your imperial edict, use against them the rod of severity and punishment.

8 He to whom the secrecy of all men's hearts is evident, knows that we are by nature and custom, even after our pastoral office, much more inclined to forgive than to punish. But because this cancer had spread so much that it could not be cured with gentle and mild medicines, sharp and biting agents had to be used, and the harmful parts had to be completely cut off from the healthy body. Thus, God Almighty sank the brothers Dathan and Abiram, who had caused division, alive into the depths of the earth, and ordered to punish with death those who would not obey the priest's commandments. Likewise Peter, the apostle prince, proclaimed that Anania and Sapphira, since they had lied against him against God, should die immediately. Thus, ancient and godly emperors killed the heretics Jovinian and Priscillian with the secular sword. Jerome also desired that the heretic Vigilantius be given over to the corruption of the flesh, so that the spirit might be retained. Thus your forefathers finally carried out the due punishment on John Hus and Jerome of Prague, who seem to have come back to life in Luther and are highly honored by him, in the Concilium at Costnitz. If you now follow your forefathers' holy and praiseworthy deeds in this case, since it cannot happen in any other way, we do not want to have any doubt that the divine mercy will, for the help of the Christian Church, which is plagued by the unbelievers, turn its eyes on your nation, which is easily the first in martial valor and number of people, with all its strength, and inspire your minds and hearts, of which you, after you have received through us the blessing of the almighty God and St. Peter, and after you have been able to take over the dragon, will be able to take over the church. Peter through us, and have triumphed over the dragon and the lion and the devil, that is, after the heresies have been removed at home and the enemies of the faith have been completely defeated outwardly, you will receive a glorious victory and, in the world to come, the reward of eternal bliss.

As far as we are concerned, however, you should consider it certain that whatever wealth and authority the Almighty has bestowed upon us, we will offer everything, together with our lives, for such blessed works and the salvation of our commanded sheep. What we desire to communicate to you in this Lutheran and other matters, we have entrusted to Franciscus Chierigati, elected Bishop of Apruz, whom we appointed in the month of September to act on our behalf with you in matters of faith and religion, as our and this Holy See's nuncio.

tius, ordered to go to this honorable Diet of yours, to inform you of its length and further, and exhort you to believe its words, as ours. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, this 25th day of November, Anno 1522, in the first year of our Papacy.

The response of the common estates to the above papal petition, in which Archduke Ferdinand as governor and the estates thank the pope for the promise that he will keep the old treaties or concordats, but at the same time ask the pope to diligently reform the complaints and abuses that they have submitted in specific points, otherwise peace and harmony cannot be hoped for. February 5, 1523.

This writing is found in Latin in the collections indicated in No. 718, in Wolf 1. e. p. 197; in Goldast p. 30 and p. 452; in German in Hortleder 1. 6. p. 6 and in the Leipziger Gesamtausgabe, Vol. XVIII, p. 330. We have set the time according to the Weimar edition (Vol. XII, p. 58), where it is reported that this answer was handed over in draft form by the narrower committee to the larger committee of the Estates on January 15, 1523, and after some changes was handed over to the papal legate in Latin translation on February 5. On February 7, the nuncio gave his replica, No. 723.

1. Namely, after Papal Holiness Orator has now delivered a papal decree 1) to Imperial Majesty's governor, princes, princes and other estates of the Holy Empire here at the Imperial Diet, and has also made an advertisement thereon, and in addition has also delivered his ordered advertisement in writings 2) concerning the Lutheran trade: All this has been received by Imperial Majesty's governor, as well as by princes, princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, from Papal Holiness, as a faithful father and supreme shepherd of the Christian flock, with considerable reverence and gratitude.

(2) And since Imperial Majesty's governors, princes, princes, and estates of the empire have good knowledge that papal holiness was born of the German nation and blossom, and also, since their holiness was in a lesser state, that much praiseworthy virtue and good came from him, and that he was a good man and a good woman.

They have been highly gratified by his unanimous, laudable election to the apostolic office of the papacy, in the consoling hope that through such a divine bestowal much salvation, blessedness and good will befall the holy Christian church. It is a good indication of this that her holiness is so highly and faithfully committed to the same. As such is apparently found in many places in this letter, advertisement and instruction.

3. Namely, when the papal holiness in her letter, soon after its receipt, reports with what faithful diligence and compassion her holiness has taken to heart and considered the discord that exists between the Christian princes, and how her holiness is bringing them to peace and unity, and to turn the Christian arms (if ever they could be won) against the enemies of the Christian faith, has faithfully sought so far, and is still in unceasing work, with report of what her Holiness has sent and done to the Rhodis knights, against the siege of the Turk, for graces and good.

4 Governors and estates have understood this from their holiness to great comfort and gratitude, and can well appreciate that first of all unity of the Christian princes, heads and power of the whole Christendom is of great and high importance, that in the same warlike outrage good police and order in the Christian kingdoms cannot be preserved, much less the Turkish tyranny, which at this time is exercising itself especially grievously against Christendom, can be resisted.

5) As the royal dignity of Hungary, and its landlords and countryside, and besides the Crabats, 3) imperial majesty's governors and imperial estates have miserably indicated and complained here, what great, excessive trouble and final destruction they have encountered from the Turks, and still stand in daily dangers and worries; as the papal orator himself has clearly indicated all this in his petition, for the sake of Hungarian help.

Therefore, Imperial Majesty's governors, princes, rulers and the empire's estates ask and exhort Papal Holiness to the highest, that their holiness, as a faithful father and shepherd of the Christian people, to whom such things are also appropriate and due, from their diligent diligence, promote the Christian princes, heads and authorities in Christian union,

1) The previous paper, No. 719.
2) Document No. 718.

3) That is, croats.

or at least to bring them into peaceful decency, and thereby to take further emergency measures, so that the tyrannical Turks may be resisted, and the deprived Christian lands and kingdoms may be conquered again, as much as God may grant, and the souls, bodies and possessions of Christians be saved from such cruel tyranny, for which governors and estates, in addition to and with other Christian heads and powers, will advise and help in their part in a Christian and faithful manner.

7. Furthermore, the papal letter introduces in the following advertisement and instruction of the papal orator what great harm to the German nation and the Christian people will result from Martin Luther's and his successors' teachings and writings, and even further, where this is not resisted with due diligence, and what should move the German princes and nation to avert or seriously punish them, with high admonition, papal sanctity's judgment and imperial majesty's mandate, which went out against Luther and his followers, to execute 2c.

(8) Imperial Majesty's governors, princes, princes, and estates of the Holy Roman Empire say that they, as Christian estates, are extremely sorry and disgusted by any harm, error, or evil that may arise in the Holy Christian Church, and that they are also highly inclined and willing to prevent it with punishment or other measures.

9. also declare themselves guilty of being obedient to papal holiness and imperial majesty, as their supreme heads, which they are no less inclined to do in a Christian way than their forefathers. But the fact that papal sanctity has suggested as burdensome that the papal judgments and the imperial mandates, which went against Luther, have not yet been applied, has not been omitted without noticeable cause. For all the estates of the German nation are so unmistakably burdened by manifold abuses of the Court of Rome and ecclesiastical estates, and are now so much informed by Luther's letters, where one should act against them in earnest or in fact, according to the content of reported judgments or mandates, that it would certainly be considered by them as if one wanted to suppress evangelical truth by tyranny, and use unchristian abuses, from which a great indignation, apostasy and resistance against the authorities would undoubtedly be awakened, as one can see from manifold

display and daily cases can seemingly decrease.

For the reason for which God Almighty has imposed such persecution of His Church is quite praiseworthy, clear and well indicated by Papal Holiness Orator's advertisement and delivered instruction. Your Holiness also recognizes, praiseworthily and well, that for some years there has been much impropriety in the See of Rome, as well as grievous abuse and transgression in spiritual matters, therefore it is no wonder that the disease has descended from the head to the members, and from the popes to other, lower prelates. Therefore, good knowledge and correction is necessary for all of us, in which her holiness, as much as is due to her, will make every effort, so that first of all the Roman court, from which perhaps such evil all originated, will be reformed, so that the disease, from there flowed out into all subjects, from which again good reformation takes place, and because of such divine honor and reformation, her holiness alone has accepted the papacy 2c.

(11) The Papal Holiness also graciously informs the German princes in response to their previous complaint that their Holiness has never been pleased or pleased, but has always been opposed to the fact that the Concordats or Treaties have been acted upon by the See of Rome, and that it is therefore their will and intention, although no request has been made to avoid this and to keep everyone, and especially the German nation, by their justice.

12 Who would not notice and understand from all this that papal holiness, in such a paternal indication and admonition, omits nothing that a faithful father and chief shepherd of the Christian flock should do, and not so much as recognize his own sin and infirmity beforehand, and be moved to Christian correction? Especially if the papal holiness would carry out the same their sovereign command with beneficial, apparent works, by divine bestowal, for which purpose imperial majesty governors, also electors, princes and other estates of the holy empire, as sons obedient to their holiness, have asked and admonished most earnestly and most humbly, for the sake of divine honor, praise, and the betterment and blessedness of Christian people, and have also hoped that the same will happen in desperation. For without a just settlement of such complaints, as the secular estates have handed over, 1)

The German people were not to hope for good peace and unity between the ecclesiastical and secular estates or for the suppression of this indignation among the Germans.

13. Imperial Majesty's governors and estates of the empire of papal holiness, in great necessity, do not want to refrain from the fact that, due to protracted wars that have taken place in and near German lands, as well as due to manifold burdens imposed on German lands, the same German people are so depleted of money that they need to maintain peace and justice with them, and even more so with Hungarians and Czechs, German lands, the same German people are so exhausted of money that they have a great shortage of it for the necessary maintenance of peace and justice with them, and even more so with the Hungarians and Crabats, to do requested and eager help against the Turks.

14. And since Papal Holiness himself knows that years ago the German nation granted that the annals of the ecclesiastical prelates alone should follow the Roman See for some years, so that they should be used for nothing else than to resist the Turk, and such years have long since disappeared, also these annals, according to the aforementioned grant, by papal holiness ancestors against the Turk, that gives reason, if for the resistance of the Turk an emergency help should be established in the holy empire of the German nation, that such is highly attracted by the German people and said, why the imperial majesty and the German princes do not require and use such long-saved annals, which have been saved for the said emergency, for this purpose; and therefore do not think that they are obliged to let themselves be burdened further, since the ecclesiastical prelates take from their secular subjects what 1) they pay to Rome on account of the same annals.

(15) Accordingly, it is the high and diligent request of Imperial Majesty and other imperial states that Papal Holiness will not require or collect such annuities as may become due through the death of archbishops, bishops and other ecclesiastical prelates and benefices, but will have the Holy Roman Empire's Fisco pursued. Without this, it cannot be hoped that peace, justice and other good order will be maintained in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, much less that other nations will be helped and assisted against the Turks.

16 And when Papal Holiness finally and finally requested from Imperial Majesty governors, also princes, princes and other estates of the empire to give information by which

The Lutheran error can be countered most effectively by means of their own discretion: governors and estates say what they can advise and help in a Christian and possible way, and they find themselves quite eager, willing and inclined to do so.

17. Since, however, among Christian people, both clerical and secular (as papal holiness itself best recognizes), not only because of Lutheran doctrine and Scripture, but also in many other ways, such manifold great confusion, disorder, and repugnance has taken root, therefore, because of the great destruction that the Turk did to Christendom about many years ago, and is still in daily practice, imperial majesty's governors, and also princes, princes and other estates of the empire, cannot or may not devise any more consoling, helpful means, than that the papal holiness, with the approval of the Roman imperial majesty, as both such Christian heads have power and it is their duty to do, proclaim a free Christian concilium, as to Strasbourg, Mainz, Cologne, Metz, or another convenient city of the German nation, for the most conducive as it is always possible; and that such concilium, for the longest time possible, if it is possible, started in one year, is also approved and announced in such a way that no duty should bind any state, be it ecclesiastical or secular, which will be in such concilium, in such a way that he may be prevented from speaking the necessary truth, as much 2) for divine and other charitable things, but should be obliged and bound to do the same for the most beneficial and highest, for the salvation of his souls 2c. For without this, such a council would be considered suspicious and more harmful than useful.

18 But besides this it is not considered with little diligence how it should be kept in the meantime, before such a concilium may come to its progress, because of the mentioned confusion and disorder, on which not little, but much and great is at stake. And for this reason, Imperial Majesty's governors, as well as princes, lords and other estates of the empire, want to act in such a way with the Elector of Saxony, in whose principality the aforementioned Luther and some of his followers are, by which they completely hope to occur that Luther and his followers then shall not write, make or have printed any more, in addition also without any doubt the Elector of Saxony, as a pious, praiseworthy, kind, Christian Elector of the Holy Roman Empire.

1) In the old edition: "White".

2) "as much - and" - both - and.

Roman Empire, will be helpful to all intents and purposes.

19. In addition, governors and estates want to order with all faithful and possible diligence that all preachers speak and act in a proper and fair manner, to avoid in their sermons what might cause the common man to move against the authorities or lead the Christian people into error, but to teach and preach nothing else than the right, pure, clean, holy gospel and proven scriptures, kindly, meekly and Christianly, according to the teaching and interpretation of the proven scriptures accepted by the Christian church.

(20) As for matters of dispute, which are incomprehensible to the common man, even without need of knowledge, they are not to be preached or taught, but are to be decided in the above-mentioned Christian council. And the archbishops and bishops shall ordain especially understanding, pious men, experienced in the Holy Scriptures, who shall diligently take notice of such preaching and teaching; and if they find error therein, that they then reject such preachers or teachers amicably, Christianly, meekly, modestly, and in such a way that it shall not be understood as if one wanted to prevent the evangelical truth (which also cannot be suppressed) in some way. But whichever preacher does not want to let himself be rebuked, the ordinarii may seek and think against him with due punishment, as they know how to do.

21 They also want to take diligent and possible precautions in all printing houses and with all bookkeepers, so that nothing new is further made, sold, printed, publicly or secretly sold, but what is therefore further printed or sold, that should be inspected beforehand by every authority, and reasonable, pious and experienced men of the Scriptures, and where deficiencies are found, the same should not be allowed to be printed or sold.

22 If the papal sanctity of the above-mentioned imperial estates now carries out their proposal and request, in considerable modification of the complaints complained of, and the appointment of the aforementioned free council, they are of good hope that by the means indicated above this indignation, confusion and displeasure of the common man should almost be quenched and rejected.

23 And even if all things could not be brought to an immediate improvement by this, it would still be possible to do so with less harm and damage.

The Council and the Estates do not know how to find possible ways by which such outrage could occur and be brought to a halt. But outside the execution of that which is requested by papal sanctity, as stated above, governors and estates do not know possible ways to find, by which such outrage might occur and be brought to a standstill.

(24) As for the clergy who take wives, also for the sake of the religious who have left the church, which the papal orator has also suggested, it is considered that since no punishment is ordered in the common laws of the secular authorities, the Estates consider that the punishment of the clerical rights, namely the forfeiture of their privileges and liberties, benefices and others, should be left at this time. If, however, they would otherwise have acted improperly and punishably, they would then also be punished according to the order of established rights.

(25) Upon all this, it is requested that Papal Holiness and their orator understand and accept such Imperial Majesty's governors, as well as princes, princes, and other estates' proposals and requests, not otherwise than in faithful, Christian, and good opinion, as well as that their will and mind be not otherwise than to hold themselves at all times as pious, Christian princes, princes, and estates, and to show themselves to Papal Holiness, in Christian obedience, in all dignity. Nota: It has also been moved that the secular princes and estates, who are now all here at this Imperial Diet, over their complaint, which they brought forward at the most recent Imperial Diet at Worms, may order some prudent persons to further inspect, reduce or increase the same, and to formally present it, and also have it handed over to Papal Holiness, or to their sent embassy, with a rather urgent request.

Nota: The following articles concerning the preachers at Nuremberg were said orally to the papal orator and were not included in the written papal answer.

26 When the papal orator, in addition to the instruction, asked in the resolution to imprison some preachers at Nuremberg, for the reason that they should have preached against the holy Christian faith 2c. Now the estates could not find out that this had happened, but because the papal orator had perhaps reported too far in some of the things reported. And because the same preachers are held in great esteem and reputation in this city and elsewhere, the estates, where they are unheard and un-

If they were to accept the unchristian doctrine invented by these preachers, not only would nothing good come of it, but great turmoil and indignation would ensue, and nothing else would be considered, because the evangelical truth would in fact be subjected to suppression and harmful abuses would be practiced. If, however, some articles of credible truth were later brought before the estates, which were supposed to have been preached in an unchristian manner by said preachers, they would order persons of understanding and skill to do so, hold them up to them, and hear their answer. And if they found this to be the case, they would then punish them with due punishment, as is proper for pious Christians.

721: Luther's testified pleasure with Spalatin over this answer given by the imperial estates to the papal envoy.

See Appendix, No. 124.

722 The secular imperial estates' gravamen, or grievances they have against the See of Rome and other ecclesiastical estates, which were handed over to the papal orator at the Diet of Nuremberg. 1523.

This document is also to be found in Latin in the collections mentioned in No. 718 and in other collections; in German in Hortleder 1, e. p. 10 and in the Leipziger Gesamtausgabe, Vol. XVIII, p. 335. Before this document, the original will be found in Luther's preface, which we have included in the 14th volume of our edition, Col. 422 ff. - Essentially, these complaints are the same ones that the imperial estates, at the Emperor's request, had drawn up for the Emperor at Worms in 1521, with the request that they be stopped; here, however, the Emperor (through his governor) and the imperial estates bring the same complaints with the same request before the Pope.

Preface.

After the letters of papal holiness, as well as the advertisement and instruction given by their orator to the Roman imperial majesty, governors, princes, princes, and other estates of the holy empire, arrived at the above-mentioned imperial diet at Nuremberg on account of the Lutheran action, all such estates of the empire have written a common answer, in which it is reported, among other things, that the secular estates have their special complaint, which they have against the see of Rome and other ecclesiastical estates, in addition to the above-mentioned common answer.

The papal orator has received the answer of the secular estates, and has asked for its removal; as is found in the answer given by the common imperial estates. Therefore, after this, out of many other annoyances, this time alone, in haste, several high, great complaints of the secular estates have been taken up in the shortest possible time, but without being confessed or given up, what of it remains unreported now, and, by the gracious, fatherly, Christian and praiseworthy request of papal holiness, have been handed over to their orator, to be brought to their holiness for the best, as follows.

Complaining about the chair of Rome, and firstly:

Dispensing with the popes for money.

1) Namely, that some things based on human statutes, which are not based on any divine commandment or prohibition, such as, with honest marriages, by reason of the scales and degrees of consanguinity, affinity, and *gevatterschaft*, forbidden food, and other such things (of which many examples are to be set, but are now in the best of cases omitted), as especially with the poor, are set for damnable sin, and yet are permitted and allowed to the rich, who have to pay such, for the sake of money. As a result, not only has an unspeakably large amount of money and goods been brought to Rome from German lands, but other great spiritual burdens and seductions of consciences and souls have followed in countless ways.

From the forbidden time.

2) Item, it is also forbidden by the popes or their laws for the common man to have marital weddings between Sunday, when the Alleluia is laid down, and Shrove Tuesday, which is otherwise the time when the ecclesiastical and secular classes are most accustomed to worldly merriment, without penalty, so that they must therefore buy permission for money from the bishops or their archpriests. This is a special money trick and burden for the poor common man, as without money it is forbidden and a sin, but for money it is allowed and good.

Of great vexation of the papal indulgence.

3) Item, it is too often in the form of some church buildings, and from other good appearances, indulgence of sins, indulgence of usury, robbery, murder, fire and all other damage to the neighbor, in German lands for money to remit.

and money from German lands to Rome, thereby depriving many a poor, simple man of the food he himself needed; And, what is even more harmful, through such indulgences and indulgences, even frivolous and unskillful preachers, who proclaimed and proclaimed the same indulgences with great annoyance, and from the fact that the people were thereby allowed to commit many a sin through unceasing indulgence, were induced and strengthened to commit many grave sins, perjury, swearing, deathblows and others, and were also seduced in a damning manner. And such indulgences have at times extended not only to the present and future sins of the living, but also to the souls in purgatory, where money was deposited for them, so that they would certainly be redeemed. And even though such indulgences have been sent out and publicly preached on several occasions, as if they were to be used for the salvation of Christians against unbelievers, they have not been used for this purpose, but for other worldly and selfish purposes, to raise and keep their friends and family, which, together with the above-mentioned great annoyance and seduction of the Christian people, brought such unbelief among the Christian people, so that they are now expected to help against the Turks in great need, that they suspect that such desired help should again be abused in such a way. And that is why it is difficult to obtain help from the common man against the Turk. What great, unspeakable damage to the soul and to temporal goods will result from all this, papal holiness, as the highly knowledgeable and highly enlightened one, knows well and sufficiently without any doubt.

The pope and the bishops also reserve the right to absolve certain sins and cases on their own. And if such or similar cases occur, the people will not be absolved, unless much money is spent for it. Nor shall any dispensation be given for necessity in respectable, respectable matters, unless it is weighed out with gold. And if a poor man does not have money to give, he will not be absolved, nor will he be dispensed with in his duties.

But some rich people, for money and money's worth, are given letters of indult by papal sanctity, if they practice murder, perjury, or such abuses in the future, so that every bad priest can have them.

The first thing is that the evil-doer may be absolved from it. So that one gives cause to great vices and sins only for the sake of good and money.

Concerning the Stationirer.

4) Since the stationers, 1) who seek their collection in the country from time to time, bring much money from the people with their writing and begging and preaching of the Holy 2) Punishment and plagues, and pretend great indulgence and indulgence, which is only estimation and deception of the poor, simple man. St. Anthony's Embassy alone has been moved, and now there are St. Anthony's, St. Hauprechtz³) St. Cornelia's, St. Valentine's, and other new churches. Valentin, and other new imaginary envoys, thereby depriving the poor, simple people of what they have worked hard for in their blood and sweat, which continues to be done in various ways uselessly, shamefully, and blasphemously, which the poor are in great need of for their own and their children's nourishment, and which the archbishops and bishops allow for the sake of money.

From mendicants.

5) Item, the poor people are also excessively burdened with mendicants, which the mendicant orders, against their rule, practice in the cities and towns. For often there are two, three or four mendicants in a town; so that the house-poor people, who feed themselves with their hard work, and thus honestly, honestly and well kept, also have a wife and child, and due to old age or illness can never feed themselves with work, are duly deprived of their alms and help, and given elsewhere; which is also granted by the bishops for an annual allowance.

For this reason, the secular imperial estates ask papal holiness that they put an end to such a nuisance of indulgence, also of dispensation, stationirer and terminirer⁴), and that they do so, that no sins, which are not sins according to divine law, are made for the Christian believers, and for this reason absolved and dispensed for money, but that the Christian believers, as Christ's sheep, may be saved from their sins.

1) Stationirer - Reliquary collector.

2) In the old edition: "saints". For our reading, compare St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 1475, § 2V: "St. Anthony, St. Valten, and the like, have plagued the iniquities."

3) "Huprechts" is found in No. 539, that is, St. Hubertus.

4) Terminirer - mendicant monks.

The church is to be left free to exercise its Christian liberties, and in Christian love, according to Christ's command, it is to be pastured free of charge, and if it is transgressed, it is to be punished meekly with good spiritual instruction, so that it may be seen that the shepherd seeks the salvation of the sheep, not their wool and his own profit. That secular matters may be brought to Rome in the first instance and otherwise justified without justice.

6) Item, our holy fathers, the popes, have cited and summoned, at the request of other clergy, some secular persons to Rome for inheritance, pledge and other such secular things. This is not only to the noticeable detriment and damage of these persons, but also to the detriment and violation of the secular jurisdiction of the secular authorities. For this reason, the secular estates of the Holy Roman Empire request that such complaints be stopped and that no secular person in any secular matter be excluded, nor that the clergy be cited to Rome in the first instance, but that they be left in the right before their ecclesiastical and secular authorities, under which they have been seated, and that they not be demanded further.

Of the conservators and papal judges.

7) The archbishops, bishops and prelates obtain from papal sanctity some elders or other ecclesiastical prelates, who are subject to them or otherwise well related, as judges of all their matters, which they complain of before them, and call such judges conservatores. Before them, they take secular persons, noble and ignoble, to court over matters that are completely secularly forbidden, although they have never before been denied or refused any right before the secular authorities. And those who for this reason do not want to appear or answer before such supposed judges are banished unfairly and voidly, as many examples could be counted. This again deprives the secular authorities and their courts. And if this were allowed, it would in time lead to all secular persons and things being brought before such and other ecclesiastical judges, who are completely partial and inconvenient to the secular ones. This is not acceptable in any way, and is also publicly contrary to the order of the Holy Roman Empire, which clearly states that each must let the other remain in the right before his proper judge and court. Therefore, the estates of the Holy Roman Empire request, as stated above, that such complaints be completely abolished. ,

Of Papal Delegates and Commissaries.

8) Papal holiness also gives the ecclesiastical persons, at their request, *judices delegatos* and *commissarios* as ecclesiastical judges in German lands, which the laity (be they of whatever dignity or rank they wish) take before the same judges for secular matters, and are subject to compel them to do so with the ban; all to abort and diminish secular jurisdiction, also to special dangerous detriment and damage of the secular persons.

How the popes draw some prelates out of the bishops' compulsory jurisdiction and other patrons' help.

9) Papal holiness is subject to expropriate some monasteries, and to withdraw from their bishops, as ordinary judges, jurisdiction, and also other of their secular patrons. This will not only diminish and destroy the bishops and patrons, but also the Holy Roman Empire, in their actions and assistance, which the bishops and other patrons have at times placed on their offices, and which they will continue to place on them, and which will help the Roman Empire even more. For this reason, the imperial estates ask that such complaints be stopped and that all such monasteries remain with their bishops and patrons, so that they may also help and serve the Holy Roman Empire in a more noble way.

From diminution of justice *juris patronatus*.

10) Item, if by deaths benefices are settled, which are *patronatus* of a layman or ecclesiastical *juris*, then papal sanctity, also of the same ambassadors and legates, are subject to derogate the same rights, and thereupon confer the benefices to curtisans 1) and others, of their liking, by which the ecclesiastical and secular patrons are deprived and taken away their due presentation. And it is said from time to time that the prevention has taken place, so whoever bestows before, he shall proceed, over and against that such patrons have de *jure patronatus* some time, in which they may bestow their benefices from male unseasoned, from which then follows all such ecclesiastical and secular patrons noticeable disadvantage and damage. For this reason, the estates of the Holy Roman Empire request that such complaints be stopped and that, for the time being, such benefices be granted to their patrons.

1) Curtisans == Roman courtiers.

Let the ordinary patrons' conferrals remain. Also not to allow the courtesans to accept such benefices, neither judicially nor in any other way, but finally to set and order, if anything is made and obtained again, that all this shall be void, null and voidable in all ways.

Of the clergy who die in Rome or on the way.

11) Item, in former times the popes of ecclesiastical persons, who were relatives of their saints or relatives in service, or went to Rome in the jubilee year or otherwise, and died in Rome or outside Rome on the way, granted *beneficia*, and *officia*, large and small, as fallen home to the curtisanis and other incompetent persons, as mentioned above, regardless of whether such benefices were *de jure patronatus*; thereby the ecclesiastical and secular patrons and feudatories have again been deprived of their justice.

How, under the appearance of the papal court, names of many benefices are accrued, and otherwise the priests, as long as they are entrusted with such benefices, are challenged by the courtesans.

12) In addition to all of these, several excellent *beneficia*, often under *officialibus* or *familiaribus* Papae and the papal court servants' names, have been accrued by unlearned and unskilled persons, and have been subject to bring such *beneficia* into commission (as they call it), also *regressus*, *reservationes*, *pensiones*, and many other *incompatibilia*, on it, by which such *beneficia*, come into waste and diminution, and thus remain for and for at the papal court, and the skilled capable persons of Germans have been little provided with it. Item, the Germans often encounter a lot of trouble from the Curtisans, who thus accrue ecclesiastical *beneficia* in German lands, so that they are subject to expel pious, honorable, old priests, if they have quietly possessed their *beneficia* for many years with good title, without distress. They are also to penetrate into other ways, where they want to be otherwise quiet, so that they must agree with the same curtisans for an annual pension or reserve, according to the ability of their Roman *statutu* and *regalia*, which they daily deny to their liking, and derogate the old ones. Thereby not

only those pious priests, who are not reported to the Curtisi, but also the feudal lords are deceived. And even if such a priest does not get along with the Curtisans, they still make war on him; and if the priest dies in such a war, the Curtisan would then be appointed, regardless of the right feudal lord's justice. For this reason, the imperial estates again humbly request that papal holiness put an end to all such complaints by the Curtisans and not allow them to fill some German benefices.

How to provide the spiritual dignities to be drawn to Rome.

13) Item, what good *beneficia*, as provostries, decaneries, cantries, or other similar dignitates and *officia*, also *canonicat*, *vicarei* and parishes are left in *mense ordinario*, except the city of Rome, so here before ecclesiastical and secular patron to confer, The Pope and the Cardinals shall be entitled to confer, consecrate, present and nominate such dignities and benefices in Rome, especially if the holders thereof have been *officiales* or *officiantes* of the Pope or of the Cardinals. Also some, who have much good *beneficia*, are summoned to dinner in the Cardinals' Court in Rome for the sake of fraud, and secret *notaries* and witnesses are brought to it, so that later, if it comes to a case, it is testified as if these summoned persons were servants of the Cardinal, with whom they thus dine safely, regardless of the fact that this has happened with great fraud. Therefore, the Estates of the Realm ask that such a complaint be stopped, and that the ordinary patrons remain in the conferring and granting, presentation and nomination of such dignities and benefits, regardless of whether the *familiares* or officers of the Papal Court are in hand, or have had or still have *regressum*, *accessum* or other supposed justice, as the names have or gain, so that their supposed justice is harmless and irrelevant to the ordinary patrons now and henceforth.

Of rules of papal aancelei, new finds, and reserves on future cases.

14) Item, not only have the rules at Rome, in the chancery there, been set and often changed for the benefit and advantage of the Curtisans, but also many new findings and offices have been devised, so that the ecclesiastical fiefs of the German nation may be brought into Roman hands and occupied the sooner.

The ecclesiastical fiefs are not only reserved and insured for future cases for the ecclesiastical and secular lords of the fiefs, but also for their benefices and ecclesiastical fiefs, to the noticeable deprivation, complication, disadvantage and damage of their justice. For when those to whom such reservations are given obtain the ecclesiastical fiefs, they continue to practice 1) permutation, reservation, subrogation, ingressum, regressum, accessum, and others, so that the same fiefs never or hardly return to the right ordinary patrons and fief lords.

Of the harmfulness of the papal sold offices.

15) The popes have many offices belonging to the courts and other institutions, which offices are sold and abandoned by the popes to the same officers or officials for large sums of money and in such a way that the Germans and others, who need the use of such officers or officials in judicial or other actions in Rome, must pay for them with much higher rewards. With this and many countless other things noted, how at the Roman court after the secular money so with various dangers is put up to now, and for unfairly averted.

Of parishes and benefices in general, and therefore of the Roman abuse.

16) Item, not only have many gratuities and reservations pectorales, mentales, generales and speciales, regressus, accessus, incorporaciones, uniones and Concordat, as all these have names, been given to prelatures, parishes and benefices, especially in German lands, for the sake of money and temporal enjoyment, but also at times such prelatures and benefices have been given to the great companies and merchants, with some supposed embellishment (for sale), and by practice almost all benefices, or the best ones, have been drawn from the German nation and lent to unlearned, unskilled and careless persons, so that many from foreign nations come to prelatures and God's gifts 2) who are unlearned, and for this purpose not

are of the German tongue. From this follows that they may not possess and govern such benefices themselves, as is especially proper for pastors, that they should present good examples to their parishioners, and feed and provide them with Christian doctrine and instruction for the salvation of their souls as Christian sheep; but this does not happen. Rather, such pastorates are filled by those who obtain them, as if they were obvious, with other unlearned, unskilled persons, who only give the most money for absences, as one gives the secular building yards and tithes, who then preach to the Christian people, for the divine word and proven holy scripture, useless and unproven legends of the saints, and other fictitious, annoying, pagan fables, and cannot do better. Thus, the Christian people are led by such unlearned and unskilled parish priests away from the right Christian faith and trust in God, in which alone our salvation and our souls' blessedness stands, to other superstitions and human works, which serve them, the parish priests, for their temporal enjoyment. In addition, they are burdened with all kinds of drudgery, so that they may also maintain and enrich themselves in their great absence, and thus money is given annually to other nations from German lands, from which nothing comes back to the German nation in eternity, nor is any gratitude or goodness shown, although such benefices are endowed by the Germans to their own, and not to other nations. For this reason, the imperial estates request that such complaints, which cause so much, excessive money and property to come from German lands and to be uselessly used, be completely stopped, so that the benefices in German lands are not lent to anyone other than native Germans who reside there themselves, as is due in equity and respectability.

As the archbishops and bishops are obliged by their capitula, granting of benefices half.

17) Item, such parishes and benefices are not only provided at Rome, for the sake of money, merit or favor, with unlearned, harmful, frivolous and annoying persons, but also such things are done by archbishops and bishops, who are so bound by their chapters that they usually have to confer all large parishes that bear much use, and no doubt endowed by the founders on pious, learned men, on their chapter lords, however unskilled they may be at it, who for the time being have to take care of such parishes.

1) In the old edition: "Partiten".

2) "God's gifts," another name for benefices bestowed by special grace.

The same is true of all chapters of high and low monasteries, which are called *cathedrales* and *collegiatis*, and which are called *cathedrales* and *collegiatis*. The same thing is done by all chapters of high and low monasteries, called *cathedrales* and *collegiatis*.

The same ones, who have the best parishes and benefices, also let the parish and benefice houses collapse with great use, so that the parishes and benefices are endowed by the laity, so that they only ask for a lot of money, from which they can have their splendor all their life long in various sinful and annoying ways, and nothing at all about the founders' and other parishioners' bliss. Therefore, the secular estates of the Holy Roman Empire ask papal holiness to put an end to such annoying disorder and complaints, to let the archbishops and bishops do their duty, and not to allow them to associate with each other, but to ensure that no one is lent a parish or similar benefice that has pastoral care, unless he is learned, skilful, and of an honorable way of life; that he also resides there, and thus has no more than one parish, which he provides for in a Christian and unruly manner.

Of Commenden and Incorporation of Prelatures.

18) Item, as is known, many abbeys, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical houses, imperial and princely foundations have been commendated and incorporated to cardinals, bishops, and other prelates, and through these cardinals, bishops, and prelates the foundations have been diminished to such an extent, where formerly in the same foundations one, forty, fifty or more persons were held, that now often not five, six or ten of them are held and accepted, all for the benefit of their own use, which is an annoying, unsolvable thing and high complaint. And therefore it is hereby also requested that such abbeys, monasteries and other ecclesiastical houses be restored to their former status, and henceforth to avoid giving such commendations or incorporation to anyone.

Of the foundations that are based on the nobility alone.

19) Item, although some monasteries in German lands, which are founded by and on high and lower nobility, on which, according to old custom, only princes, counts, lords and others of nobility should and may come, nevertheless, these same

The Pope's papal liberties, old conventions and laudable statutes are not applied, but it is subordinated to prevent the free elections of bishops and provosts, deans 1) and canonici; to make some coadjutors against the approval of the Chapter, and also to bring Curtisans, even if they are not noble and unlearned, to the monasteries, and therefore to act against ancient custom and laudable statutes, so that the benefices of the nobility of the German nation are withdrawn, and the ignoble, and bestowed upon the unprecious, either for money or for temporal services, although the unprecious are allowed to do so, so that princes, counts, lords, and others of nobility have to buy such benefices from the unprecious or pay interest on them, with some fictitious embellishment, although they are given other names; which then causes such high and low nobility of the German nation great discomfort and disadvantage.

Old Privilegia to Handle.

20) To all this: although ecclesiastical and secular estates, as mentioned above, have been given privileges and liberties by papal sanctity to confer and sanctify provostries and other affected benefices and offices themselves, nevertheless, in the same by new federations from the See of Rome all kinds of practices have been used to derogate and cancel such liberties, and in other ways various entries have been made. For this reason, the estates of the realm ask that such things be stopped, that they be abolished, and that each of them be allowed to exercise his liberties as is fair.

From the annates.

21) Item, for the sake of the annuities, which they, the ecclesiastical prelates, give and let follow the Roman See through the German nation for several years, granted in such a way that they should be used for nothing else, but only to resist the Turk, and the same granted years have long since passed, also as the given annuities are used in other unauthorized places. In the other common imperial estates, the papal orator is given the answer to such unseemly complaints, 2) and first of all, the imperial majesty himself writes to the papal sanctity, 3) sufficient notice is given; and this time, the secular estates leave it alone.

1) In the old edition: "Dechnat" and immediately following: "Canonic".

2) No. 720, on 5 Feb. 1523.

3) No. 713, dated Oct. 31, 1522.

The fact that the people of the city will live an angry life will cause a whole outrage and revolt among the common people, 1) not only against them, the ecclesiastical estates, but also against all authorities, because they will see such trouble and will not be moved to avert it.

Therefore, necessity and equity require that such freedom as is supposed for consecrated persons be abolished, removed, and for their sake some laws be ordered and made that they, they find consecrated in *majoribus* or *minoribus*, 2) with one or more consecration, 2) with one or more consecrations, shall have no liberty in their maltreatment before secular persons, but shall have equal judgement and right, and whoever, for his maltreatment, shall be punished in the court in which he is entered, according to the occasion of his misdeed, like other common evil persons, according to the laws of the realm. This will undoubtedly not be burdensome for the pious clergy, and will urge the wicked to piety and obedience of their authorities, also cut off and prevent sedition and antagonism between them and the seculars, and give the seculars cause to honor and love the pious clergy all the more.

From weighting of the ban.

25) Item, many Christians in Rome, as well as in other places, are banished by the archbishops, bishops or their ecclesiastical judges for the sake of temporal things and goods, and thereby many weak consciences are weighed down and led into despair, also for the sake of temporal money and goods, and often deprived of soul, honor, body and goods for very little, contrary to divine statute and law, so that no one, but only because of overcome heresy, should be banished or considered evil. For this reason, the secular estates of the Holy Roman Empire ask that Papal Holiness, as a faithful, Christian and God-fearing father, finally put an end to such complaints of banishment from the Roman See, and also abolish them from the other archbishops, bishops and their ecclesiastical judges, and decree in such a way, that no one shall be banned and considered evil for any reason whatsoever, but only for publicly conquered heresy affecting the holy Christian faith, and that no one shall be separated from God and His Church for temporal goods or other such human proceedings, apart from unbelief.

How to cast a spell on many others who sit and dwell in spots with the banished, yet are quite innocent.

26) Item, if at times some persons in a village are banished, not only with equity, but also often with inequity, allegedly, so that not only these, but also their neighbors, who have nothing to do with such things or are related, are also banished, so that the officials get their way sooner, and the self-sacrificers 3) can bring their property to contract. For whether the self-made man is driven away with his wife and children by such unreasonable, burdensome conduct, in which no measure nor distinction is made as to the poor man's property or fault, nor is it considered, The neighbors are not to be considered whether they intentionally or wantonly participated in or had contact with the banished Selbsacher, nor whether they were therefore obliged to drive him out of their village or not, but are nevertheless obliged, which is not possible in the case of the Selbsacher, to enforce this from the others, however innocent they may be. And if it is pointed out to the ecclesiastical judges and they are reminded that their own ecclesiastical rights forbid that for monetary debts or the like no one shall be banished, nor shall an interdict be held, then they do so nevertheless, and say that it is for the sake of disobedience, which should be so much greater than it stems from lesser things, so that they may think that they are covering their unreasonable conduct with unreason.

Further, from unseemly interdicts.

27) If a priest or other consecrated person is slain, not only the perpetrator is banished, but also the town, village or hamlet is interdicted unreasonably, and as long as the interdict is held, no Christian work is performed until the perpetrator or the congregation of the same hamlet has repented or decreed the matter; Regardless of how wickedly the consecrated person has acted and given cause to strike, the papal laws themselves make a distinction in several such cases, which is contrary to law, all equality and equity.

From Abthuing of several holidays.

28) Item, it is not little, but highly burdensome for the poor people that so many holidays, outside of divine laws, but commanded by popes and bishops to be kept under the ban, thereby the poor people lose much necessary work.

3) "Self-maker" - the one whom the matter actually concerns.

1) Added by us.
2) That is, in higher or lower consecration.

and for this reason they often have to let their fruits in the field become damaged and spoiled because of thunderstorms, which they would otherwise like to bring home. Moreover, even on holidays, which should be kept solely for the praise and blessed improvement of mankind (as is evidently the case), most blasphemies, deaths, wounds, gluttony, unchastity, discord, gambling, other eating of the poor, and otherwise innumerable sinful and shameful things are done. Nevertheless, the bishops, officials and priests are hard on the poor man for such celebrations, so that the spiritual pleasures, with offerings, church services and others, may be increased all the more by the celebrating people gathered together, which is against God and the common good. For this reason, the secular classes consider it necessary that such holidays should be kept apart from Sundays and high festivals, and that whatever other holidays remain should not be celebrated longer than the time it takes for the people to hear the early morning sermon and mass.

Of the bailiwicks and houses in Apulia, in Sicily, which were stolen from the chivalrous German Order.

29) Item, although the German Order of Prussia 2c. out of the benevolent providence and gifts of the Roman emperors and kings of high lordly memory, also of the princes, counts, lords and nobility, of some estates and usufruct in the kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia, also of other French lands, happened in former times, so that they might have the more stately disposition against the infidel and the more honest entertainment of the German nobility, From such estates and usufructuaries they made several bailiwicks and commanderies, which they quietly possessed and held for several centuries, but by the previous popes such estates were withdrawn from the mentioned Order and delivered to several cardinals, archbishops and bishops who were neither German nor of the Order, so that the chivalrous German Order still lacks such estates.

In addition, the previous popes of the German Order gave houses in Venice to a born whale and clothed him with the habit of the Order, all contrary to the statutes of the said German Order, in which only the German nobility is to be, and therefore contrary to papal, imperial and royal confirmations. Similarly, the Roman curians of the German Order have touched houses in Italy with papal bulls and commission, as at Bononia 2c., and the

The Order of the Holy Roman Emperor has insisted on taking legal action against the Order, which is no small diminishment of the Order and of the German nation.

Item, the German Lords of Stablora 1) St. Benedict's monastery, on which they were founded, has been taken away for a short time and given to Cardinal Columna in commendations, all to the detriment and diminishment of the German nation, against law and all equity. Therefore, the Estates also request, as before, that Papal Holiness restore and reinstate such stolen goods and usufruct to the chivalric German Order without delay, or decree that it be done as is due by right and equity.

Of complaints which the secular estates have against the archbishops, bishops and other prelates, chapters and their courts.

30) Item, among other many burdens of the archbishops, bishops and prelates, is the one, as reported before among the Roman infirmities, that they obtain from the See of Rome *conservatores*, *delegatos* *judices*, and such ecclesiastical, inconvenient and entirely partial judges, before whom they, 2) not only to deprive the secular of their ordinary judges, courts and authorities, but also to deprive them of their souls, honor, bodies and goods by means of an alleged ban, and by the violent use of the same.

How worldly goods are transferred into the hands of the clergy and not into the hands of the worldly again.

31) Item, the clergy is provided with constitution, statutes and orders by the See of Rome, that it never has to sell or change the property of the churches, called *bona immobilia*, to lay persons, and yet the clergy, without any necessity, by various unspeakable and hidden ways, seek without ceasing to get hold of the worldly goods, as much as they like and as much as they like. Even the seculars have so far acquired so much that they have only a small portion and so little more that they are unable to maintain peace and justice in the empire and to resist the Turks, and it is unpleasant to tolerate such a long period in the secular estates if they want to perish completely with the ecclesiastics.

1) In No. 539 "Sublack". See Col. 1743.

2) In the old edition: "before".

How the bishops of the clergy are subject to take secular inherited property.

32) It is also sometimes the case that ecclesiastics have inherited hereditary property that they inherited from their parents, along with other heirs, and if these ecclesiastics die without a will, that such worldly property is required by some bishops to be taken from their rightful heirs. This is quite burdensome and unpleasant for the seculars to endure.

How some secular goods, sold or transferred to the churches or cloisters, are to be brought under ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

33) If it ever happens that secular goods, situated in secular jurisdiction, are sold, transferred or delivered in other ways to churches and cloisters, together with interest, fees 1) and usufruct, or at times behind the secular jurisdiction, charged with interest or taxes against such churches or cloisters, the clergy are subject to take such secular goods out of secular jurisdiction; therefore the bishops and prelates also hold and act contrary to law and all equity.

Of conferring the new endowed benefices.

34) If a new benefice is founded by the secular, high or low, some bishops want to have the first granting of such benefices, and not allow the founders beforehand, nor confirm such benefices, unless the founders and patrons grant them such.

Of unnecessary confirmation of benefices, and others.

35) Item, if someone wants to establish and confirm a new endowed benefice, brotherhood or something else of the kind; although such confirmation is not required by law and equity, they are nevertheless valued and taken over excessively in money, and by their *statutes* and other practices they insist that such endowments, however small they may be, be confirmed. This is also a great burden.

Of certain unjust burdens imposed on clergymen who have been enfeoffed by the seculars.

36) Item, if the priests are enfeoffed and presented by the seculars, and request investiture from the bishops or their vicars, some want to have as much of it as the fief has one year, in some places two years, income; so that half the part is demanded to the bishop, and the other half part to the archidiacon or archpriest, for giving the possession.

Moreover, such ecclesiastical benefices are so highly and excessively burdened with subsidies and other treasures (without there being public and honest causes for which the common rights to take such subsidies yield) that the priests are not allowed their necessary abstention, from which the same priests take cause to recover such of their complaint and lack of the laity, and sell the sacraments and other Christian gifts, which according to the commandment of the holy Gospels they are obliged to give free of charge, to the laity for money.

How to ordain too many and often unlearned and unskilled priests.

37) Item, the archbishops and bishops, or their *suffraganei*, too often consecrate unlearned, clumsy and quite frivolous persons, who also partly have no benefice, nor any other certain provision for their sustenance, but only, or often no apparent title at all, so that they often, out of innate malice, frivolity, clumsiness or poverty, engage in all kinds of dishonorable dealings, thereby despising the right, true spiritual state, and giving the common people evil examples and annoyance. Thus, some bishops believe six alleged witnesses who give evidence of the person to be ordained, who say that he is worthy and skilled for it, but at the time none of them has ever seen or recognized him before; and thus they dare to do enough for the Christian statutes with a pretense alone.

From expenses, so one consecrates the churches or churchyards.

38) When the consecrating bishops consecrate churches, altars and churchyards, they burden the poor people with much food and many other expenses. And even though they themselves confess that they should neither take nor demand any reward for this, they

1) In the old edition: "Gulden". "Gülte" is so much as: Tax, land rent. Cf. St. Louis edition, Vol. III, 8.

The seculars must give them money for their consecration in the guise of a fictitious donation, which they also have their servants solicit and demand from the poor people in such a way that the poor people cannot have it. In addition, the seculars buy some special vessels or dishes for such consecration, and after the consecration they have to redeem them from the consecrating bishop or his servants, or leave them with them, and with all this they do not bring a little money from the seculars everywhere in the bishoprics of German lands. Such other burdens on the seculars should also be stopped.

That the churchyards have to be consecrated at times in an unnecessary way.

39) If two people beat or fight with fists, without any other weapons, in a churchyard, so that one of them becomes a little bloodthirsty, the priests are obliged to keep an interdict and not to practice the Christian works until the community has the churchyard consecrated again, with heavy costs and expenses, as stated above; all to the detriment of the secular persons.

From expenses of the Aebte and Aebtissinnen consecration.

40) If an abbot or abbess is elected, they must, although they are consecrated and ordained for monks and monastic women according to necessity, have the consecrating bishop consecrate them anew, dearly transfer the same consecrating bishop and his servants, and give money for this, in the guise of a donation; This results in much expense, and is detrimental and damaging not only to the same monasteries, but also to the secular authorities to whom such monasteries belong and serve.

From consecration of many other things, belonging to the blaze.

41) If secular persons buy chasubles and many other things belonging to the mass in their churches at their own expense, to the praise of God, they must be consecrated by the consecrating bishops before they are used for the mass, and therefore given to the consecrating bishop for veneration or donation. This inconsistency is also justified. But if the consecrating bishops do not want to have such an effort in vain, then they allow every prelate or priest to do this for free, so that unseemly stinginess is not noted among them.

From bell consecrations.

42) Item, the ordained bishops or sub-bishops have also devised that they, and no other priests, supposedly baptize their bells to the laity, who do not understand it better. And the poor simple-minded man is persuaded by them that because of such alleged baptized bell ringing the devil and the harmful weather should be driven away. Therefore, as many people as are able to give money are asked to be the godparents of such bells, who in the supposed baptism of the bells attack a long rope tied to the bells, and repeat the name of the bells (as used with baptized children) to the consecrating bishop. For this purpose, after the supposed baptism of the bells, a vestment is put on the bells as baptized Christian children, and in such supposed baptism of the bells, the consecrating bishop together with his clergy and servants must be deliciously laid, and special rewards, which he calls a donation, must be given to the consecrating bishop, and all invited godparents of the bells must be fed with apparent food and drink. So that often in a bad village several hundred guilders are raised on such a supposed baptism of bells; which is first of all an unchristian, seductive superstition of the simple-minded people, and in addition a protection of the laymen. In these and other such drudgeries, the highest wealthy bishops handle their consecrated bishops or sub-bishops, so that they may otherwise give them very little for the decay of their episcopal offices, and this is stopped in an equitable manner. If, however, it should ever be good to consecrate the bells (as the consecrating bishops call it against the prudent who question them about it), it is decreed that this consecration be done by any priest, as used with water, salt, palms or roots, in this case also free of charge and without the expense of the laity, so that the poor common people are not thus seduced and brought to harm, and for this reason unseemly suspicion of avarice is prevented.

How the bishops and parish priests desire and take part in the sacrifices and gifts of the pilgrimages.

43) Item, in some monasteries, where there is a pilgrimage, the bishops or prelates want to have the third, or at least the fourth penny of all the offerings that are made, which their own papal rights do not allow them to have, but such offerings are used for help against the Turks, or otherwise for the needs of the next Christian.

How the bishops covet unseemly money from the virgin monasteries.

44) Item, if some virgin monasteries are governed by provosts, who are removable at will and are not perpetual, the bishops do not want to allow such removal and taking in of other provosts, so the monasteries give them some florins.

Of the archpriest officials and other ecclesiastical judges.

45) The officials of the archpriests are commonly unlearned and unskilled, also partly frivolous, greedy persons, and how they themselves sit in open sins and disgraces is found from daily experience; Thus the secular persons, whom they should duly punish for sin, are almost annoyed also in spiritual matters, 1) and in addition are miserably damaged and ruined in their goods by such frivolous persons, in whom nothing but avarice and no Christian conscience appears. Which the archbishops and bishops, if they were right pastors and shepherds of the Christian flock, should put a stop to, and not order such flocks of Christ to such annoying persons.

How the laity are unreasonably dragged before spiritual judgment.

46) The laity are unreasonably dragged into the spiritual courts; for if the plaintiff is spiritual, and the answerer secular, the clergy want to drag such secular answerers into the spiritual courts for the sake of any matter whatsoever; which is publicly against the law, and not convenient for the secular.

How Secular Subjects are Dragged Before Spiritual Courts for Guilt.

47) Item, the clergy also very often take the secular subjects for debt with spiritual rights, before they are denied some cheap help by the secular authorities. And so the poor people, who cannot follow their spiritual rights in many ways, and are also too often not obliged to do so, are brought into supposed banishment, and also ruinous costs and damage, quite wantonly and miserably.

How to cause the seculars unreasonably to demand their subjects in ecclesiastical courts.

48) Item, there are also many other unseemly things that go out by summons and admonition in the ecclesiastical courts against secular persons, regardless of the fact that such ecclesiastical judges know beforehand publicly and undoubtedly that such a matter does not belong before them, and must also dismiss it afterwards; which is also highly burdensome for the secular subjects. For although such matters are subsequently referred to secular ordinary courts at the request of the defendant and secular authorities, the persons unreasonably summoned nevertheless suffer considerable expense and damage as a result. For they must therefore petition their secular authority, which they nevertheless cannot always get near, bring writs and demands from them, and send them to the ecclesiastical judge. On this they also receive a lot of messenger's wages, expenses, board and lodging. And if at any time such a summoned person cannot find his secular authority immediately, and cannot bring about the above-mentioned demand and send it to the ecclesiastical judge before the reminder to the ecclesiastical courts goes out, the ecclesiastical judges do not want to dismiss such secular matters for that reason, no matter what it may be.

That the ecclesiastical judges do not want to reject some special lay matters.

49) If a lawsuit is filed in the ecclesiastical courts for the sake of virginity or unworthy children, for wages or for the sake of a widow, they will not dismiss or dismiss such a lawsuit, which is quite unfair.

From unreasonable costs of secular matters, so drawn to ecclesiastical courts, and sanctified again.

50) Item, if at times secular persons are tried by ecclesiastical courts, as even with public inconsistency, that the same ecclesiastical judges cannot refuse them their requested and desired remission and instruction before their ordinary judges, which they do reluctantly and with difficulty, then the plaintiff's procurator demands his reward for the proceeding to the same answering party, which, as stated above, has been unfairly tried, and therefore legally sanctioned. And the same innocent person must, to

1) In the old edition: "annoy".

2) "Answerer" put by us instead of "Answer" in the old edition.

The judge shall pay the unstable proceedings, which, as reported, have been brought against him, to the extent that he has previously incurred unreasonable neglect, expense, and damage, until he obtains favorable instruction from the ecclesiastical court. For this reason, the judge is also urged to take unnecessary letters and charged with alleged banishment, ut afflicto afflicto addatur, irrespective of the fact that the damage caused to him, who has thus acted in an irregular manner and has therefore been reprimanded, should by law be paid by the opposing party. But the ecclesiastical judges need such a contradiction of rights so that all the more unreasonable plaintiffs adhere to their courts, and they thus bring unreasonable benefit from the people.

How to urge several new tithes to be given.

51) Item, if the laity do not give small and large tithes of some properties for many years, they are so oppressed in ecclesiastical courts (since they have no profit) that they must give the tithes or other things demanded of them, or suffer supposed excommunication; considering, even if they appeal to Rome from an evil judgment, how heavy, impossible, and unequal a discharge they might receive there.

As the ecclesiastical officers and commanders, the laity are also subject to the ecclesiastical courts.

52) The ecclesiastics do not only bring the laity before the ecclesiastical judges on their own behalf in such and such cases, but also the ecclesiastical officials, mayors, servants and subjects are subject to the same use as their sovereigns.

Of shameful things done in the spiritual court.

53) If it ever happens that ecclesiastical persons have to sue for iniquities and abusive words against laymen, the ecclesiastical judge shall also be the judge of these matters, so that the answerer is forced by his ordinary judge.

How to bring secular matters before the ecclesiastical court on account of a committed crime.

54) Item, the Officials shall take, so in secular matters and between secular per

If a contract is made between two people, by oaths or oaths, a bodily or written obligation, a proclamation or a promise, then such things should be settled before them. And if this should be the case, all secular contracts and letters, which are usually made with such stipulation and obligation, would have to be settled in the ecclesiastical courts, and the secular courts would have to be held in vain; which is unpleasant to all secular authorities, and also contrary to law and equity. If, however, the ecclesiastical courts are to be allowed something on account of perjuries sworn in person, they could not thereby become judges of the main secular matters for which a perjury was sworn, but would have to punish the perjured persons solely for the sin of public perjury, and atone for it with ecclesiastical penance, but the secular judges, who have to atone for the perjuries with penal punishment, would not be able to break off such punishment on account of their punishment.

How the ecclesiastical estates do not keep nor handle their self-made reformation of the ecclesiastical courts.

55) Item, the ecclesiastical estates not only despise and override common established rights, but also make, for example, the bishops and prelates, because of the ecclesiastical courts and sends, especially supposed reformation, statutes and laws, which in some parts are contrary to common rights, and especially to all secular jurisdiction and authorities, also to their subjects, and are almost harmful. But regardless of the fact that these reforms and laws are mostly based on the advantage of the clergy over the seculars, and that the seculars are not obligated to accept them by law, they are not kept by the clergy themselves, according to right and reasonable understanding. For, although the same reformations are usually based on the fact that secular matters should not be brought before ecclesiastical judges, that before such judges and courts not only secret but only public, grievous, spiritual sins should be dealt with, and that in all this not money but only our Lord Jesus Christ and the salvation of souls should be sought, nevertheless, from public works of this kind, and almost many pieces, there is quite a contradiction, as is partly touched upon in, before, and after the reported articles with brevity. And if a bishop would be inclined to put an end to such iniquity, his oath, which he swore in his election, obliges him to do so.

How they impose more monetary than spiritual penance on sinners.

56) Item, although the ecclesiastical judges and officials are to set only ecclesiastical penances for ecclesiastical manifest sin, so that, as has been stated, it is noted that they alone seek the salvation of souls, and not money, yet they set the same ecclesiastical penances all the more heavily, so that the laymen buy them from them with money; thereby they value and bring almost a lot of money from the people, and are thus parties and judges for their own enjoyment, which is nevertheless against God, right and all fairness.

Now often are weighted down by unfounded, dressed-up slander because of honorable men and women.

57) If, because of sins or vices, a man or woman is reprimanded before the official or ecclesiastical court, such a person must, if he or she does not otherwise wish to be judged guilty, purging himself or herself with his or her oath. If he has thus cleared himself and is then to be held innocent, for which reason it is also proper to release the person from his damage, he must give the official or ecclesiastical judge two guilders for this purpose, and a place of one guilder for an unnecessary letter of judgment, which he is urged to take. Therefore the officials and ecclesiastical judges also seek out such unjust reprimands, and bring them before them; from this then follows much great complaint. If a woman is reproached by another for being an adulteress or sorceress out of anger or envy, and comes before the official, he also charges the same women to excuse herself with her oath. Now everyone can well appreciate that in these cases a woman must swear that she is guilty or innocent, if she wants to keep her worldly honor and temporal life otherwise. From this, not only evil enjoyment of money, but also much foreknowledge of perjury can be sought and will follow; this will also at times prevent the secular judge from his due punishment.

How the spiritual judges unreasonably seek interest from divorced matrimonial cases.

58) Item, if a man and a woman act with each other on account of holy matrimony in such a way that they provide that there shall be a marriage between them, and therefore one of them gives the other clothes, jewels or other things to keep, and then on account of the marriage they dispute, also from the

Official, he wants to have an unfair interest, namely all that one has given to the other to keep, which is against all rights, even all respectability and equity.

Of some things that may be done in ecclesiastical and secular courts.

59) Item, although there are many things that can be done, judged and punished according to the ability of the rights with ecclesiastical and secular courts, nevertheless many things happen when the secular judges, as they have power, use their judicial power, that they are forbidden to do so by the ecclesiastical judges with the ban. And so, where it is to take place, the ecclesiastical judges may take whatever they want from the secular courts and authorities; this is highly burdensome and unpleasant for the Emperor's Majesty and her secular members. And even though, according to the law, public perjury, adultery, sorcery, and the like are subject to civil punishment by ecclesiastical and secular judges, whichever comes first, and thus prevention is permitted, the ecclesiastical judges alone are entitled to inflict such punishment against the law. This is very burdensome for the secular authorities, and it is not easy.

How secular matters, for lack of secular assistance, are brought before the spiritual courts.

60) If secular persons apply to the ecclesiastical judges for a summons in secular matters and claim that the secular authorities do not want to help them legally, the ecclesiastical judges shall grant the same plaintiffs a summons and other process before they first thoroughly show or prove that they have been denied justice before the secular authorities. And if the matter is then referred and dismissed at the request of the secular authorities or the defendant, the secular judge is given almost four weeks to finally help the plaintiff. If in that time the final judgment and its execution are not issued, the ecclesiastical judge shall allow the plaintiff to continue to proceed before him in accordance with his rights. It is quite unreasonable that a case before a secular judge should be completed in four weeks, but not in three, four or more years before the ecclesiastical judge. The same is done in Rome by the papal judges, and such plaintiffs are believed on their oaths; for this reason, too, they often cause the opposing party to suffer noticeably and to be dismissed.

The court shall be entitled to take legal action in cases where there is a lack of legal assistance from the secular authorities. And the ecclesiastical judges say that in such cases they may bring secular matters before them if there is a lack of legal assistance from secular authorities. And yet they will not tolerate it if a cleric or a secular person sues in clerical matters and feels a lack of legal assistance from the clerical judge, so that he may apply to the secular authorities for justice in the same way. However, the written laws generally make the same distinction, as the papal rights are to come to the aid of the secular, and again the secular rights are to come to the aid of the papal rights.

That the ecclesiastical judges are attempting to use the presumed statute of limitations to impose secular judicial constraints on themselves.

61) Item, the ecclesiastical estates in some places are also subject to drag secular persons and things before them in justification from protracted use, quasi *possessione* and statute-barred prescription, thereby diminishing, withdrawing and averting from Imperial Majesty and the Roman Empire their highest dignity of secular jurisdiction and judicial compulsion; However, it is evidently right that against the high authority of the pope and Roman emperor no one may prescribe or make use of some statute of limitations, regardless of whether someone has used and brought something quietly for almost many years. As the ecclesiastical judges impose double punishment on death-rowers and other sinners.

62) Item, after often and much happens, also in some cathedral churches *statutes* or abuses are that the death-strikers and other sinners of male and female persons, and especially in Lent, in the holy week of martyrdom, after done confession, for death-strikers and other cases, which are reserved and reserved to the bishops, must obviously do penance, as such is kept in use, and even though they do their penance publicly, which brings them no small disgrace in the eyes of the world, they must nevertheless at times, after such open penance, give the officials much money to pay off, and thus suffer two punishments for one deed, by which many a man is highly burdened, that he must give friendship to the official more for punishment than for payment of the deprived, or the same ordinary worldly jurisdiction. All this is against divine and common written law.

How the ecclesiastical judges and officiales tolerate unseemly attendance and usury for the sake of money.

63) If priests or other consecrated persons have public wives who have given birth to children in a condemned birth, or if two persons are otherwise in adultery, or if in these cases another person's wife commits adultery, the officials and ecclesiastical judges shall take money and let such wicked persons sit quietly in sin and disgrace for the sake of an annual interest (which they receive for this). They do the same with usurers. In this way, other Christian people are easily angered, moved to sin and shame, provoked and led, and thus many people are miserably ruined, not only in their temporal goods, but also for the sake of their souls. If at times it is doubtfully stated that one of two spouses may have died in a foreign place, the officials take money and allow the desired spouse, without knowing the right reason, to have residence with [another] person, and take such toleration, from which much spiritual and temporal damage often follows.

How the senders demand unreasonable interest from the houses.

64) In some places, the lords of the church demand money from houses in towns and villages every year, and if this is not given to them, the poor people are banished and thus forced to pay such and many other such unreasonable amounts.

How to require weekly allowance from craftsmen.

65) In some places, they take weekly wages from millers, innkeepers, bakers, butchers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, tailors, shepherds, cowherds and other craftsmen. And if they do not pay it, they are forced to do so with a supposed ban.

Of unreasonable arrests and punishments of ecclesiastical judges.

66) Item, in many places it is an abuse that upon a layman's request in secular matters the ecclesiastical judge issues inhibition and prohibition letters against other laymen, before the ordinary secular judge not further, but before the ecclesiastical judge.

to be legally executed by him, the ecclesiastical judge. If the opposing party desires to be tried before his own ordinary judge, the ecclesiastical judge will have to decide whether the matter belongs before him or the secular judge, and the same judge, as a party in this case, will recognize himself as the judge, and will also handle it with increased banishment. Should such laymen appeal to Rome for this reason, it is not in their power. Moreover, the ecclesiastical high courts in Rome are also partial in such and similar matters; thus the ecclesiastical estates inflict much innumerable damage on the imperial majesty and the secular estates, and deprive them of their authority.

Of the great disadvantage that the laity have to deal with the officials in their ecclesiastical courts.

67) Item, if an ecclesiastical judge or official brings a layman before his ecclesiastical court, he has for such rights advocates, procurator and clerk free of charge, but the layman must transfer the right out of his pocket at great expense; thereby the laymen are pressed into many highly burdensome, unfair contracts, according to the will and prejudice of the ecclesiastical estates.

For what reasons external advocates and procurators are not allowed to be used in the ecclesiastical courts.

68) Item, the ecclesiastical judges want that all parties, who hang before their courts, do not take other advocates or procuratores, than in the city, where such courts are held. They also often set as short dates that lawyers or procuratores who are not available may not be used, and they use bogus reasons for this, as if it would be too good for the rights, for which the same lawyers and procuratores should be obligated; and yet this usually happens for a repugnant reason, as one finds publicly in daily experience. For the same judges know that such advocates and procurators, who sit with them, must have such great fear and awe of them and their sovereigns that they must not give advice or speak to the parties for legitimate defense and exception against their, the judges' and the parties', unreasonable authority; and for this reason the ecclesiastical prelates and others who live there know well, when they or theirs have to do with ecclesiastical rights, how hard every advocate and procurator has to work.

curator, a stranger, a foreigner, must fear the necessity of counseling and speaking against them. And even if someone does not want to confess to such timidity and fear of advocates and procurators, public, daily experience proves it, and it is very seldom that an advocate or another is so perfect and steadfast that neither fear, hope, love nor sorrow prevents him from all diligent promotion of justice, but may be fortunate, if an advocate or procurator has none of the aforementioned hindrances, that he nevertheless does not spare necessary diligence: how much more so if he is surrounded by the aforementioned fear. And this is to be done, so that the parties may take advocates or procurators within quite a few miles of the court of their choice, who would therefore do their due duty, like the other advocates and procurators who sit in the city where the court is held. And in this way, one would be able to avoid all the more unseemly encumbrances in one's rights.

How the sacraments are reserved for the poor for almost minor reasons.

69) Item, if ever someone owes the priest or the church, and cannot pay because of poverty, and therefore asks for quite a goal, the sacraments are withheld. And yet the secular rulers often have patience in such cases with the poor, impossible people, because of owed payment, much more this is due to the clergy, who for the sake of God and merciful works are endowed superfluously by the secular, but who, contrary to this, use great harshness against the poor with alleged banishment and otherwise, even without reasonable request of the ordinary authorities.

How the sends are used unformally.

70) Item, the mission, which according to the legend of the rights should be prepared once over several years, is now prepared 1) and practiced every year in some bishoprics, for the sake of the treasures of the secular states' subjects. Thus, even the mission is not kept, as it is established in the papal laws, nor is it ordered in the Reformation made by the bishops and their chapters themselves, in which they do not forget their advantage, but it is publicly directed and acted against and contrary to the same, for the unreasonable treasury and the oppression of the poor, as public daily history gives (and is also reported before).

1) In No. 539, Col. 1768 it says: "mounted".

Of cathedral and choir canons, priests, and other clerical persons in general.

71) Item, the ecclesiastical courts and the above-mentioned office usually belong to the canons of the same cathedral monasteries, and the canons of the cathedral monasteries do not elect a bishop, likewise the canons in the collegiate monasteries do not elect one as their prelate, He had previously bound himself to the highest degree with oaths, and had committed himself to them in such a way that he would not turn against them or their appointed judges and officials (whether he would otherwise be inclined to do so) their burdensome, unreasonable conduct and actions, nor would he punish them himself for their misconduct. This is undoubtedly not a small cause of many unseemly abuses of the monasteries, and should not be tolerated by papal sanctity, and should be stopped.

That the poor people are burdened with taking money for the sacraments, burial, soul utensils, and many other things.

72) Item, although the seculars endowed many parishes with them and usually so endowed that pious, spiritual, better pastors should and would like to maintain themselves honestly, stately and well, also especially the holy sacraments are highly forbidden to sell, so also the same parish priests with the administration of the sacraments of the altar and baptism, also the dead Begängniß, Seelgeräthe, The parish priests and their vicars, vice-parish priests, chaplains, and journeymen priests are also pressed for a lot of money and highly burdened, so that it partly follows that some parishes, monasteries, and convents are incorporated, or very highly graved, retired, abandoned, and translated with absences by other ecclesiastics, prelates, canons, canons, and Roman curtsians. Some of them also retain the associated benefices and tithes of the parishes, on which they, according to the statutes of the rights, should reside personally. Many vicars or parish administrators may not have their due abstinence, but must make do and live with the same sacrifices, confessionals, sepultures, funerals, spiritual devices, and similar impositions, which they have increased in some places in recent times, and with alleged banishment and pressure from the poor. Also because of this, the parsonages and parsonage houses in western buildings 1) cannot be preserved. Thereby they force the poor, so their friends the first,

1) "in western buildings" ----- in structural condition.

2) and anniversaries, and also to perform memorial services in the pulpit, are not able to make money from the masses they sing and read. From this they make not a little, but considerable money, if they sell their mass not only once or twice, but often three times, four times or even more, and intend to earn two or three fiefdoms with one mass.

From unreasonable prohibition of grape harvesting.

73) Item, if the poor people want to pick their grapes in the fall, as this is convenient and cheap for everyone for his benefit; if such is not pleasing to the ecclesiastical estates, which have the wine tithes in the same places, they forbid the same ecclesiastical estates that they should not pick such grapes until they allow them to do so. And so, from time to time, these poor people must suffer great harm and damage to their grapes, which they have cultivated all year with hard labor, for the sake of such ecclesiastical estates' tithes and unseemly, self-seeking benefits, or perhaps for the sake of envy; which is publicly contrary to God, right and all equity, and should not be tolerated, but stopped.

How the pastors require money from their parishioners deduction.

74) If someone moves from one parish to another and is honestly confirmed there, the first parish priest demands one guilder from his parishioner for a letter of permission. And if the parish priests refuse to do so, they forbid them the sacraments. From this it appears publicly that the sacraments, mass and other things touched upon by the seculars, on which the clergy endowed, and for this reason previously highly endowed with tithes, interest and fees, must be purchased anew by the clergy. How one must buy the churchyard of some deceased.

75) Item, [if] at times some laymen, without previous confession and desire of the sacrament of the altar, perish approximately, and thus are found drowned, slain, or otherwise dead, these dead bodies the ecclesiastics want, regardless of the fact that such deceased persons are not to be found in any other place.

2) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XXII, 773. Table Talks, Cap. 24, § 126.

3) "honest" put by us instead of: "conjugal". Compare No. 539, Col. 1754.

If the deceased's relatives are not of public condemned status (because of which the papal laws forbid reported burial), they may not be buried in the consecrated churchyards, unless their wives, children or friends have previously made an agreement with them for money. And if such relatives of the deceased do not want to suffer worldly shame and disrepute, they must buy the churchyard in such cases. But whoever has money or money's worth to give for it, may have his friends (regardless of how much public sin and disgrace they have lived in) buried not only in the churchyard, but also in the churches, and like the saints. That is also one of the spiritual money snares.

How many in the spiritual state keep themselves unspiritual, also practice much bickering, on the promise of spiritual freedom.

76) Several priests and other priests mingle with the common man in taverns and taverns, drinking, playing and dancing. Some of them also go out at night with murderous weapons, and about in worldly clothes on the gaff, and start a lot of quarrels and quarrels with the laity, taking and putting off their consecration and the same freedom, by which they give the laity cause for violent action. And if then one of the same priests is wounded by the laity, or made bodiless (regardless of what good causes this may be), not only the perpetrators, but all are suspected, held in contempt, from which they must buy themselves with great, heavy costs. If, however, the laymen are wounded by them, they must always suffer injustice and damage from the ecclesiastical judges. This is a great, unpleasant inequality.

How some clergymen 1) keep house and 2) take scholars.

77) Item, there are also some clerics who keep open businesses, and in the places where they want to have sovereignty, they or their servants, who are also priests, set up dice, ball and card games at the church consecrations, and take the profit and pay from it, and impudently say that it belongs to them out of sovereignty. This, however, is highly forbidden in papal and secular laws, and is most repugnant to the clergy.

How they move the sick to deprive their rightful heirs of their goods.

78) The terminators, also other monks and priests, persuade the sick, with whom they know money or property, with seductive words, as if they should thereby pay off divine punishment and buy the kingdom of heaven, that after their death, they should confiscate or legate their possessions and goods. Thereof often lay children and rightful heirs of that which they are entitled to in the sight of God and out of all fairness, have to go without with miserable great lack, and because of that they have to suffer misery, poverty and ruin.

As the Order of the Temple brings a lot of money to Rome, the monasteries of the Virgins are also burdened.

79) Item, because from some mendicant orders many things, and at times unnecessarily, are drawn to Rome in justification, so that the ordinaries, pastors and laymen may be hard-pressed, also such justifications may not be maintained without money, and in addition their general (as one says) cannot become cardinal without noticeable expenditure, and then the same monks over the virgin monasteries of their order, It is to be feared that they will take much money from the same virgin monasteries for the above-mentioned and other reasons, and lead to pernicious troubles, and also forbid them, with eternal imprisonment, to disclose their concerns and needs to anyone but them. In order to improve this, it would be good and fair that the same mendicant monks and virgin monasteries would all be staffed and provided by the lordship in whose jurisdiction they are located with caretakers and administrators who would have knowledge of all their income and expenditures, and thus the aforementioned complaints would be prevented and averted.

That due to the above-mentioned complaints, action was also taken at the most recent Imperial Diet in Worms.

80) Item, the aforementioned complaints concerning the See of Rome, also the archbishops, bishops, prelates, oficiales, sends, ecclesiastical courts, and other persons of the ecclesiastical estates, have also been submitted in writing to the several parts of the Roman Imperial Majesty by the secular estates of the Empire at the recently held Imperial Diet at Worms.

1) In the old edition: "spiritual".

2) "Scholder" --- profit, or share in it.

1) and to fall away in a gracious and reasonable way, to murder in the most submissive way. This complaint also remained unanswered at that time by the archbishops, bishops and other ecclesiastical estates, but for this reason no improvement has been found among them so far. Therefore, the secular estates have decided to report the unpleasant complaints to Papal Holiness, at the gracious Christian request of His Holiness, and to ask for a gracious remedy, so that further harm may be prevented.

That there are more complaints before your eyes, which will be omitted this time for the sake of brevity.

81) And although the secular estates of the Holy Roman Empire would have to report their complaints against the ecclesiastical estates much more, they want to refrain from reporting them for this time, for the sake of brevity, and because they are sure that many of the other unnamed deficiencies should fall through the resolution of the above-mentioned complaints, and reserve the right to end them at another time, if necessity would require it.

Request of all estates to papal holiness.

After all this, it is the humble request of all secular high and low estates to papal holiness that their holiness graciously stop and abolish all the aforementioned complaints against the Roman See and other affected ecclesiastical estates and persons, as has been requested in part above, also, and bishops are obligated to do by their chapters, to settle them by necessary Christian commandment and absolution, and to show themselves in all this as fatherly and gracious, that such complaints are all and especially, finally and permanently averted for the most beneficial. As the secular estates, first of all for the sake of divine praise and honor, also according to necessity and fairness, and especially on the basis of their sanctity, will certainly and undoubtedly put themselves in praise of their Christian heritage, and in turn will hold themselves against their papal sanctity as obedient sons, and against the other ecclesiastical estates as Christian brothers and members. If, however, such complaints are not resolved within a certain period of time, which the secular estates do not provide for, they do not want their sanctity to be restrained from such unpleasant actions.

1) No. 539 in this volume.

The people of the city, who could not tolerate this pernicious complaint any longer, would be urged by necessity to think of other suitable ways and means for themselves, how they might escape and be discharged from such complaints and tribulations by the ecclesiastical estates.

723 The papal legate Chieregati's replica or counter-answer, in which he rebuked the estates, but singled out the pope immensely, insisted on the execution of the edict of Worms, and accused the estates of acting so foolishly in God's cause, and so violently offending God, the apostolic see, and the emperor.

Feb. 7, 1523.

This document is written in Latin in Goldasts stat. st rssript. irapsrat. a Carol. V. aa Ruäolpntira, toa. II, p. 33 and sonstit. imprial., toa. I, p. 455 and in VVolui lsetion. nwmorad. tom. II, p. 200. for the time determination, see no. 720.

Translated from the Latin by M. Aug. Tittel.

Most Serene Imperial Majesty Commissarius, Most Reverend Fathers, Highborn Princes, and the entire Holy Imperial Council of Respectable Estates 2c.

Since, after my long wait, I finally received an answer from you the other day in the Lutheran matter, I wanted to indicate to Your Serene Highnesses and Glories, not only verbally but also in writing, how little such an answer pleased me, and consequently how little it could please the Roman Pontiff and all of Christendom. And, that I for now pass over much that is said immediately at the entrance of your answer about your reverence, loyalty and respect towards our most holy Lord and the apostolic holy see, therefore I nevertheless thank you kindly in the name of their holiness towards your majesties and glories, I will only come to that which seems to require some addition, improvement and explanation, and the rest, however, as it reads, I will place and leave to our most holy Lord's favor,

(2) First of all, as regards the fact that Your Serene Majesties say and apologize that, because the people of Germany imagined that the Roman Court was causing them great hardships, and that they were still suffering daily from it many annoyances and inconveniences, they were not responsible for

The Council considers it expedient to execute the sentence of the Apostolic See and the imperial order, lest greater and worse evils arise from them,

(3) The answer to this is that neither our most holy Lord, nor imperial majesty, nor any Christian prince would have assumed such an answer from you. For if Luther erred before the apostolic judgment (which is based on the judgments of so many illustrious men and universities), and also before the imperial command in one piece, he erred after such judgment and command in much more, and omitted nothing to throw the whole orthodox religion overboard. Therefore, if the punishments are to be made equal according to the crime, but he and his followers have erred more and more every day, as is evident, then the punishments must be increased and augmented, but not reduced, as is done according to your present conclusion. For as for the answer itself, therein the divine majesty is offended, whose cause is so ill taken to heart. The reputation of the pope and the apostolic see is insulted. The imperial highness is insulted, whose conclusions and decrees are so freely inhibited, abolished and struck down. It also offends your common honor, since you were all present when the imperial decree was made, and you lent it your prestige.

(4) And the pretext is bad that, in order to avoid the astonishment, the aforementioned apostolic decree and the imperial order are not to be executed. For one must not tolerate evil so that good may result from it, and one must look more to that which belongs to the salvation of souls than of the body. And those who want to adhere to Luther are not to be excused by saying that because of the annoyances and burdens given to them by the Roman court (even if such were true) they should therefore separate themselves from the unity of the Catholic faith and plunge into the abyss of all misery. For they should rather suffer everything patiently and willingly than plunge themselves and their souls with such great danger. And if they should have done this at all times, how much more should they have rejoiced, since they saw that the kind and almighty God has now given His Church the best shepherd, the most holy shepherd (I say), and a German, who will not only faithfully maintain and improve the whole Church, but also bring Germany back to the old godliness, and honor it with many glorious gifts in everything that can be rightly done.

Therefore, I heartily and most diligently ask you, most noble and excellent lords, to let yourselves be moved by these truthful reasons, before this noble Imperial Diet comes to an end, to conclude and to become councillors, so that the aforementioned apostolic sentence and imperial command will be executed and come into effect, without any diminution, because Germany's welfare is largely, indeed, entirely based on it. And if the German peoples, as it is said, are in some respects adversely affected by the Roman court, that they indicate such. For the apostolic see, which is the most benevolent mother of all the oppressed, will show itself willing to help them and to protect and defend them to the best of its ability.

(6) Concerning the settlement of the disputes and discords among the ecclesiastical and secular princes, and the articles to be indicated and moderated, it is answered that if our most holy Lord hears of such disputes and quarrels, he will certainly see to it, according to his duty, that they are settled and resolved, because he is just as kindly disposed toward his and the church's sons, the ecclesiastical princes, as toward the ecclesiastical ones. He will also arrange everything among them so that what is his may happen to everyone and no one may be wronged.

As for the annata, which are not to be paid in Rome, but are to be kept in Germany for the handling of the Imperial Regiment, since some difficulty was found in my oral explanation, the answer is reserved for the Pope himself, which will be given either to the Imperial Court or to the future Imperial Assembly, as Her Holiness may find best.

(8) As for the advice given by Your Serene Majesties that, in view of the legitimate causes they cite, Our Most Holy Lord should convene a general council, the answer is that they hope it will not displease Their Holiness, especially because of all the same causes; but they ask that such a council be given another, better name, and that what can bring some harm to Their Holiness be removed: e.g. that it be called by the will of Their Imperial Majesty, that it be free, and that oath and duty be enacted; likewise that it rather be called by one than by the will of Their Imperial Majesty. For example, that her Holiness appoint such a council with the will of her Imperial Majesty, that it be free, and that oaths and obligations be issued; likewise, that it rather be established in one city than in another, and the like. For if this were not omitted, her Holiness's hands would seem to have been touched by your

The court has been informed orally that it is to be bound to the illustrious lordships.

9. Concerning the preachers who henceforth have to preach the Word of God among the faithful, the answer is that our most holy Lord has recently decreed in a most holy and godly manner, with his most reverend brethren's (the Cardinals') counsel and approval, to the following effect: that, during the harmful sect in Germany, no one may henceforth preach the Word of God in any city or district, unless he has been previously examined by the bishop or his official because of his learning and efficiency, and such has been approved by them and found to be godly and Christian; and he has likewise been appointed to such preaching office by the very bishop or his official, who shall also have the power to remove him again and to chastise him if he falls from the right path. For the rest, everything that Your Serene Majesties otherwise say about the said preachers is right, that they preach the Gospel with an interpretation of the Scriptures that the Church considers good.

(10) Concerning the printers and sellers, or other distributors of Lutheran books and others, who cherish and protect his sect, it is replied that one cannot be at all satisfied with the answer given, that Your Serene Majesties will see to it according to their ability and will decree that such books are not printed or distributed 2c. For here I say, as in other matters, that the sentence of the Apostolic See and of the Imperial Highness shall be executed entirely and without diminution, but that those who print or sell the said books, and otherwise distribute them, shall be punished according to the said sentences. And here I ask that special attention be paid to this, for everything depends on restraining this harmful sect, so that such books are nowhere tolerated. For it is from the reading of them that all this misfortune has sprung.

(11) As for the point that no one can print such books from now on unless they have first been examined by a learned man, I say that in this respect the statute of the latest Lateran Concilii, which is now in use, is to be adhered to, and is to the effect that no one can print some books, under the penalty set therein, unless the ordinary bishop of the place or his official has read and examined them and found them to be Christian and has declared them to be so.

(12) Concerning the clergy who marry, it is replied that what is given in reply does not seem to be displeasing, if the clergy marry.

there is nothing evil behind it. Therefore, it is requested to explain the words that are at the end of the point of said answer: 1) but if otherwise such transgressors of the vows sinned in the dominion and territory of a secular prince or sovereignty, that they would then be punished and chastised with proper and due punishments 2c.

For I say that if these words are to be understood according to the foregoing, namely, that such should be punished by their spiritual judges, then I allow it. But if they aim at the punishment of secular princes or authorities, then I say and implore that such an answer, which runs counter to the freedom and right of the church, be corrected and put into its right mind. For if secular princes were to punish and judge such things, they would be encroaching on a foreign office and touching those that are especially reserved for Christ. And the princes must not think that such fell into their power and jurisdiction because of transgression of vows or apostasy, if they sinned in their territory or dominion; for because of such transgression or abuse of their estate they do not cease to remain under the church's jurisdiction. Because they still retain their priestly character and status, they still remain under the church. Therefore, if they sin in the territories of the princes, they shall report them to the bishops or other superiors, so that they may discipline and punish them; and, if necessary, they shall faithfully help and assist said bishops or superiors with their arm. About all of which the apostolic nuncio asks that, after mature deliberation of your noble lordships, a better, clearer, more thoughtful, and more sufficient answer be given.

E. From the Elector of Saxony's advice to Luther, Planitz reminded him to moderate his violent style of writing.

724 Luther's response and offer to the Elector of Saxony's request that he refrain from harsh writing. Wittenberg, May 29, 1523.

The original of this letter is found in the Weimar Gesamt-Archiv, and after the same printed in Seidemann's "Lutherbriefe", p. 18; then in Spalatin's

1) In No. 720, § 24 z. E.
2) In the old edition: "his".

Annales, p. 71 and thereafter by Walch. Complete also in De Wette, vol. II, p. 335 supposedly according to the original, but several of Spalatin's false readings are found in the text; thereafter in the Erlangen edition, vol. 53, p. 163. Incomplete, with omission of the first half of the letter, in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 175d; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 247d; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 348 and in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 480. We give the text according to Seidemann. The flyleaf with the inscription and Luther's petal is no longer present.

Grace and peace in Christ before. Most Serene, Highborn Prince, Most Gracious Lord! After E. C. G. has informed me in the past days how the Roman Imperial Majesty's governors, princes and other councillors of the Imperial Regiment have written to her: When, at the next Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, the Pope, through his nuncio, ordered the Crown of Hungary to appear with assistance, advertised and interceded, the same nuncio, orally and through a papal breve and also an instruction, subsequently admonished and reminded me and my followers of my manifold writings and teachings: that necessity would require, with due concern, to see to it that such letters and doctrines, which are to serve as a cause for rebellion, occur, with the appended request that the imperial states mentioned open and communicate to the pope their discretion and advice as to the means and ways by which such a thing might be countered. And thereupon highly-named governors, princes, princes and estates, upon much thought and consideration, form and occasion of all things, have been able to produce no more consoling, ugly means at this time, than that the pope, with the approval of Roman imperial majesty, should procure a free Christian council to be held in the situated stables of the German nation and to be approached for the longest possible time within a year, as the above-mentioned governors, princes, princes and other estates have submitted and sent to the pope their advice and discretion against Christianity, and have also offered to use and have used all diligence in the meantime for such a council, and in particular with E. C. G., because I and some of my followers in E. C. G. countries, to act diligently, so that I and my followers henceforth neither write nor print anything new in a certain period of time.

Confidence, E.C.G. would, as an honest Elector, be helpful to do so, just as every Elector, Prince and other Estates of the Realm should decree in his supremacy that nothing other than the holy Gospel, approved and accepted by the Christian Church according to the interpretation of the Scriptures, should be preached in the meantime, and that nothing new should be printed or sold, unless it has first been inspected and approved by learned persons who should be specially instructed to do so. And because then the same governors, electors, princes and estates, by hurriedly going away, have ordered E. C. G. to write such things and to take all possible care. and to use all diligence to ensure that I and my followers do not write or have printed anything new until the future Council, they have prevented this from happening, they have made a promise to the Imperial Regiment, and that they will attribute such a promise, made to the Pope, and also the decision of the Estates in the case to E.C.G., and that all this will be done by E.C.G., as far as they are concerned, as far as they are concerned, most diligently, with attached request that E.C.G. will order, occur and prevent, so that I and my followers of the place in the above-mentioned case in the meantime of the future Concilii, as determined above, will not have anything more written or printed, so that the presumed and provided promise, made to the pope, that such things will be hopefully brought to the attention of E.C.G., will be fulfilled. C.G., and that in this case, the above-mentioned farewell may be carried out with all the more certainty 2c. And thereupon let E. C. G. act and speak with me with diligence, that her desire is to keep me in that of the fee and unreprimandable, so that, because the imperial mandate let E. C. G. now go out to such an extent, that one would not have to complain that in the things something unfair would be done with attached manifold well-considered causes, all of which would be too long to tell and annoying to E. C. G. to read. 1)

Therefore, most gracious sir, E.C.G. I do not wish to be of the humble opinion that I have accepted such a request from E.C.G. with all due respect: Thank you, and may E.C.G. write with good reason, that my

1) Only here the letter starts in the above-mentioned editions.

I have never been, nor have I ever been, in my mind and opinion, to write without glory, according to some of my previous offerings, nor have I ever been, nor have I ever been, to revile anyone of high or low estate, or to write or teach or preach anything that might give cause for movement, disobedience, dissension and sedition in the holy realm, or to lead the Christian people astray, against which I have also often written and preached harshly, but my intention has always been and still is to write, teach, preach, do and promote nothing else than what is necessary and useful for the strengthening of God's word and honor, also of the holy true faith and the love of neighbor, and thus for the salvation of common Christianity, as I also know with divine help to excuse myself before my God with a good conscience. However, the fact that I have so far written so harshly and earnestly against a number of different people is not without cause, but has happened without hatred and an unchristian heart on my part, even though I know almost well that such my harsh writing has been and still is against many of my friends and enemies, even E. C. G. himself. In addition, E. C. G. has repeatedly defended and persuaded me to refrain from doing so, as well as when I, without E. C. G.'s advice, knowledge, and will, first had to write this letter. C. G.'s advice, knowledge and will, I first set out on the plan, and last year I went to Wittenberg again on my own adventure, not with the opinion of burdening anyone on earth, but of waiting for the crowd that my God commanded me to have, and to serve the whole Christian community with my poor fortune, as I am obliged to do out of Christian duties.

I would also be heartily inclined to refrain from further writing, before the hard writing. However, because some of my detractors, especially Johannes Faber, vicar of the bishop of Costnitz, wrote a large Latin book 1) against me, which recently went out in print in Leipzig, and also Emser wrote a German book based on the one in German.

1) Ioannis l'apri Oonstantisnsis in spiritualidus Viearii Opus adysrsus nova Hiasdahn st a kristiana rvliZionk prorsus ališna doZnaata Martini l'uttikri. Preprinted Dpistola nuncupatoria ad Adrian. VI. ? . M. - Leipzig by Melchior Lotther 1523 in the Marci DvanAklistak (April 26). Small folio. (Seidemann.)

who against me, though not nearly useful, nor harmful to me, goes out with many a blasphemy, not only of my Christian name, but also of the holy gospel, will ever be difficult for me, as E. C. G. and all Christian people can judge, that I should endure such blasphemy against God, my Lord, and that my opponents' wanton writing should be honest, and my necessary and forced rewriting by them so wickedly dishonest and forbidden, but I want to be of strong confidence and hope in God, because the imperial mandate, which has now gone out, among others, clearly holds, that only the holy gospel is to be preached and taught, and the teachers or preachers are to be instructed in an authoritative manner and in such a way that it may not be understood from this as if one wanted to prevent or suppress the evangelical truth, and that I should also be unbidden and unprovoked against all men, if I had to place myself under written responsibility, more for the sake of divine evangelical truth than for the sake of my innocence.

All of which I have no longer to leave undisclosed, in humble obedience to E. C. G., asking in all due respect to graciously note this humble answer of mine, and also, if it pleases E. C. G., to let it continue to reach me. For praise be to God, I am not ashamed of my actions and do not know how to be ashamed of things and of God's word. May the eternal God enlighten and strengthen E. C. G.'s heart through His divine grace and mercy, Amen. At Wittenberg, Friday after the Day of Pentecost [May 29] Anno 1523.

E. C. G.
servant Martinus Luther.

Of the futile proposals made at this Diet to settle Luther's case amicably.

725: In July 1523, a proposal came to light to settle Luther's case amicably.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 175; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 246; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 343; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 479.

(1) There should be a day, approximately around Michaelmas, at Zerbst or Naumburg, whichever place is most convenient to my gracious lord, the Cardinal and Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz, or else, if His Grace does not like this place, another one suggested by His Grace, which may also be convenient and acceptable to D. Martino. On such day and place the Cardinal and Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz, and the Bishop of Merseburg, and also D. Martinus should appear, and there each party should draw four or five persons to and next to him, for such action, and there in the most amicable and conciliatory way, D. Martini's matters and articles should be discussed, his answer and instruction graciously heard, and it should be tried whether the same articles should be united and settled in whole or in part, according to the reasons and indications of the Holy Scriptures that have been led on both sides.

2 And for such a day and action, two secular princes, if they were able, should be asked to be present at and next to such amicable action and information, and to listen to the same, as it happens. As Duke Hans and Duke George of Saxony are considered convenient, if their graces are able to do so. If not, however, two other secular princes, or at least two counts, should be requested and asked to do so.

In the meantime, Martinus was to refrain from sharp writing, especially against the authorities. Also, Martinus should be provided with a sufficient escort to and from such a day.

4 And what was then done on that day, and not decided by the two ecclesiastical princes and princes together with the two secular princes or counts, that [it] should be disclosed, that such should remain undisclosed, and be kept secret, without danger. Anno 1523.

The devil and Christ would like to be put in the same bed. Just as worldly people always try to make a comparison in matters of religion, as if they were worldly matters, to put Christ and the devil together in one bed.

2 And this was the proposal: one should appoint an election site, as Zerbst or Naumburg, since approximately around Michaelmas the Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, and the Bishop of Merseburg, also D. Martinus Luther should come and appear. Martinus Luther should arrive and appear. There, each party was to draw four or five persons to and next to them for such an action, and to speak and act in the smoothest way possible about D. Martini's doctrine, matters and articles, to hear his answer and instruction, and to try whether one would like to unite and compare the same articles, all or in part, according to reasons and indications from the Holy Scriptures introduced by both sides.

3) For such an amicable action, two secular princes, if they were able, should be called in to hear how this action would proceed. Thus Duke John and Duke George of Saxony were proposed for this purpose. And since they are not able to do so, other secular princes or at least two counts should be used.

In the meantime, however, Martinus was to refrain from harsh writing, especially harsh writing against the authorities. Also, M. Luther was to be provided with sufficient escort to and from such a trading day. And what was then acted upon on this day, and not decided by the two ecclesiastical princes and princes together with the two secular princes or counts, that [it] should be disclosed, that such should remain undisclosed, and be kept secret.

5. Martin Luther also made his reply, at the request of Elector Frederick of Saxony, 1) and excused his harsh letter, also complaining about D. Joh. Fabri, the bishop's vicar at Costnitz, and Emser's blasphemy books, which had gone out against him, and indicating "that he was not ashamed of his things, nor was he ashamed of them; but wanted to preserve them against all devils". But nothing came of this trading day.

726 The same according to Aurifaber's narrative.

This writing is found in the Eisleben edition, vol. I, p. 180; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 491 and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 473. The same is only a recapitulation of the proposal contained in the previous number.

1 In the meantime, some have also thought of means by which the division of religion between D. Mart. Luther, also his

1) Here Aurifaber says of Luther's letter (No. 724) that it is an answer to the proposal contained in the previous number; but the beginning of the letter (missing in the old editions) shows that it was written with reference to the Reichstag's farewell at Nuremberg.

G. About the decree of the Neichsregiment at Nuremberg (1322) and how Chursachsen and Luther behaved, also about the Neichstagsabschied 1323.

It is obvious that the following four documents, No. 727 to 730, which Walch has inserted here, have nothing to do with the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, because they are earlier in time than this and belong to the first section of the eighth chapter.

727 The imperial regiment at Nuremberg issued a resolution ordering all bishops to investigate and punish priests who have changed anything in the mass or other church customs, as well as monks who have left the church and those who have entered into matrimony.

Jan. 20, 1522.

This document is a part of the mandate of Philip, Bishop of Freising and Naumburg. Walch has separated the beginning and the end of it, and brings these pieces afterwards in No. 730. The whole document is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), Vol. IX, p. 139 d; in the Jena edition (1585), Vol. II, p. 66; in the Altenburg edition, Vol. II, p. 87 and in the Leipzig edition, Vol. XVIII, p. 284.

I. Frederick, Count Palatine on the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, Roman Imperial Majesty, Governor, Electors, Princes, and other decreed Regimental Councillors in the Holy Empire, to the venerable and highborn Prince, our friendly dear brother, uncle and friend, Mr. Philipsen, Bishop of Freisingen, Administrator of the Abbey of Naumburg, Count Palatine on the Rhine, and Duke in Bavaria, our brotherly loyalty and friendship, and also friendly and subservient services beforehand.

2nd Venerable, Reverend Prince, kind dear brother, uncle, friend and gracious Lord! It has come to our attention that in recent times some priests, against the long-established order and usage of the Christian Church, have been saying mass in lay habit and dress, in part also outside of the priestly vestments, and in addition, with a noticeable break in the essential parts, ceremonies and other order, as they are and have been used, to change the mass, also to publicly consecrate the reverend sacrament in the German tongue, and that subsequently, in a lewd manner, masculinely, who wants to take it, without prior preparation of some confession or imposition of penance, firstly in their lay

They shall hold out their hands and let them drink to their liking, regardless of whether they are sober or have eaten beforehand.

3. also in the same form, that [they], if in our Christian order, arrangement, and assembly of the church only the priesthood is permitted to administer the holy blood of Christ, nevertheless not in a chalice, but also possibly other drinking vessels, and thus communicate under both forms, also give the sacrament to the children in the same way; that also some persons shall be subject to forcibly driving away from the altar the priests who want to read mass according to the proper customary use.

4. furthermore, that the clergy and religious, beyond the vows and obligations made to the same order, and in forgetfulness of the obedience with which they are bound to the order, without the permission of their superiors, freely, wantonly divest themselves of their monasteries and orders, throw off the clerical garments from them, and subject themselves to and accept secular clothing of other things, trades, and businesses, in addition to some annual [vheliche] servitude against their superiors.

5. that also the same religious and other clerics and priests, even against the order of the Christian church, enter into matrimony, and thus take wives without shyness.

6. which novelty and wrong use, if it breaks in bluntly, should be allowed and permitted, would bring not a little insanity and fickleness of faith among the Christian believers, and otherwise frivolity, annoyance and other things among the common man; and such a thing is more important and greater, the more it requires well-timed consideration, and certain experience and order.

Since there is nothing higher and more important than the soul, and since faith affects the soul the most, we want to be careful 1) and cautious not to easily attach ourselves to such harsh innovations and changes against the constitution and use of the Christian church, which have been unchanged by our forefathers for many hundreds of years, without good proven and accepted reason, and without special regulation and determination of the church 2c.

8) And the above-mentioned pieces, and other such innovations, before the same sufficient common explanation and discussion, whether they are suitable, honorable, good and in accordance with the faith or not, thus to let them take root and grow, is by no means useful nor convenient, as then your

1) "pfentlich" probably the same as "vhelich" shortly before.

May your love and grace judge this for themselves, and bear such abuses, as we do not doubt, but fretful displeasure:

(9) Thus we have considered and found that great necessity requires that the same current innovations and abuses should be favorably countered, so that they are not permitted, but rather stopped and prevented; that then, since they have not yet spread or become widespread, but rather are exalted and appear in few places and by few persons, this can be done well and easily.

10. Therefore, and for this reason, we hereby earnestly request and entreat your love and grace, ex officio and otherwise for ourselves, in a friendly and humbly manner, that they, if touched or similar innovations against the traditional Christian usage have arisen or occurred in their principalities, lands and territories, or would arise in the future, not to let them take root, but to seriously prohibit them with severe punishment, to diligently prevent them, and, if it be good, to have them proclaimed in the pulpit by skilled preachers, so that no one will adhere to them or practice them in any way, and proclaim them in the pulpit by skilled preachers, so that no one will adhere to them, follow them, or practice them in any way, and not to follow the Christian usage and nature as it is understood by the common church and has been practiced up to now, 1) and be satisfied, until such time as a deliberate, well-considered, well-founded, certain declaration, discussion and determination is made and decided by the common estates of the realm, Christian assembly or concilia, for the sake of such matters.

(11) Nevertheless, those who have introduced such innovations and still want to adhere to them shall be expelled amicably, or, if that does not help, with seriousness, and, if necessity requires it, with due punishment, according to the occasion of the case, where it is found, shall proceed and act against the same.

In this your love and grace do a good, necessary, Christian work, to which, as we do not doubt, they themselves are inclined, which would be rewarded by the Almighty in a most glorious way, and would be justly thanked and praised by all men of respectability. Given at Nuremberg, on the 20th day of the month Januarii, Anno 2c. in the two and twentieth year.

728. Duke George of Saxony's writ against Luther, that monks and priests who adhere to Luther's cause, and those who have

1) perhaps saturate. (Walch.)

The new doctrine is to be practiced in the universities where the new doctrine is being practiced, and the students are to be recalled.

February 10, 1522.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 140d; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 65; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 79; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 282.

Georg von GÖttes Gnaden Duke of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia, and Margrave of Meissen.

Dear Faithful! We have no doubt that you have heard and heard for some time what Doctor Martin Luther and others, adhering to his doctrine, have subjected themselves to by their preaching and reading now and then in countries and elsewhere, which has given rise to suspicion and suspiciousness against them, as disobedient and resisting the holy Christian church and its ordinances and statutes. For this reason, the late Papal Holiness, 2) Most Sublime Memory, and the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, as the highest Christian leaders, to whom all of Christendom is subject, have caused us to command that Luther's teachings and writings be respected and noticed, so that the Christian people will not be led into error by them.

2. because of this, their papal holiness and imperial majesty also carried out several actions with Doctor Martino, from which it was found that the same Doctor Martinus did not want to desist from what he had erred in his outgoing writings. For this reason, he was considered and held as disobedient by Papal Holiness and Imperial Majesty at that time, and also commanded by their Holiness and Majesty that everyone refrain from reading his writings, and that they no longer be printed.

3) But the said Martin Luther, above all this, has persisted in his presumption until now; from this also his doctrine, and that of those who cling to him, has arisen, that the clergy of his order at Wittenberg and in other places have gone out of their monasteries, have laid aside the habit or clothing of their order, have let the plates grow together, and are going from one place to another, preaching against the office of the holy mass, the same as the holy Christian church.

2) Leo X had died on Dec. 1, 1521.

1) not to be kept for the time being; instruct the people to receive the holy sacrament in both forms, contrary to the order of the sacred churches, regardless of who in holy Christendom has hitherto submitted to such a thing, that he has been regarded as disobedient and a heretic. They also preach that it is unnecessary that one should first confess before receiving the holy sacrament; it is also not necessary that one receive the body of Christ sober, but one may well eat soup beforehand.

4. From their teaching and instruction it further follows that before, and while we have now been in regiment here at Nuremberg on account of the Holy Roman Empire, as we believe, many people in some surrounding cities, touching our lands and principality, have taken the Holy Sacrament under both forms. The same monks, who have left, consecrate the holy sacrament with German words in their secular garments, and give it into the hands of those who have taken it, and let them use and act it themselves. Similarly, they shall also consecrate the wine in a pot with German words, give it into the hands of the laity, and let them drink from it as they please. In the same way, the priests are forbidden to take wives, contrary to the order and constitution of the holy Christian church.

5. Because this and other much unchristian doctrine and works, in places as indicated, [which] abut our lands, of which much is to be written, taught, preached and practiced; we are also ascribed and commanded by the kingdom's regiment to give heed to it, and to avert and perish such as much as possible: It is our Christian duty, as well as the obedience of the Holy Roman Empire, to prevent, as much as possible, so that our dear faithful subjects are not poisoned with Martin Luther's and his followers' forbidden and unchristian teachings, by the monks who have left, or otherwise, to the detriment of their souls.

(6) Therefore, our request to you is that you take good care of this matter, and where you see such runaway monks in worldly clothes, likewise worldly priests, or others who, with Martin Luther's or his disciples' forbidden unchristian doctrine, as touched, intend to seduce your subjects, or anyone who takes the Holy Sacrament under both guises.

If any of them should come to you or to your courts and be found there, accept them all in custody and keep them in safe custody until further orders from us, so that we may inflict due punishment on them, and do not let them come from you in any way.

(7) Wherever you or yours have someone in universities, schools, or other places where these unchristian works are learned and practiced, demand them from there, and do not send or allow anyone to be sent there, so that the youth, who are inclined to evil, may not be led into these unchristian works and error. And let nothing hinder you in this, nor let you err, but please us in this, as we want to leave ourselves Christian, and otherwise according to your duty, completely to you, and in this un-Christian matter, as a Christian prince, not let you and our obedient, dear, faithful subjects see to our body and goods, and our complete and serious opinion is done on this. Given at Nuremberg, Monday after Dorothea Virginis [Feb. 10], Anno 1522.

729: Duke Henry of Brunswick's mandate against Luther. January 12, 1522.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 139; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 58; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 79; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 282.

1. to all and everyone of whatever dignity, rank or nature, and this open letter is shown, occurs and is read, we, Henry the Disciple, by the Grace of God Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, 2c. after offering our favor, graces and all good things before, hereby declare:

2. after one, called D. Martin Luther, writes out and indicates in many articles that something is detrimental to the Christian faith and the holy church, and that thereby a misguidance, abuse or otherwise might arise among the common Christian people, and that because of this, at the Imperial Diet held in Worms, the Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Lord, also the princes, princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, commonly and by the majority of them resolved to support the twelve Holy Roman Emperors, our most gracious Lord, as well as the Princes, Princes and Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, have commonly and by the greater part resolved to adhere to the twelve articles of the holy Christian faith, as well as the ordinances and statutes of the holy Christian Church, as brought to us by our forefathers and parents.

1) This is written in the margin in the Jena edition; in the text in the Wittenberg and Jena editions: "ausgesetzt".

3. Thus we, as a Christian prince, wish to remain with the heads of holy Christendom, as Papal Holiness and Imperial Majesty, and therefore request each of them amicably, according to his own dignity, and by virtue of our princely sovereignty, hereby earnestly command ours not to allow themselves to be brought into other ways, nor to be held in any other way than our Christian forefathers and parents have been doing up to now, by 1) denouncing or expelling Martin Luther, which might be contrary to or burdensome to the Christian faith and statutes of the Christian Church, not to be brought into other ways, nor to keep differently than our Christian forefathers and parents have done so far, not to make any secta nor alliances or unions, which could be against the holy Christian faith and the statutes of the holy church, or give birth to sedition and discord between the Christian people, while avoiding our punishment, which is punitive and severe.

4 We will therefore provide for each one of them, and pay a favorable debt, recognize in all good faith, and our serious opinion of them will be carried out. Date Wolfenbüttel, under our pitschaft expressed here below. Sunday after the holy three king day [12. Jan.], Anno 1522.

730: Count Palatine Philip, Bishop of Freising and Naumburg, Mandate against Luther. Feb. 24, 1522.

See the introduction to No. 727. In the editions given there, January 20, 1522, which is the date of the resolution of the Imperial Regiment contained therein, is set as the date of this mandate.

By the Grace of God, we Philips, Bishop of Freisingen, Administrator of the Naumburg Abbey, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Bavaria 2c., offer our favorable greetings, grace and all the best to all and any of the now reported elders, provosts, counts, freemen, capitels, prelates, deans, parish priests, co-parish priests, vicars, altarists, knights, servants, captains, officials, ruling mayors, councils, cities, markets, villages, municipalities, and all other of our relatives and subjects.

Venerable, noble, well-born, worthy, highly esteemed, honorable, special dear ones and devotees and faithful! We are herewith honored by the Roman Emperor's Majesty, our most gracious

sten Herrn 2c., Statthalter, Churfürsten, Fürsten, und anderen Ständen des heiligen römischen Reichs, so jetzt zu Nürnberg versammelt sind, mit einem schriftlichen Mandat und Gebot ersucht worden, und mit Ernst exhortet, demselben in unsern Bisthumen und Landen zu leben, wie ihr von Wort zu Wort folgt befinden werden.

This is followed by No. 727; the conclusion of the mandate is as follows:

Since we are now highly moved that this undertaking, on the demand of necessity, be done for the good and benefit of the poor, simple Christian people, we also recognize ourselves guilty of doing obedience and due obedience to this commandment without diminution, therefore to all of you, and to each one in particular, whatever his state or nature, is our earnest request, commanding that you keep firmly and without prejudice yourselves to the mandate and commandment written down.

And you parish priests, pastors and preachers shall diligently proclaim this in the pulpit and on the pulpit every Sunday between here and Easter, and faithfully remind your parishioners and Christian people of it, and not act against it in any way, while avoiding our severe punishment and disgrace. Each one is to be guided by this. Date Freising, under our secret imprinted here below, Monday St. Matthiä Apostoli [24. Feb.], Anno 1522.

731 Roman Imperial Majesty's mandate in Doctor Martin Luther's matters, together with the exhortation to do so every Sunday against the Turks in the pulpit. The

March 6, 1523.

From Spalatin's Vurrakle, p. 81. The imperial mandate alone, with omission of the exhortation preceding it here, is found in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, col. 3575. German in the Eisleben, vol. I, p. 145; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 288; and in the Leipzig, vol. XVIII, p. 474.

The common Christian people are to be told this by all preachers at the top of the pulpits every Sunday, as it is written in the letter.

Since our Lord Jesus Christ was commanded and sent by his holy Father to unite us in one faith and baptism through his bitter death and joyful resurrection, so that all of his commandments are condensed into one, namely, love your neighbor as yourself, and love your neighbor as yourself.

1) "by" put by Walch instead of "the" in the old editions.

By this it will be known that you are my followers, and that you will love one another, just as the apostles, in all the lands where they came from, had gathered together to keep the Christians in the Jewish land, from whom all our possessions and goods had been taken for the sake of the Christian faith, so it is only right and proper that we should be called Christians, and do nothing of the kind, Sunder hören, wiffen, sehen zu, vnd thun, ob es uns nichts angehe, das der wuttend feindt der Turck teglich, vnd lenzer yhe mher, des Christlichen volcks, vnserer bruder, Landt vnd wonung bekrieget, and many lives miserably murdered, young women, women and children taken away with horrible monstrosities, kidnapped, and abused in the same way as the people, then in famine, If we do not have mercy on them out of Christian brotherly love, God will not have mercy on us again, and will send what is left to them above us tomorrow, when it is to be assumed that the afflicted will not have anything to worry about before a few years, because it is still much further with their neighbors, Therefore, all of you Christian believers, in the love of Christ Jesus, are urged to take care of such harsh punishment of our brothers, which they have to endure from the Turkish rage, to show mercy to you, and to call upon God for mercy and remission. Also, for the sake of the same Christian love, be inclined and willing, according to the decree of our authority, to help, assist and protect the afflicted Christians, if our Lord Jesus Christ will take care of the least thing that happens to His own, as it happened to Himself, to humbly call upon and ask the same of the Almighty, to take the error, which arises and grows everywhere, from all Christian authorities, spiritual and secular, and also to give grace to other Christian people, so that they may live in courage of the holy Christian faith and peace, and thereby attain the way of eternal salvation.

¹⁾ We Karl der sunfft von gots gnaden Erwelter römischer Kayser, zu allen zeyten merer des Reichs, In Germanien, zu Hispanien, baider Sicilien, Jherusalem. Hunger, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. Künig, Ertzhertzog zu Österreich, hertzog zu Burgundi 2c.,

Graue zu Habsburg, Flandern vnd Tirol 2c., To all and any of the princes, princes, princely and secular, prelates, graves, freemen, lords, knights, servants, lords of the manor, bailiffs, governors, stewards, bailiffs, mayors, magistrates, judges, ranks, citizens and municipalities, and in general to all other subjects of ours and of the realm, judges, townships, burgesses, citizens and communities, and all others of our own and the realm's subjects and tribes, in whatever form, state or nature they may be, to whom this imperial letter is addressed, our friendship, grace, and all good things. Highly esteemed, noble, highborn, dear friend. New [nephews], grandees, electors, princes, well-born, noble, respectable, and faithful. As at our Imperial Diet and Assembly, recently held here at Nuremberg, the Papal Holiness, by its authority, in addition to the advertisement and furbishment of the Crown of Hunger, to appear against the enemy of Christendom, the Turk, with help and salvation, on account of Luther's and his followers' manifold writings and lessons, by means of a baptismal breue, 2) and an instruction, which also served as an effortful reminder, and announced that the necessity would require a great deal, to be understood with timely intent, so that such letters and writings would serve as a refresher, and to be forwarded, with the request that our imperial governors, princes, princes, and other imperial sovereigns may well inform and advise you by what means! and ways in which such a lament might be met, to open and inform your holiness, so that your holiness, what you felt for such a purpose, would not appear to be lacking. And now, in response to this, our imperial governors, electors, princes, and sovereigns, on important advice, according to the circumstances and opportunities of all the matters of this time, could not have sought or found a more consoling means of help than that of the papal sanctity. Holiness, with his permission, to organize a free Christian council at a convenient place in the German nation, such as Strasbourg, Cologne, Mentz, Metz, or any other place where the Papal Holiness and we might unite, and shall be begun at the latest in the year's term, as then the said our governors, also electors, princes and sovereigns, have put and sent to His Holiness such counsel and good will again in writing in reply. 3) The same is also true of some other places. Likewise, also several other articles and complaints,

2) The Breve No. 719; the Instruction No. 718; the oral admonition and reminder of the papal legate Chierigati on 3 Jan. 1523.

3) The Imperial Estates' Reply No. 720; the Complaints No. 722.

¹⁾ The following is the Reichstag Edict, the so-called Nuremberg Edict.

As they were sent to the Council of Rome by the secular princes, rulers and sovereigns at the last Imperial Diet at Wormbs, with the request that they be given all due attention and understanding, to Your Papal Holiness. In addition to such their counsel and good intentions, they are also to use all diligence in the meantime until the time of the Council, and to ensure that, when the said Luther and some of his followers refrain from acting in a bad manner, the same Luther or his followers do not write or press anything new. That also every elector, prince, and other sovereign of the realm shall decree in his sovereignty that nothing else than the Gospel, according to the interpretation of the creeds, approved and accepted by the Christian Church, shall be preached in the meantime. 1) That nothing new be preached, or had any sect, unless it is first approved and permitted by learned persons, who are to be specially ordained for this purpose, 2) as then the Scriptures of our Holiness have decreed. In addition, every elector, prince, prelate, count, and other authority in the kingdom shall order and decree with all possible diligence that all preachers be spoken to and acted upon in a sensible and proper manner, so as to prevent in their preaching what may lead to agitation, disobedience, dissension, and sedition in the holy kingdom, or cause the Christians to be led astray, but that they alone may preach and teach the Holy Gospel, according to the interpretation of the Scriptures, approved and accepted by the Holy Christian Church, as presented, and that they abstain from preaching and teaching the same, but await the decision of the aforementioned Christian Council. And that the archbishops and bishops decree certain experts of the Holy Scriptures, who are to take careful note of such preaching and teaching, and where they are in error, that they are then to point out to such preachers or teachers amicably, decisively, and to such an extent, that it may not be understood from this, as if one would want to prevent or suppress the Protestant truth. 3) Which preachers, however, did not allow themselves to be instructed that the ordinaries should punish them with legal sanctions.

and how they intend to do so. Furthermore, our governors, electors, princes, and sovereigns of the realm shall, during the time of the Council, take all possible care in all pressures, and with all booksellers of any authority, that nothing new is printed, carried to fine purchase, or issued, unless it has been ordered and inspected by any authority, as stated in the next article. But if nothing has been done about it, or if it has been found wanting, that the same, and in particular also abusive language 4) shall not be permitted with great punishment, but shall therefore be strictly enforced and kept. Then, for the sake of the clergy, who take weights, and also for the religious who leave their monasteries, since in the common laws of the secular authorities no punishment is ordered, it shall remain with the punishment of the clerical law, so that they may exercise their freedom, priuilegia, rebend, and otherwise, and that the ordinaries are not prevented from such punishment by the secular authorities, 5) but that they prove help and assistance to them for the protection of the ecclesiastical authorities. If, however, these ecclesiastical persons hold themselves above the natural and punishable, they shall be punished according to the rules of the law, as then all such articles have been decided by the electors, princes and other rulers of our state, at the above-mentioned first Diet of our empire, and are included in the common agreement of ours and the empire. So that these articles, as aforesaid, may all and sundry hereafter be more properly executed, we have thus in open edict manner to strike and declare them everywhere, And thereupon we earnestly charge all of you, together with all of you of the Roman Catholic Church, with our open edict, and we wish that all of you, and every one of you, may understand and see in your own hearts that only the Holy Gospel is to be taught in the Council of the Lord, according to the interpretation of the Scriptures, approved and accepted by the Christian Church, preached and taught, and ordered with all diligence, so that all preachers may speak and act in a sensible and proper manner, to avoid in their preaching anything that might lead to disobedience, dissension and sedition in the holy kingdom, or to lead the Christian people into error, and to preach and learn those things that were useless and disputable.

4) In Latin: 1ibkHo8 tarri0808. In Spalatin's Annalen-, "seine schriften".

5s The preceding in this sentence forms the fourth article in No. 733.

1) What is contained in the preceding sentence forms the first article in Luther's writing "Wider die Verkehrter und Fälscher des kaiserlichen Mandats," No. 733.

2) The preceding forms the third article.

3) The preceding sentence forms the second article in No. 733.

but to await the aforementioned Christian Council's decision. That we, the archbishops and bishops, have ordered some of the holy scriptures to diligently observe such preaching and teaching, and if they find any error therein, then to inform these preachers or teachers in an orderly, authoritative manner, and in such a way that it will not be perceived to hinder or prevent evangelical worship. And which preachers would not allow themselves to be rebuked, that you ordinaries should take action against them with severe punishment. That also all of the above-mentioned Stendt, with the said time of the Council, should take care in all matters of printing, and in the case of the book keepers, that each of them, with all possible diligence, should see to it that nothing new is printed, or carried or laid out for fair purchase. 1) Then, beforehand, by each of the above-mentioned Stendt, the person ordered, deceased, and paid, should be inspected and approved. If, however, anything is pressed and laid down about it, or if it is found to be defective, we will not allow this to be done, nor will we allow any disgraceful deeds to be carried out, but we will strictly forbid them, as we hereby declare by reason of this letter, with our and the kingdom's severe reprimands and punishments. Then, for the sake of the clergy who take wives, as well as the religious who leave their monasteries, we think and decree that they have violated their freedom, priesthoods, prebend and other rights according to the law of the land, and that they shall be punished according to the order of the law. We also hereby sincerely request that the secular authorities do not prevent the ordinaries of the clergy from such punishment, but rather that they assist and support the clerical authorities, and that they receive all favors and benefits, And that all of you, family, and friends, may be helped and proved, and that all of you, family, and friends, may be guided by the above articles in all of their contents, as they have been guided by, so that the ascription of the divine sanctity, as well as the above decision, and our and the kingdom's end, may be carried out, as dear to all of you, and as dear to every friend of ours and the kingdom's, to avoid our and the kingdom's grave misfortune and punishment. Given in our and the kingdom's city of Nurmberg, on the sixth day of the month of March, after the birth of Christ, five hundred and twenty-three. Our empire, the Roman in the fourth, and the others all in the eighth year. 2)

1) In Latin: venäsänra sxponntnr.

2) In Latin it is still written underneath: By order of the Emperor. In the imperial council. Frederick, Count Palatine, Imperial Majesty's Governor. Heinrich, HeHvg zu Mecklenburg.

732: The Electors Frederick and John, brothers, Dukes of Saxony, order to the von Einsiedels at Kohren regarding the imperial mandate issued from the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg in Luther's matters. Luther's affairs, as well as the exhortation to be given in the pulpit every Sunday against the Turks.

May 25, 1523.

From Kapp's Nachlese nützlicher Reformationurkunden, Theil II, p. 583.

By the Grace of God Frederick, Elector 2c., and John's Brothers, Duke of Saxony 2c.

Dear faithful. We inform you that a few days ago we received an open mandate from the Roman Imperial Majesty, our most noble lord, governor and regiment of Nurnbergk, in the name of the Roman Imperial Majesty. Maj. and of His Majesty's Regiment. We hereby transmit to you a copy of this mandate, signed by a notary public, so that you will know its contents. Because we then have the honor to write against the Roman Majesty in all matters concerning the matter. Majesty in all matters of interest and equity, both now and in the past, as obedient princes and rulers, as we then, with the help of the Almighty, still do not wish to be found otherwise, we have not wished to hold you to this at the behest of Imperial Majesty. Majesty, so that you may know what such a Royal Majesty's mandate holds in store for you. Majesty's mandate. It is our request that you publish and announce such a rulings to the pastors, preachers and other clerics of our church. In addition to the above-mentioned royal mandate, there is also a note 3). Mandate, a note 3) has been issued, which is to be read by the preachers over the pulpits, every Sunday, as stated in the letter, therefore we order that you, together with the preachers of the above mentioned ecclesiastical church, read such notes every Sunday, as mentioned above, to the people, and that you order all of this to be done with a note, and do not keep it any other way. This is our opinion. Date Monday in Pentecost [May 25] Anno 2c. XXIII.

Vnnsern lieben getrewen, den vom Einsidel zu khorn, gebruders.

3) The first piece of this number.

733 Luther's "against the traffickers and forgers of the imperial mandate". Letter to the governor and the imperial regiment. Shortly before July 11, 1523.

This writing, which refers to the imperial mandate (No. 731), appeared in Wittenberg in the Office of Cranach and Döring in the first days of July under the following title: "Widder die Uerkerer und felscher Keyserlichsmandats. Martinus Luther. Wittenberg. M.D.xliij." 6 leaves in quarto. In the same year, a second edition was published in the same office. In addition, the Weimar edition lists six reprints, all of which belong to the year 1523, including one by Matthes Maler in Erfurt, which inadvertently bears the year 1522 on the title, which gave Walch cause to remark that there is also a print from the year 1522. The time determination results from Luther's letter to Spalatin of July 11, 1523, in the appendix of this volume no. 102. In the collective editions, this writing is found: in the Wittenberg (1553), vol. VI, p. 606; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 214; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 290; in the Leipzig, vol.; in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 476; in the Erlanger, vol. 53, p. 182; in the Weimarschen, vol. XII, p. 58 and in De Wette, vol. II, p. 367. We give the text according to the Weimarschen.

To the illustrious and highborn, noble princes and lords, imperial majesty . Governor and Estates of the Imperial Regiment at Nuremberg, my gracious dear Lords.

Grace and peace in Christ our Savior, Amen. Sublime, highborn, noble princes and lords! I humbly confess to Your Grace that I have accepted the imperial mandate recently issued by Your Grace with great gratitude and have diligently proclaimed it to our people. I humbly accept the imperial mandate recently issued by His Holiness with great gratitude, and have diligently proclaimed it to our people, completely hoping that 1) God has given it to His Holiness; and would also have been seriously minded to follow it with all my might, as it should not be an obstacle to the holy Gospel, but rather a furtherance of it, as it also says from word to word.

But as by God's decree the evil enemy always perverts the best and adorns the worst, this mandate has also succeeded in causing many, even princes and lords, not only to show no obedience to it, but also to presume to thumb their wild noses at it and, wherever they want to go, to interpret it, regardless of the bright, clear words contained in it.

nice E. G.'s opinion and will are very clear to anyone who understands German differently. Because they even reverse the meaning, and contrary to the Gospel make us an unpleasant gloss, it has been necessary for me to answer for myself and my sense comrades, and to warn those who are deceived, to let our understanding go by the way, and to indicate how far it is to suffer us; hope comfortingly, it should be nothing against this mandate, nor E. G.'s opinion. And so that we do not have to endure the G. with long chatter, let us put it into four articles 2).

The first article.

Preach the gospel according to the interpretation of the teachers, accepted and approved by the Christian Church.

They interpret this article to mean that the gospel should not be preached in any other way than the way it has been preached up to now by the high schools together with the monasteries and convents with their teachers, Thomas, Scotus, and what the Roman church has approved.

We find nothing in the mandate about the Roman church, nor about St. Thomas or high schools, but it says: "The Christian church", and according to the clear words, it means the oldest teachers, as Augustinum, Cyprianum, Hilarium and the like. Although it is also known that these teachers have not always written and held correctly, they insist that the Christian Church could not have been higher and further than St. Augustine. Augustine, the special light of the Christian church, is accustomed to accept and teaches, since he says: "I give the holy books alone, which are called canonici, the honor that I believe that none of their writers has erred; all the others I read in such a way that, however high they seem with art and holiness, I do not consider them right because they hold thus, but where they prove it to me with the sayings of holy scripture or clear reason. 4)

2) We have identified the four articles above in No. 731.

3) Thus Walch. In the original "none" instead of: "that none". It is possible that in the original, due to a printing error, "habe" is set instead of "have" (haben).

4) August. epist. I^oXXXII, 3. (Weim. ed.)

1) Thus Walch. Weimarsche: verhofft; Wittenberger and Jenaer: verhoffe.

3 Here we see that St. Augustine has a goal in accepting the teachers, and throws them all under the judgment of the holy Scriptures, how reasonable that over this goal it is not proper to accept anyone, however holy and learned he may be. Such a mind of the teachers, which the Christian church has accepted and approved, we also consider to be in the mandate, do not want to and cannot suffer any other, let it be as God wills.

4 It also follows that this understanding is to be kept, for since the mandate finally went out that a free concilium should be instituted, and while the matter is being settled, it is not necessary that we should be silent, and preach with those the former deed, as they interpret it. For if this were to be, what need would there be for a concilium? Why then should we pretend to postpone the matter for a concilium, if this mandate, according to opinion, had already passed a judgment much greater and broader than perhaps the future concilium would set, even if it were to set itself completely against us in the worst way? This mandate would do nothing more with the way it played with words, and led people by the nose in an all-too-cruel way, that I do not see any way to E. G..

5 Therefore I have interpreted it to our people in this way, that the imperial majesty with this mandate makes the matter rest, that they do not continue until the concilium, and command our adversary that they leave their school quarrels and pagan art, sucked out of St. Thomas and high schools, at home. Thomas and high schools, which serve nothing, as St. Paul says [1 Tim. 6, 4. f.], but to cause strife and trouble, and should preach nothing before the people but the true gospel. I also have no doubt that the opinion of our Lord is thorough and serious, and I can feel it in the fact that some princes, who were too much in the past, did not grant this mandate, and are now ashamed to apply for it.

(6) For this I have desired with all my heart that such a commandment be kept, and lament that unfortunately our opponents do not have those who could preach in this way, for they, drowned in their sophistry, do not know what gospel or teacher is. We want to keep it fine, if God wills it. The thing should also stand still, wherever they hold it. But, they

They cannot, therefore they go on and interpret this mandate of theirs against us, which is so thoroughly set against them. It is briefly and easily said: Preach the gospel, as Christ also commanded. Yes, where are they who do it? "The harvest is great, but the laborers are few" [Matth. 9, 37. 38.]. Who will create them? The imperial majesty should do it, yes, how can she? Ask the father of the house to create them. They must come from heaven; high schools and monasteries do not bear them on earth.

The other article.

That archbishops and bishops should decree that learned people, who understand the Holy Scriptures, take notice of such preaching, and that those who err in this should be amicably and modestly rebuked, but those who do not want to be rebuked should be punished with due punishment, so that one does not feel as if one wants to prevent or suppress the evangelical truth.

(1) This article lacks nothing, for the fact that no one will keep it makes it far too good. If it were the time when the 68th Psalm, v. 12, says, "God will give the word to the evangelists with great multitudes," it would be kept. But now the saying goes [Matth. 9, 37.]: "The harvest is great, the laborer few", yes, when I worry that it is about the time when Christ says [Luc. 17, 22. 21, 8.]: "The time will come that you would see the Son of Man one day, and will not see, [Matth. 24, 5.] "For many shall come under my name, and shall deceive many," we may meanwhile take this apostolic and most Christian article, will and good opinion for the deed, and ask God that he himself keep it; the bishops will do it slowly.

For where will they take those who understand the Scriptures, if in so many hundreds of years neither in monasteries nor foundations nor high schools have the Scriptures been read honestly, and only blued themselves with sophistry? So it will not do them good to humble themselves **so** deeply and to amicably and modestly call the erring ones to order, since up to now they have banished, cursed, burned, and been accustomed to all bluster; I would like to see where it happens. If I had been treated like this before, perhaps things would be better for them. But the faithful advice and commandment of this article is still available; God grant that they still do it.

The third article.

That nothing new be printed or sold in the middle of the time of the Council, unless it is inspected by reasonable people at every authority.

This article would have been long time. I will certainly keep it, because we ourselves put such an article in our university last year. But that is not to say that it is forbidden to print and sell the holy scripture, or what has already gone out. So I may also not be forbidden to translate the same, although I have no interest in it. For since everything is to be inspected beforehand by ordained persons, it pleases me quite well that I omit nothing, unless it has been inspected beforehand; except for the righteous word of God, which must and shall be unbound.

The fourth article.

The ecclesiastical persons who take wives and leave the orders shall be punished according to the ecclesiastical law, namely they shall have forfeited their freedom, privileges and benefices, and secular authorities shall not prevent such punishment.

This article seems too harsh, but if the others were kept, it would have to suffer as well. The priests would suffer the most, but monks and nuns, who have no benefices, may lose no liberty, because they must now support themselves and become married, which they had before and were free to do. Thus the spiritual punishment is quite tolerable to him who understands the gospel. For since one is to preach the true gospel, the spiritual punishment must be directed according to the gospel, in which Matth. 18, 17. Christ thus teaches punishment, that one who does not want to obey the church is to be banished and put away from the church. Now, whoever would be banned because of his marriage or leaving the church, it would be on his conscience to suffer the wrongful banishment.

(2) However, if this article is to be judged by its severity, it has too much flesh, and does not agree with the previous three. For where the gospel is to be preached more loudly, our own essays and our works must perish, as I have often taught. Therefore, whether I can suffer that we, according to this article, are punished before God innocently, because of works,

which are considered sinful and yet good, I would also like him not to be so placed. For though such punishment is harmless to us as to the innocent, yet it is a fault, and not harmless to them that punish us with wrong; because to suffer wrong is profitable, but to do wrong is injurious.

Help God from Heaven, will it not even occur to us that impossible vows are not vows, nor are they to be kept? Who will vow to fly like a bird and keep it, unless God's miraculous sign is there? Now it is so much, if a man or a woman vows chastity. For it is not created for chastity, but, as God says, "Grow and multiply," that chastity is an impossible thing where God does not perform miracles. So the vow of miracles is not valid, which is not in my power. Therefore I have done foolishly, and am not obliged to keep it, and God does not demand it.

4 Oh dear sirs! Let God's will soothe you in this. No one can believe what the devil is doing in this case, what he is doing in his abominable, blasphemous, disgraceful will to be brave, of which no one has known anything publicly until now, and which is now coming forth through the gospel. Why do you want to share all this with yourselves without need, and burden your consciences? O Lord God, it must and should hold, and yet it cannot hold; what good will that do? Whoever must keep his dung or urine, if he cannot, what will become of him? I fear that those who are now my bitterest enemies, if they knew what I learn daily from all countries, they would help me storm monasteries tomorrow. I am almost forced to cry out too loudly and say: God wanted to quickly skin Satan and bring him to the day, so it will help what we are crying out now.

(5) Let this article be interpreted and enforced in the strictest possible way, since princes and bishops have not acted imperially, princely, or episcopally (let us not say Christian or divine), who have tyrannically imprisoned such ecclesiastical persons, who have forfeited themselves in this, 1) so shamefully with

1) This will refer to the imprisonment of Johann Apel and Friedrich Fischer in Würzburg. Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIV, 258, Note.

They were treated as if they had been worse than murderers, robbers or adulterers, and were tormented and martyred before God and the world not according to worldly or spiritual law, but only according to their bloodthirsty sin and willfulness. Who should now be ashamed in their hearts when they see this mandate and realize that spiritual punishment is so far from their rage. Where is the kind and humble wisdom of the princes and tyrants, who have captured their worldly subjects unheard, treasured them, chased them away, and created all plagues? Where are they now, the Christian princes, who obey imperial commandments? Yes, God cannot find such hypocrites! when they thought.

6th About this, I consider that according to this mandate, I, Martin Luther, should be under papal and imperial ban and guard until the future council; otherwise I do not know what such a postponement should be, especially if I grant to keep such articles. But well, there is not much in me; the world has had enough of me, and I of it again; whether I am in the ban or not is of equal importance. But for the sake of the poor bunch, I beg you, my dearest lords, to hear us graciously; we do not want to ask anything unreasonable. Since you leave those unpunished who do not keep these first three divine articles, nor will you keep them, nor do you inflict any punishment on them, for which they are now bound by God's commandment, even by your human commandment, and nothing impossible is commanded them: may you also show mercy to us poor, miserable people, and treat us carefully, whether we keep the first three divine articles, and only the fourth, human article, could not be met so evenly, since impossible pieces of human nature are included in it. It is ever to be lamented and pitied that we poor, weak, sinful people should be so severely touched for the sake of a human article, and the strong, great people, in public transgression of three divine articles, yes, of all God's commandments, should live so gloriously, freely, safely (as one sees their public fornication, and all kinds of vices raging), not only unpunished, but also in great honor and power.

7 We hope that your Lord will take such a request to heart, and mean that such a request will be granted.

would not be denied even to Turks and pagans, let alone to those who want to be and be called Christian princes. I have humbly informed Your Lordship of my understanding and interpretation, so that Your Lordship can be assured that the matter will not become worse from such a fine mandate than it was before, through evil intermediaries and interpreters. May God grant grace, strength, and help to our Lord in this matter. Amen.

734. farewell to the Diet of Nuremberg, May 8, 1522.

From Lünig's Imperial Archives, pari. genral. continuLt. I, x.433.

We Carol the Fifth, by the Grace of God, elected Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire; King in Germania, in Castile, in Arragon, in Legion, 1) in Sicily, in Hierusalem, in Hungary, in Dalmatia, in Croatia, in Navarre, in Grenades, in Tollsten, in Valentz, in Gallicia, Maioricarum, Hispalis, Sardiniae, Cordubae, Corsicae, Murciae, Giennis, Algar- bien, Algezirae, in Gibraltaris, and of the Islands

Canariae, also the islands Indiarum and Terrae firmae, the sea Oceani etc., Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, of Lotterich, of Braband, of Steyer, of Carinthia, of Carniola, of Limburg, of Guelders, Wirttemberg, Calabria, Athenarum, Neopatriae; Count of Habsburg, of Flanders, of Tyrol, of Gorizia, of Parsiloni, of Arthoys, of Burgundy, Count Palatine of Hanigaw, of Holland, of Zealand, of Wert, of Kyburg, of Namur, of Roßilion, of Ceritani and of Zütphen; Landgrave in Alsace, Margrave of Burgaw, of Oristani, of Gotiani, and of the Holy Roman Empire Prince of Burgundy. Roman Empire Prince of Swabia, of Cathalonia, Asturia 2c., Lord of Friesland, of the Wendish Marches, of Pertenaw, of Biscay, of Molin, of Salins, of Tripoli, and of Mechelen: confess and proclaim manly: When we have received a report from time to time, not without some difficulty of our minds, how then it has come to light that the enemy of Christ, the Turk, has overrun the kingdom of Hungern with considerable war and violence, has besieged it, and, in addition to much considerable damage, has conquered several towns, castles and villages, and especially the Greek town of Weissenburg, which up to now has been a special stronghold and shield against the Turk.

1) Leon in Spain.

The German government has occupied and occupied a part of the country, and is seriously engaged and working on this and other such war exercises. 2c. We take all this to heart, as not the least burden and burden of holy Christianity, and in our Imperial mind the highest need to be anxious to resist it (for the protection and handling of the Christian name and faith) in the most beneficial way. And have therefore, for their sake and for the sake of other public movable causes, the Holy Roman Empire and the German Nation. And therefore, for these and other public causes, concerning the Holy Roman Empire and the German Nation, this present Imperial Diet has been held in Nuremberg, where Princes, Princes and other Estates have also appeared by their embassy. In order that we may initially be aware of the Turk's actions, and open our minds to them, and that we and our brother, the King of Hungary, may await the further report and notification of the Turk's tyrannical actions, the messages ordered to us and our brother, the King of Hungary, After the advice we had received, and in order to save Christian blood, we finally decided and united, with the help of the Almighty, to assist our brother, the King of Hungary, in resisting the Turk, and to show Christian brotherly comfort and support. And after the princes, princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire have sent us four thousand on horseback for our and the German Nation's final undertaking, and for the attainment of the Imperial Crown. Crown, we have been granted four thousand on horseback and twenty thousand on foot for six months, and our will and spirit have finally agreed to use them for our march to Rome. But because we feel and find that such help will be somewhat more necessary at this time against the enemy of Christ, the Turks, we have of our own free will allowed, granted, and also united with princes, princes and estates and the same embassies, that such four thousand on horseback and twenty thousand on foot shall be sent to Rome, and twenty thousand on foot, to the full extent that the same have been pledged to us by the estates of the empire, and thereafter further declared, to resist the Turks in whole or in part, or as they otherwise deem best and most needful, shall be turned and used for urgent aid.

(1) In order that such assistance may be used more expediently and in accordance with necessity, and that it may be known in what form, measure and time such assistance may take place, it is resolved that such assistance be attributed to our brother, the King of Hungary, and that it be indicated to the same message in farewell white, that now reported to our brother, the King in Hungary, on his occasion, but as quickly and urgently as possible, it be sent one day to the king of Hungary.

Vienna, announce the same to our governor and regiment at Nuremberg, whereupon the princes, princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, also the said our brother, King of Hungary, and on account of the two kingdoms, Hungary and Bohemia, and their landscapes and principalities, as well as the Highborn Prince, Mr. Ferdinandus, Infant of Hispania, our dear brother, as Archduke of Austria, also the Upper and Lower Austrian lands, together with all our embassies, shall send together to consult, to act, and finally to decide, according to their given authority, on the resistance to the Turk.

2. on this day, on account of us, also princes, princes and estates of the holy empire, the highborn prince, our dear cousin Ludwig, count palatine of the Rhine 2c., and with him the nobles, Ludwig von Leostein, Hanß zu Schwarzenburg, Marx Sittig von Embs, Philips von Felsch, Bastian von Rotenhan, Leonhard von Eck zu Näck, Christoph Schewelin, assigned as war councilors; Thus, as soon as the day to Vienna, as mentioned above, is scheduled by our brother, the King of Hungary, they shall be required by the governor and regiment to attend a convenient banquet, and shall be executed on the same day with the credences, powers and instructions as they are then proposed and appointed at this Imperial Diet.

And if our cousin, Duke Ludwig, or one or more of the above-mentioned warriors or scholars, on account of his inconvenience, were to go to such a day, write it off or propose it: our governor and regiment, in our stead and for our sake, shall look for other suitable and skilled people, and act with the same to be used and sent there; and in this shall use all diligence, so that, if the day is named, there will be no lack of persons.

4. item, the transfer or delivery of such skillful embassy, from the current one and a half quarter stop, made on account of the hurrying ordered war people, as will be noted below, shall take place.

Item 5: It is considered that after such embassies and councilors may encounter and arise in the course of action all sorts of things that are not understood in the Instruction, and perhaps for this reason require further notice: between Nuremberg and Vienna they are to be posted by day at a convenient place, so that at any time what they encounter and do, they may hurry and bring it to our governor and regiment.

Nuremberg, and therefore should receive further information.

(6) And what is thus acted upon and decided at such a day, our governor and regiment shall make known to all princes, princes and estates of the empire, as much as is necessary. And if, at the meeting in Vienna, it is deemed necessary and good, and it is decided to provide further assistance this summer, this shall also be announced and required by our governor and regiment. Accordingly, every prince, duke, and the estates of the empire shall send their due number of aid, and to our campaign in Rome, as much as remains to them (after deduction of the one and a half quarters, which is in the subsequent estimate, for the preservation of the ordered warband); so that he may also be prepared, upon our further description, to render the same remaining aid this summer in the most conducive and expeditious manner.

Item 7: The payment of such warriors on horseback and on foot shall remain as it was at our recent Diet of Worms, namely ten guilders a month for a man on horseback and four guilders a month for a man on foot.

Item 8: In the meantime, our governor and regiment shall diligently accept and appoint such action of the day in Vienna with the princes and other persons who are considered by us, the princes, princes and estates, to be suitable and skilled for captain of the field of war, war councillors, and other war offices, and who are listed and handed over to them, and finally act and agree, so that, where it would come to a trade, so that one would be certain of all of them. And if no prince would allow himself to be able to do so, that governor and regiment act with another, be it count or lord, who runs the war, understandably; the same, where it would be inconvenient for the war councils to act with the other.

9 However, it would have been necessary to discuss and decide at this Imperial Diet how and to what extent a public, emergency, persistent help and power should be maintained and used against the above-mentioned unbelievers. However, because of the absence of some estates, which the arriving estates did not want to expect until the end of the day in Vienna, and what had been done there, some articles of farewell had been placed in such a way that necessity required that they be brought to an end, and therefore, for this and other reasons, they could not be: therefore, we have agreed with the churl to hold a meeting in Vienna.

Princes, Princes and Estates of the Realm, and of the same embassies, now assembled here, united at another Imperial Diet, namely on St. Aegidii's Day [Sept. 1]. The Council of the Holy Roman Empire and the German Nation, as we will further indicate in our notice of the now united Imperial Diet, to finally deliberate, act and decide on the above-mentioned and other public matters. That all estates shall also be required by us to the utmost, and shall be commanded and admonished, with heavy and severe penalties and punishments, not to appear in their own persons on account of matrimonial matters, and then to send their embassy with full force, and finally, as aforesaid, to decide together with the other estates of the empire.

10) Furthermore, after our brother, the King of Hungary, had sent an embassy here, he indicated that the Turk was already in retreat 1) and had now, while the embassy was on its way, captured a fortified castle, and thus doubtlessly assumed that he would approach several castles and passes for his own benefit, and take them, which would then be extremely burdensome. And therefore, that the same come before, a stately urgent help requested, for occupation of the same castle and pass, that we have granted by Electors, Princes and Estates and their embassies, on further and sufficient report, and for movable causes, to the King of Hungary on his embassy request, from the above-mentioned great help, to maintain one and a half quarter of the foot soldiers for three months. But that our brother, the King of Hungary, also give so many Bohemian servants to his maintenance, and that such servants be provided with emergency ordinance.

(11) And such servants shall be accepted by our and the common imperial authorities and sent down to Vienna; so that they will certainly be there on the day that our brother, the King of Hungary, shall name them there as above, and there await the above-mentioned embassies of ours and of the city, which we have ordered to Vienna as above, further decisions, and where they will be used.

Item 12: The estates have united with us, and we with them, because such a hasty addition of estates of the realm is not possible at the right time, even with a needy order of people to send; as then of that

1) Maybe: Suit?

The court has set up a money system for the maintenance of such servants for three months, namely, that each estate is to pay a quarter and a half of the above-mentioned large amount of the foot soldiers, as stated therein, for its part, and has set out and written out in the common notice which quarter and a half of the large amount of the foot soldiers is to be paid out to it afterwards.

Therefore Count Helfreich of Helffenstein, as well as Gangolff of Geroltzeck, Marx Sittig of Embs, have written that each of them sends a skilful captain here to our governor and regiment, who shall continue to act with the same captains on their order, agree with them and accept them.

14 Each prince, duke and estate shall also deliver its due portion within one month, the next after the date set forth in the above mandate, to the mayors and councils of the cities of Augsburg, Nuremberg and Frankfurt, whichever is most convenient to each, certainly without delay or any remedy, with the penalties and punishments stipulated in the same mandate; the same mayors and councils shall be ordered to receive such, and to acknowledge them accordingly. And for payment of the same money or money's worth 26 wheels of white pennies, 15 batz, 30 half batz, 40 kreuzers, 21 Meissen twelfths or 42 half Meissen twelfths for one gold shall be accepted. And both cities, Augsburg and Frankfurt, shall deliver to the mayor and council of Nuremberg on due receipts what they have paid and what they have received. All of which the Nurembergers, together with what they have received, shall deliver by bill of exchange to Vienna at a certain place, where the captain, muster-master or paymaster is sure to have it, and may procure it for him. The same captain, muster-master or paymaster, mayor and council of Nuremberg, or whoever will deliver it on their behalf, shall acknowledge it properly.

15 Accordingly, a skilful, trustworthy, reasonable and honest paymaster shall be appointed and assigned to the counter-scribe, who shall spend and pay such money together with the captain on their duty, which they shall therefore do at the behest of our governor and regiment, for the entertainment of the people of war, make the actual account, and give the governor and regiment an honest account of it, which account shall be handed over to the Estates of the Realm at the next Imperial Diet thereafter.

16 In order that there may now be a beginning and no delay in taking up and appointing such servants for the sake of money, the Electors, Princes, and Estates, who have appeared here by themselves and their embassies, have, out of good faithful opinion and promotion of the cause, granted their share of such a request to the next within a month.

(17) All preachers are also to be commanded to declare and tell the people above the pulpit the masses of which God Almighty has often severely punished the sin of men with the sword of their enemies, and therefore to exhort them to amend their lives, so that they may also avert such guilty punishment, and thereby humbly and diligently pray for a merciful victory against the said enemy of Christ, from God, in whom alone stands our salvation.

18 Furthermore, as the princes, princes and estates of the empire at our recently held imperial diet at Worms have granted themselves to our submissive! We are pleased that, for the sake of peace and justice in the Holy Roman Empire, they agreed to postpone for a time our appointed governor, regiment and chamber court, according to an established plan, so that in the meantime a way may be found to maintain such our regiment and chamber court, with our advice and assistance; how then our governor and regiment, first of all, are to search for and advise on all their actions. As then our governor, also electors, princes, estates and regiment distinguished several means and ways, and to accept one or more of them, are in our concern. However, because the same means and ways cannot be hastily established and put into operation, and so that our established regiment and chamber court may exist in essence, and the Holy Empire and the German Nation may remain in peace, law and unity, the Electors, Princes and Estates and their skilled embassies have once again freely granted that both our regiment and chamber court be maintained for one year, which will begin on St. Michael's Day and end in 1522. Michaelmas until the 1522nd year, and from the same Michaelmas day for one year of the 1523rd year, on a previous money deposit at Worms, so that in the meantime one may think, act, and bring both of them into being in a steady way on future Imperial Diet. And such an approved deposit shall also be made at every Frankfurt fair there to Frankfurt or Nuremberg.

19 Accordingly, our governors and regiment, with the approval of princes and estates,

give serious orders to those who, for the maintenance of the Regiment and the Court of Chambers, were established, laid out and named at the recently held Imperial Diet at Wormbs, and who have been in the lists from time immemorial, to proceed and act for the payment of their share. If anyone then has a reason why he should not give his share, they may be brought before our governor and regiment, whereupon they shall, if they find the form, keep all charges.

(20) Thereupon, we promise to keep and perform all and everything as written above, and which concerns us, by our royal dignities and words, steadfastly, firmly, unbreakably, and sincerely, and to comply and live with it strictly and without refusal, and not to do, undertake, and act anything contrary to it, or to let it go out, nor to allow anyone else to do anything for our sake, except all danger. In witness whereof, we have hereunto affixed our Imperial Seal.

We, the Princes, Prelates, Counts and Lords, as well as the Princes, Prelates, Counts, and the Imperial and Free City Envoys and Authorities, do hereby publicly confess. Reichs Frey- und Reichsstädt Gesandte und Gewalthaber, confess publicly with this farewell, that all and each of the copied points and articles have been made with our good knowledge and will and counsel, grant those also in force of this letter, speak and promise in right, good, true faithfulness, which, so far as each of them is or may be concerned with his sovereignty or friends, of whom he is sent or ruler, shall be true, steadfast, firm, sincere, and unbreakable, and to perform and live up to them to the best of our ability, without any danger.

By the Grace of God, we Albrecht, of the Holy Roman Churches. Roman Churches, of the title of St. Peter *ad Vincula* Priest Cardinal, of the Holy See of Mäynz and of the Magdeburg Chapter Archbishop of Halberstadt, Margrave of Brandenburg. Archbishop, Administrator of Halberstadt, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, Pomerania, Duke of the Cassuben and Wenden, Burgrave of Nuremberg, and Prince of Rügen. Given in our city and the city of the Holy Roman Empire, Nuremberg, on Thursday Philippi and Jacobi [May 8], 1) after the birth of Christ 1522.

1) In our template: "Thursday after Philippi and Jacobi", which would be May 15. But because Philippi and Jacobi was a Thursday, it is not likely to us that the octave of this day would have been designated in the manner given above. We have therefore assumed with De Wette, vol. II, p. V, the 8th of May.

735 Protestation of the Saxon envoy, Philipp von Feilitzsch, against the draft of the imperial treaty at Nuremberg of 1523, concerning the gospel and the word to be printed and written. February 11, 1523.

From Lünig's spielK. eeeles. eoutin. I, x. 111.

Most gracious, gracious, favorable lords and friends.

After I was burdened with weakness of my body, and could not have been at the parting, when it was conceived, decided and read, I have nevertheless, as much as the Gospel and Word of God touches to print and write, before Your Electoral [and] Princely Grace, favor and friendship of the great committee and common estates, as a skillful one of my most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony 2c., and I am confident that my most gracious and merciful lord will not be bound further and more severely than other electors, princes and authorities in the Holy Roman Empire, but will leave the word of God free, and without doubt their electoral and princely graces will hold and show themselves in this and other as pious, Christian and youthful electors and princes of the holy realm, Christian, praiseworthy and princely of all nobility and Christian dignity unavoidable. From all of which I hereby publicly protest and testify, on the eleventh day of February, Anno Domini 1523.

H. The breve of Pope Hadrian VI sent from Nuremberg to the council of Amberg against Luther around this time, and how Luther answers for it.

736 Pope Hadrian VI's Breve to the Council of Bamberg against D. M. Luther, dated 3V. Nov. 1522, translated by Luther himself, with his glosses, subsequent speech and reply. 1523.

This writing came out in 1523 in several eirgel editions. The title is: "Eyn Bepstlich Breue dem radt zu Bamberg gesandt Widder den Luther. Dhr torhevt wyrrt yderman offinbar werden. 2 Timoth. 3." At the end: "M. D. xxiii." 1^ sheet in quarto. In German editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX,

Bl. 164b; in the Jenaer (1585), vol. II, bl. 167; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 243; in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p. 358 and in the Erlanger, vol. 64, p. 410. Latin in the Wittenberger (1551), tom. II, fol. 354; in the Jenaer (1566), tom. II, fol. 538b; and in the Erlanger, opp. var. arA., tom. VI, p. 466. The glosses in Latin several times concern the poor Latin in the breve.

2 Tim. 3, 9.

Their foolishness will be revealed to everyone.

To the honorable and famous mayor and council of the city of Bamberg, our dear friends.

Honorable and illustrious gentlemen, as dear brothers! Our Lord the Most Holy,^a) has ordered us to send a letter of His Holiness to your congregation, and has commanded us by his letters to send it to E. E., and with the same procure that they respond to it in the most favorable manner. Since we are sending such a letter, we urge them diligently and ask them to answer it as soon as possible, since they have diligence and service toward the Most Holy Lord and the Holy Apostolic See, and to send us the letters so that we may provide them through our messengers to the Most Holy Lord without fraud. With this, E. E., whom we implore and command without ceasing, is well pleased. At Nuremberg, January 12, 1523. 1)

E. E. as a brother, Frantz Chiergattus, elected Bishop of Aprutz, Prince of Therm, Papal Embassy.

a) Christ is badly holy, the pope is the most holy.

To the dear sons, mayors and council of the city of Bamberg.

Adrianus Pabst the VI.

Dear Sons, Hail and Apostolic Blessings beforehand. We could not help but be very surprised, and even saddened, when we see that Martin Luther, a German (whom we cannot deny to be our sheep^b), however nearly mistaken he may be, has fallen into such nonsense, even diabolical presumption, that he despises the common Christian doctrine and the holy fathers' teachings, spurns the whole common church custom, and again casts doubt on everything that has been customary up to now, and brings up many new repugnant doctrines and new heresies, 2) or rather, renews the old ones, and

is not afraid to lay a foundation different from that which has been laid, and to teach a faith different from that which our fathers held.

b) Not the shepherd's me.

2. just as if he alone had been gifted with the Holy Spirit, and he had first seen the evangelical truth at the end of the world, and our fathers, together with the whole collection of the faithful, should have lain so many hundred years in damned error and dark ignorance, who knew nothing of such Luther's faith, and were willing to fight to the death for the repugnant, that is, the common faith, which we hold. It is truly a strange thing that such presumption should have risen in a man's heart that he lets himself think he is wiser than all the teachers of the church and the holy fathers and the whole collection of the faithful.

3. But it seems to us even more reasonable to wonder that the same Martinus, after he fell into the maw of hope, by God's doom, for his and our sins, not only one or a few, but (which we say with great heartache) countless people, both male and female, in our country, the Germans (who, since the time it was converted to the Lord^c), have always been the most spiritual, and have held to the common faith most strictly, and in addition have been in the service of God and in love and righteousness towards the neighbor the very purest nurse), who not only patiently listen to his most foolish and harmful teachings (which are often condemned by the church and its masters, as is known), but also willingly accept them, and, what is even more, are also stubbornly prepared to defend them with weapons, and his and his own most harmful and poisonous books, which are full of scolding, shameful and malicious words, with quarrels and bitterness everywhere, even after they have been burned often and in many places by the power of apostolic judgment and imperial commandment, nevertheless buy them frequently, read them eagerly and listen to them gladly. ^{d)}

c) the pope.

d) The pope does not scold here, they are vain sugar words of the Holy Spirit.

(4) But from the fact that they are such books as we have now said, it is easy for anyone who obeys only a little of God's reason and Spirit to understand that the same Spirit of God (who is sweet, kind, gentle, the lover of truth and peace, and the reconciler of grievances) is the same Spirit of God,

1) Wittenberger: "on the last of November D. 1522"; Jenaer: "on 12 Januarii D. 1522."

2) Erlanger: to raise.

The evil spirit, which has pleasure in these pieces of contradiction, and begrudges the German country the happy course in the way of the Lord,^e) has driven such books masters to spit out such things. Who should have recognized them by their fruits, and fled and shunned them like death, together with their perverse teachings.

e) of the Pabst.

(5) For what do such people seek but trouble? To what do they advise, but only to unruliness, discord, robbery of goods, slaughter 2) and carnality; and, that we may say it in one word, to the rejection of the holy obedience, which is better than all sacrifice? And do the same under the appearance of freedom, when they are found servants of destruction. But it is not, dear children, it is not the freedom that the Lord promises to his elect in the Gospel, by which we want to belong to his law, and his governors on earth (which he also as himself^f), because they sit on Mosi's chair, It is the freedom that Lucifer sought, because he wanted to be like the Most High, to whom he was to be subject, and he sat down on his throne at midnight, from where he was thrust into the depths of hell. The same end will undoubtedly befall Martin Luther and all who follow him, if they do not amend as quickly as possible and make every effort to return to the unity of the church, from which they have condemned themselves, and apart from which, as apart from Noah's ark, no one can be saved.

f) That was time, so that one lets the bad tyrants firmly sit.

For there is no doubt that such and such like them are those of whom the holy apostle Peter speaks [2 Ep. 2, 1], when he proclaims that false teachers would arise among the believers, who would introduce damnable orders next to them, and deny the God who bought them, and lead a swift 3) condemnation over themselves. And afterwards [v. 2] sets that many would follow their destruction. By whom (he says) the right way will be blasphemed,

and by covetousness with invented words they will deal with you, which judgment from long ago does not fail, and their condemnation does not sleep. ^{g)} And about a little later he speaks [v. 6]: But rather those (hear, God will punish) who walk according to the flesh, in unclean lust, and despise the rulers, hold low, high of themselves, are not afraid to establish orders, and are blasphemers. All these things, whether they are not the same, we leave to you to judge. ^{h)}

g) Where the various orders and the avarice in the spiritual state come from, ask any conscience. The pope does not want to know.

h) The Pabst's people do nothing about this; note that, for here one should judge the Pabst's art.

7. Therefore, beloved of all, we admonish you in our Lord Jesus Christ, and through his heartfelt mercy we beg and implore you, who have you in the bottom of our hearts, not to let yourselves be led into that error, which the papal prudence has shown you as with a finger,ⁱ) but rather, as the chosen children and the acquired people, to follow in the footsteps of your fathers and all the saints, who have ever walked the right highway of evangelical truth, and shun those [people] most harmful, faithless, blasphemous, devilish, and, that we say it at once, the doctrine that leads to death, together with their masters, like hell, and not only leave their poisonous books unread, but also do not listen to those who read or teach them, and also do not greet the Lutherans who do not want to get right again. ^{k)}

i) But not with God's finger nor tongue.

k) Sweet, sweet, sweet words are these, which Luther spoke, he would not have to speak out of a good spirit.

8 But you should not be moved by the fact that the Lutherans add the word of the Holy Scriptures to their doctrine. For you know that all heretics have always avoided this, and no one has ever introduced a new doctrine that he has not undertaken to confirm with sayings of the holy Scriptures. ^{l)} For just as those who want to soothe the bitterness of poison cover it with honey, or otherwise with a good taste, so also these smear their own poison with the sweetness of heavenly words, and give it to drink to the evil, simple-minded souls, that they may thus poison them the more easily.

l) That is why the papists are so pure, because they take great care that they do not lead much scripture, but only human doctrine.

9. although we hardly believe that anyone would be so foolish as to look at the light of the divine countenance.

1) Wittenberg and Jena: "a judge". Latin: paaiueatorsM.

2) "Slaughter," which is bloodshed. In Latin: OLkākS.

3) Erlanger: "about a self quickly".

If you do not want to see the doctrine that is marked on all people, do not immediately understand that such people are false and lying teachers, and do not approach the truth and innovation,^m) not that they seek the salvation of souls, since they publicly condemn their own, but that they only say what one likes to hear, and do away with it. They do not seek the salvation of souls, since they publicly condemn their own, but only say what is readily heard, and leave out what seems too difficult to the carnal and sensual man in the narrow way of the Lord, and make their deadly doctrine all the more pleasant and believable to the same carnal man (who is always the greatest number), and entangle them with them in the guilt of eternal damnation, which is prepared for them and other unbelieving children.

m) How finely the pope interprets the Scriptures, who calls the divine light natural reason!

(10) But there is no doubt that these teachers will encounter what their forefathers, the masters of these or other heresies, encountered, as is known, as often as they presumed to raise their trustworthy minds against the knowledge of God; who for a time, by God's decree, were to be considered blissful, and, like the Cedars of Libya, exalted, for the sake of people's sin, but in the end truth has always overcome lies, and wisdom, which graciously supplies all things, has displayed wickedness.

11. But because we see how great harm such poisonous books printing, selling and reading have done to the right faith and worship in length and breadth, we admonish you in the Lord, to whom this famous city's sovereignty is commanded, and in virtue of holy obedience; and by the divine judgment we demand that you remember your habitual godliness towards God and His faith, and your excellent prudence, that you procure in all ways that in you or in your city areas such printed books are not sold henceforth, or which are not yet printed, are not printed henceforth, but as much as you find of them in named your city, let them be burned, according to the judgment of the papal see and imperial command.

(12) But if you would be negligent to correct your perverse printers, who, as is to be believed, are maddened with money by the Lutherans (is it otherwise true,ⁿ) that we have heard), willingly print the books of the Lutherans, and will not print the books that are written by the right Christians, against them, for the truth: then we proclaim to you that you will not escape the divine and terrible vengeance, even if you are the most Christian.^o)

For you must not think that you satisfy God by keeping His faith whole and unchanged for yourselves, if you do not also, as much as you are able, work diligently to have everything put away from you as quickly as possible, which annoys your brothers and is capable of leading them into such error.

n) A beautiful article of papal faith.

o) Behold, behold, shall even the most Christian be damned?

(13) For he that is not with the Lord is proved to be against him. And he that casteth not out such evil, if he be able, shall be counted in the sight of God, as if he had wrought it and driven it in. Now is the time for those who have been chosen and proven among you to reveal themselves, so that every one of you, if he is pious, may build a wall for himself for the house of the Lord, so that he may be worthy of the crown of honors promised to those who keep themselves upright by the same Lord. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, on the last day of November 1522, in the first year of our papacy.

T. Hezius.

Luther's Follow-up Speech and Response to Preceding Papal Breve of Pope Adrian VI 1)

Martinus Luther.

To all Christian readers grace and peace in Christ, and no papal blessing before.

No pope has ever done what this pope does, who gives the verdict out of his own hand to those in Bamberg, so that they may judge whether St. Peter's sentence has been rightly introduced and interpreted by him. And I also humbly ask, not only the Christians of Bamberg, but all over, to accept such a given verdict, and to judge between me and the pope, whether Luther or the pope has instituted sects, estates and new orders, apart from the common Christian faith; item, whether Luther or the pope teaches something more than God's word alone: then it will be found who the lie masters are called here by St. Peter. Peter, and how finely Pope Adrian of Louvain learned to interpret the Scriptures.

2. item, whether the Luther, or the papists, by avarice with false words at the Christians

1) This heading is found in the Wittenberg and Jena editions.

and lead a free, unchaste, insolent life, and do not want to be subject to the rulers; item, whether Luther or Pope despises kings and princes, banishes them, and curses them into the third, fourth, ninth generation, and so henceforth everything that St. Peter says in the introduced saying.

But, praise and thanks be to God, the folly and foolishness of the Pope and the Papists will come to light, and they will become a mockery and a disgrace, and they will make themselves contemptible before everyone, so that Daniel will be fulfilled, when he speaks of the final Christ: He shall be destroyed without hand, Daniel 8, 25., and Paul 2 Tim. 3, 8. 9.: "But they shall not perform it; but their unwiseness shall be made manifest unto all men, as happened unto Jannes and Jambres."

Is it not a sin and a shame that the pope, who wants to be master over all Christians, does not know how to say more than: Luther alone wants to be wise, should we have erred with so many of our ancestors? These are feminine, childish, monkish and sophistical complaints. A pope should lead the Scriptures, and thus bravely say: Behold, here stands God's word, thus and thus Luther has spoken against God's word. But now he is quite silent about it, and says: "Luther has spoken against long custom, against habit, against the teachers; just as if our faith were based on long custom and habit, and the teachers' word.

If habit and long custom alone is enough, why do we not believe with the Jews, Turks and pagans? Why do we not believe with the devil, who always has the habit 1) of being evil? But if habit alone is not enough, why does he not point to the right reason of this habit? Or, why should we not ask about the arrival of such habit, whether it is right or not right? Our God is not called habit, but truth, and our faith is not based on habit, but on the truth, which is God Himself.

6 He also boasts that truth has always been superior to falsehood. It is true that

The truth is finally incumbent on the people, but it is often suppressed; for it must sometimes die, just like Christ, but still rise again. Thus, under the papacy, Christian truth was suppressed, as Daniel 8:12 proclaimed that in the time of the last Christ, truth would be publicly suppressed. But the suppression has now come to an end. The truth has lain long enough under the lie, and was buried with Christ; now it must once again come forth, and suppress the papal lies again, so that here the pope, like Caiphas, prophesies against himself, that the truth should at this time bear witness to the lie.

I also think that they have started to do it honestly. Methinks the pabstry with its scales has become a spectacle to the world, with small honors, that their debauchery, hitherto practiced secretly and openly, is sung even by the children and by the scoundrels, as it was to the idols in the days of the apostles and martyrs, that they might be recompensed for their arrogance, which before was terrible even to the highest kings and princes (who were also most despised by them), but now is despised and a mockery even to the most despised and least of men; so that the saying of Isaiah Cap. 33:1, "Woe unto thee, thou robber, thou shalt be robbed again; and, thou despiser, thou shalt be despised again; if thou hast robbed, thou shalt be robbed; and if thou hast despised, thou shalt be despised"; and as Christ says, Matt. 7:2, "With what measure ye measure, it shall be measured to you again."

8 And I am sorry that I had to give such a breve so good German, because such miserable merciful kitchen Latin would be well worth a little German. But God is surprised at the final Christian that he leaves him no more happiness, that he can no longer speak or do art, and that he has become a child and a fool. It is a shame that such Latin is also written to the Germans, and such a foolish interpretation of the Scriptures is allowed to pretend to reasonable people. It is all right and fine papist, and monkish, and Lovanian. 1523.

1) Erlanger: "gewonet"; in all other editions: "gewonheit", also in Latin: consuetudo.

737: Two letters from Hans von der Planitz to Elector Frederick of Saxony concerning the action at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg. Nuremberg, Dec. 27, 1522 and

Jan. 8, 1523.

These two letters are found in the Wittenberg edition <1569>, vol. IX, p. 167b; in the Jena edition (1585), only the second letter, vol. II, p. 187b; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, pp. 276 and 369, and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 366.

I.

Most Serene, Highborn Elector! Your Electoral Grace is willing to accept my submissive, obedient and always willing services with diligence. Most gracious Elector and Lord! E. C. F. G.'s letter, given to Lochau on the 5th day of this month, I received and read it yesterday, the 26th day. I hereby inform your Lordship that I have also written to your Lordship how some have been ordered to express an opinion as to what should be carried to the Estates for Luther's sake, and who should do so is also not known to your Lordship; and that nothing has been done about it for a long time since I reported it to your Lordship.

But in a few days past, when I was ordered to act on other matters, along with some from the imperial states, the Lutheran matter, and the notel that had been set up, was again taken up, and some reverend persons spoke almost sharply and harshly. However, as I noted by others afterwards, there was little, and to say the least, no reason at all, how one should act and proceed against Luther and his supporters and followers.

When I came in again, however, and the same one had not yet finished his speech, he broke it off from hour to hour almost shortly and decided in such a way that I could not hear what the matter was, therefore the survey would be; until such time as I noted such from the following in the surveys, who were almost all of a different opinion 2c., and the one of which I wrote approximately three weeks ago 2c.

When the survey was completed, the governor would have liked to give chance to the lesser and uglier, and in my opinion also the most clumsy part, especially at this time; which he also did. For this reason I was also induced and moved (truly out of good opinion) to report my misgivings, in the opinion that this was their intention.

the way would not be to avert indicated complaints, because this action would not let itself be dampened by force, but other ways, for this purpose official, would have to be used, which could be found, where one wanted to hear about it 2c.

From this and other things came that we had much talk, conversationes and disputationes with each other, that also the governor and Cardinal were somewhat moved against me, but afterwards again almost amicably. So I had to suffer a great punishment; the matter is still at rest as long as it lasts.

6. those of the estates, so appointed to the great committee, are somewhat more modest in this matter, than ours of a part in the regiment.

7 However, as far as the copy or note is able to present to the estates, I hereby send E. C. F. G. a copy out of a submissive confidential opinion, from which E. C. F. G. may note the good will of some of them. God send it for the best; unfortunately, I fear that the majority of us are obdurate and blinded in all our actions. For even if something good and fruitful comes along at times, it is still despised, sought only: Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas. Would that one might become gray over it. And I profess to be far too little and unskilled in these great dealings; I need experienced, wise, cautious, and thoughtful people.

8. evil newspaper has been said here, but in secret; hope to God that there is nothing to it, namely that Rhodes should be conquered and taken by the Turk; which is indicated by many, but do not want to be publicly known, say they would rather it came from others than from them.

9 If this were so, it would not be a contemptible disadvantage to Christendom, for the other islands, kingdoms and countries, situated in the middle sea and nearby, would, as is to be feared, also soon come under his control. How hard God attacks us, nor do we want to call upon Him for grace and mercy, but think (like blind people) that we can prevent it by our own prudence. We will certainly miss that. God be with us.

10. otherwise knows E. C. F. G. I have nothing new to write, because I hope that where E. C. F. G. were here, many unpleasantnesses would remain. All of which E. C. F. G. I did not want to keep out of obedience, because the same E. C. F. G. in all obedience to E. C. F. G. is not to be expected.

I am willing to do so without hesitation. Date Nuremberg, on the 27th day of December, Anno Domini 1522.

E. C. F. G.

subservient, obedient Hans von der Planitz, knight.

Notes.

Most Gracious Prince and Lord, the Papal Nuncio has indicated to me how he wanted to send E. C. F. G. several new newspapers from Rhodes, France and the French lands; he has asked me to send E. C. F. G. the same letters, which were preserved in a bundle.

But because I came to know that there was a Breve Apostolicum with the certain letters, and I did not know what the content is, I did not want to accept the letters, but said that I did not know any message to E. C. F. G., which E. C. F. G. I did not want to leave undisclosed out of humble obedience. And, in my opinion, the matter of Luther is being diligently promoted by Imperial Majesty's governor, the Cardinal of Salzburg 2c., and they are almost in a hurry with it, perhaps worrying about E. C. F. G.'s future, which would perhaps prevent and destroy much of the project.

Date ut supra.

II.

Most Serene, Highborn Elector! Your Electoral Grace is prepared to accept my submissive, obedient and always willing services. Gn. Elector and Lord! To E. C. F. G. I hereby send the Instruction, 1) which the Papal Nuncio has had read before the Estates of the Empire, of which I also wrote to E. C. F. G. before. It is not, however, the one of which I first reported to C.C.F.G.; for it was almost short, barely half an ares 2) long, and a bit sittig, nowhere as broad as the present one.

2 And although the nuncio promised to hand it over in writings, it has not yet been done; and now that this present one has been handed over, many people have the delusion that it was made here at Nuremberg, or that there was the least notice and instruction given as to how it should be placed.

3 Today, the Papal Nuncio has once again suggested, in a document that he has sent to the Archduke, that the preachers be instructed to

St. Lawrence, St. Sebald, in the hospital and Augustinians, should accept imprisonment. The same applies to the monks who have left the monasteries and Carthausen, have learned a trade, and wear secular garb.

This is what the governor sent to the committee of the estates. As Mr. Philipps von Feilitzsch reports to me, there has been much and various talk about it, and everything contrary to Luther has been highly cursed and maligned by the clergy, nothing else has been shouted but crucifige, crucifige.

5 No one of the seculars has spoken against this, except Lord Philip of Feilitzsch and Margrave Casimir to a certain extent.

(6) But because they were afraid of a riot, where they would attack the preachers (as they certainly would), they decided not to accept them unheard, but to humble them beforehand, to hold against them what the papal nuncio had announced that they should have received for the sake of their preaching.

(7) But the monks and Carthusians who had left were to be taken into custody and handed over to their superior. However, beforehand, some should be appointed to a small committee, who would consider the matter, and what should be done and carried out everywhere. The Cardinal of Salzburg, the Bishop of Augsburg, the Vicar of the Bishop of Freisingen, and the Vicar of the Bishop of Bamberg have been appointed for this purpose; and Mr. Hans von Schwarzburg and Mr. Sebastian von Rotenhain have been appointed with great complaint, but they are nowhere the same.

8. go wildly, it is well suited to a displeasure and turmoil in the kingdom. God send it for the best. The malice and envy of this matter is so ingrained that I fear no good will come of it. For God-fearing, experienced, cautious and wise people are lacking in my sight; it will come to pass, as in the days of Pharaoh king of Egypt, that God will prove His honor and power through their hardened and obdurate hearts, amen.

9 Likewise, I am sending E.C. F.G. a copy of Imperial Majesty's letter, written to the Regiment, from which E.C.F.G. will hear Her Majesty's mind, from the articles attributed to Her Majesty by the Estates and the Regiment. In addition, there is also a copy of how Her Majesty writes to the Pope about the annotations and other things, in which Luther is also remembered; it is in Latin. 3)

3) No. 713.

1) No. 718.

2) The Jenaer writes: "Arcks".

10. otherwise knows E. C. F. G. I have nothing new to write; for the only thing to worry about is that if the monks who have left were to be attacked, it would become a wild game here.

The shouting goes through the whole city that the C. F. G. are coming and are to be in Coburg; yesterday I was addressed by the Bishop of Mainz, by Margrave Joachim, and others, and also today by Archduke Ferdinand, to let them know when the C. F. G. will come; I answered: I would have no knowledge of this, nor would I know whether the Almighty GOD would send E. C. F. G. would again have granted perfect health, so that E. C. F. G. would again be able to travel. The

The common people and the majority of the estates would almost like to see the future of the C.C.F.G.. It is said that the Turk has not left the island of Rhodes yet again.

12. all of which I have not wanted to do out of submissive obedience to E. C. F. G., because I am willing to serve the same E. C. F. G. in all submissiveness. I have not wished to obey, for to serve the same C. F. G. in all submissiveness, I am quite undauntedly willing. Date Nuremberg, January 8, Anno 1523.

E. C. F. G.

subservient, obedient Hans von
der Planitz, knight.

Chapter Nine, Section Two.

The new Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, which was to begin on December 11, 1523, was attended by the Elector of Saxony at the beginning of December, but was not opened until January 14, 1524.

A. From the Campeggi's attachments in Electoral Saxony.

738. the breve of pope Clement VII to Chursachsen, dated Dec. 7, 1523, in which he reminds the Elector to behave in a way that is appropriate for his house.

This breve is found in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, fol. 407 k; in the Jena (1566), tom. II, loc. 571; and in the Erlangen, opx. var. urZ., tom. VII, 61.

Pope Clement VII.

Beloved Son, Blessedness and Apostolic Benediction. The other day we wrote to your Serene Highness, when we heard that she would either have already left for the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg or would still be leaving, that we, who at that time had dispatched our beloved son Jerome Rorarius, our housemate and chamberlain, there, wanted to send an apostolic nuncio as soon as possible, so that he would be helpful in our stead in matters concerning the apostolic see, in taking care of everything that can promote the peaceful state of this country and the salvation of souls.

We have decided to send our beloved son, Cardinal Campeggius, an exceedingly intelligent and very learned man, also knowledgeable of this country and hopefully quite pleasant, to the higher honor of the nation we have always loved, who, through the help, favor and reputation of your Serene Highness and other princes and princes, will do and accomplish what seems to be beneficial and useful everywhere.

3. In dispatching this and leaving it to us, we exhort your Serene Highness in the Lord to travel to the Diet itself, where it has not yet happened, according to her duty and the requirements of the cause, which will not displease the Almighty God, and there to take every care that our Legate, which we send to you with such dignity, will not only arrive safely, but will also be received reverently and listened to most graciously by you and others, as is due to Your Serene Highness (who has had so many Roman popes and emperors as advocates of the popes), and we hope that this will happen. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, Dec. 7, 1523, in the first year of our papal dignity.

To the beloved son, the noble man, Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire 2c.

739 A somewhat more extensive breve of 15 Jan. 1524.

This breve is found in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, toi. 408.

Translated into German.

Pope Clement VII.

1st Beloved Son, Blessedness and Apostolic Benediction. When we heard that a famous imperial assembly of the ecclesiastical and secular princes and estates of Germany had been announced at Nuremberg, at which your Serene Highness would also appear according to her duty and obligation: we took good hope in the Lord, that by the joint appeal of the praiseworthy German nation, and especially by the power of those who have always meant well with God and His cause, and have sighed at the daily misery of all Christendom, as well as of Germany in particular, the confused state of affairs would be counteracted and remedied.

(2) So that we do not miss anything in this, we sent ahead a few days ago the beloved son, Jerome Rorarius, of the Emperor Maximilian, of glorious memory, but now our housemate, and we are now also preparing the beloved son, Laurentius, of the title of *St. Anastasia Cardinal, Campegius, our and the apostolic See's Legate de Latere, a man of great skill and wisdom, to be* present in the assembly itself.

Anastasia's Cardinal, Campegius, our and the Apostolic See's Legate de Latere, a man of great skill and prudence, that he may open in the Assembly itself, and wherever else it may be necessary, our efforts, counsels and concerns which we bear for the tranquility and benefit of all Christendom, and especially of this country, and, after your consultation with him, find a means of establishing tranquility and peace.

3. Although we do not doubt that your Serene Highness will faithfully assist our legate, the Cardinal, as we know that according to your exceptional spirit you are like your ancestors in their glorious virtues, we have no hesitation that you realize that the peace and security of all, especially of those who are your equals, rests on peace and harmony in this country: we have not thought it superfluous to ask you cordially and to remind you paternally that, if the benefits of God remind you otherwise of thanksgiving to Him, where you consider the welfare of the Fatherland and of the German nation, upon which your welfare also depends, let us remember

We hope that the misery of the whole oppressed Christendom will be close to your hearts, as indeed it is and should be close to your hearts, and that you will all show your loyalty, honesty, respectability and power in the execution of this most sacred business, so that the disputes in Germany may be settled and the noble and wholesome peace and harmony may be established in this country, but that those who live in it, and especially rulers and authorities, may remain in their dignities. Our love for this famous nation is indescribably great, to such an extent that we would like to see its benefit promoted as our own, and wish that mighty Germany, after the domestic disturbances have been settled, may regain its former glory by asserting the common and Christian welfare, which has almost completely fallen into disrepair.

(4) Accordingly, in this important matter so pleasing to God and affecting the common good, we remind your Serene Highness in the Lord that by diligence and Christian good counsel she may bring about glory and praise for herself, and that she may heartily please us, who desire it most of all, and in so doing direct both her eyes to God's and her honor. For which important service we promise to be grateful, as the above-mentioned Cardinal-Legate will speak to your Serene Highness in our name, to which you will attach all faith. Given in Rome at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, the 15th of January, Anno 1524, of our Papal dignity in the first year.

Yes. Sadoletus.

To the beloved son, the noble man, Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire 2c.

740 Letter from Campegius to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, February 29, 1524.

This letter is found in the Latin Wittenberg edition (1551), tom. II, toi. 408 d.

Translated into German.

Most Serene, Most Reverend Prince, Most Esteemed Lord, Hail and a will inclined to all obedience beforehand.

When I came to Nuremberg on the fourteenth day of this month and heard that Your Serene Highness had already departed from there, I regretted this very much, partly because it happened against my suspicion, partly because I foresaw it,

The intention of my delegation would be greatly diminished if I could not speak with Your Serene Highness. For apart from the short breve 1) which I had to hand over to you from Her Papal Holiness Clement VII. I received many other orders from you during my dispatch, which are now either to be postponed to another time, or to be delivered by me through ambassadors and letters, and of which the former is not convenient, but the latter is very burdensome for my legation, for this matter cannot well be postponed, nor can it easily be delivered by letters, otherwise it would have been better if I had not undergone this so arduous journey at all.

Because the circumstances of the time have brought it about in this way, and, as we all know, one must send oneself into the time, I will endeavor in this letter to satisfy to some extent both the request of His Papal Holiness and my office, and therefore send with the same to Your Serene Highness His, our most holy Lord's, breve, together with a solicitation of many blessings and assurance of a sincere love in the Lord. Although some things have been said about Your Serene Highness, which seem to speak for the new heresies emerging at this time, neither the pope nor I think of such things. For from the day that I first saw Ew. Serene Highness, I have perceived, in addition to other excellent qualities and those befitting a righteous prince that I have encountered in your Serene Highness, this one, which is indisputably the greatest and most brilliant of all, that they hold above godliness and bear a special zeal for the apostolic chair, which has made such an impression on me that I will never let go of this good opinion of them, let others see and speak what they will.

(3) And I am not distressed by Germany's unheard-of change and turning away from true godliness to new customs and unrest, with which some people, as I myself have seen and experienced, are infected, because I am well aware of what a great difference there is between the minds of the rabble, which is always eager for innovations, and those of princes and illustrious men, from whom rights and laws flow as from their sources. That His Serene Highness is at the top of the list is clear to me both from their

The people of the city are not only aware of their own conduct, but also of their special virtues. For what outstanding services and monuments they and their ancestors have rendered to the Holy Apostolic See and the Christian religion is so well known that no testimony is needed.

4) Such virtue and godliness are required by His Serene Highness the Most Holy Lord [Clement VII.2) to an even greater degree in these times, when, because of all kinds of tearing unrest and innovations, the princes should have such a religious timidity and elevation of mind that they not only cannot tolerate without pain the perverse manner and the courageous will of the people against the laws and authorities, but also wish to oppose them and emphatically punish their nonsense. Such aids and means have never been taken in most places in your country, since the further and deeper this evil, if neglected, can spread, the more resolutely and steadfastly one must oppose it. For what can princes or authorities expect if they go by the head of the mob and allow it to know the customs and sacred ordinances? This is, indeed, a most dangerous and extremely ruinous thing, if it is not stopped.

5) What damage this evil could cause is more than evident, as we have recently had great examples in Bohemia and Hungary, where these things have caused such disorder that ecclesiastical and secular, public and private matters have been mixed up, and everything has been thrown into confusion, and unrest has arisen that has not yet been able to be settled. And who would doubt that the same thing would happen in Germany, if one did not put a stop to the ungodly undertakings of those who start such innovations, and oppose, not the freedom, but rather the insolence of the foolhardy mob, which, since it has raised its head against the holy orders and the holy religious decrees, and has unabashedly fallen away from them: what will it do to the princes and authorities, against whom it anyway harbors a constant aversion? How beautifully and happily in this case those will act who laugh at those who have such things in mind and undertake them against the Roman church, a blind man can see. For one

1) No.738.

2) In Latin, instead of the name, it says: "X."

It must not be thought that because of 1) such confusions and ungodliness the ecclesiastical reputation or freedom has been diminished or overthrown, but that the honor and reputation of all German princes will fall completely.

When Pope Clement VII, who by divine grace sits at the helm of the regiment, saw this storm, he sent me out from his side (a latere suo) to this cause as his legate to these lands, that he, like all German princes, so also Ew. Serene Highness in particular, to remember the great danger posed by me, to protect against such great unrest by means of his help, service and assistance through me, and to incite them to restrain and curb this rage; not with the intention of leading his cause, or that of the Roman court, but yours, that of the whole of Germany, of the common people, indeed, of Christ.

For this reason, he gave me this letter on my departure, 2) to your Serene Highness, and ordered me to remind her, according to its contents, to do everything that can bring peace to Germany, prestige to the church, and glory and benefit to your dignity. For what else I could do for you, I do not see. For we wish nothing but all that is holy and good for all Germans and their noble nation. We are also sent to them to raise up the fallen, to rebuke the erring, and to keep all those who return in the bosom of love and of the Church, which we herewith publicly testify and steadfastly affirm. As I have confidently taken upon myself the burden of such an important office, although aware of my weakness, trusting in your Serene Grace's goodness and godliness, so also in carrying it out I will make every effort to be of service, zealous, faithful and diligent to your grace.

8 It will therefore not be contrary to Your Serene Highness's goodness and godliness to receive me, who have come here with this intention, and to assist me with their favor, help and advice, as it will be beneficial and advantageous to my cause, which I request from Your Serene Highness. And although I do not doubt their goodwill towards me and the Holy Apostolic See, it should be very dear to me if they, after their kindness, communicate to me in writing what seems good to them in the matter and expect from me all that is necessary.

I would like to do what they can expect from a man who is eager to serve them and to maintain their reputation and benefit, as I hereby offer all my work and services and myself to Your Serene Highness and recommend them in the best possible way. May God keep Your Serene Highness in good health and prosperous well-being for a long time to come. From Nuremberg, the last day of February 1524.

Your Serene Highness Most Sincere
Laurentius Campegius, Legate.

To the most illustrious and highborn Lord, to be highly esteemed by me, Lord Frederick, Duke of Saxony, Elector of the Holy Roman Empire 2c.

B. About the passing of this Diet, and how the making of it has caused great opposition, as well as about other actions taken at this Diet.

741. farewell to the imperial Diet, held at Nuremberg on April 18, 1524, in the names of the emperor, his governor and brother Ferdinand, and the emperor's envoy, Joh. Hannart, as well as the electors, princes, prelates, counts and estates.

From Lünig's Imperial Archives, xart. Zensral. oout. I, x. 446.

We Carol the Fifth, by the grace of God chosen Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire, Grain in Germania, in Castile, in Arragon, in Legron, in both Sicily, in Jerusalem, in Hungary, in Dalmatia, in Crvatia, Navarre, to Granada, to Toledo, to Valence, to Galicia, Majorca, Hispalis, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Gien, Algarbia, Algezira, to Gibraltar and the Canary Islands, also the Indian Islands and the *Terra firma of the Sea Oceani etc.* Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Lorraine, Brabant, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Limburg, Guelders, Wirtenberg, Calabria, Athenarum, *Neopatriae*;

Count of Habsburg, of Flanders, of Tyrol, of Görtz, of Parsiloni, of Artois, of Burgundy; Count Palatine of Hainault, of Holland, of Zeeland, of Wert, of Kyburg, of Namur, of Roussillon, of Ciritani

1) ad stands in the Wittenberg instead of od. (Walch.)
2) No. 739.

and Zütphen; Landauf in Alsace, Margrave of Burgundy, of Oristanr, of Gortiani, and of the Holy Roman Empire Prince of Swabia, of Catalonia, Asturia 2c. 2c., Lord of Friesland, of the Wendish Mark, of Portenaw, of Biscaya, of Molin, of Salins, of Tripoli and of Mecheln: confess and declare manly: After at our next Imperial Diet held in Nuremberg by the illustrious Prince Don Ferdinanden, Infante of Hispania, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy 2c. 2c., our friendly dear brother and governor in the Holy Roman Empire, also princes, prelates, counts and estates of the same, in a brave number and some important matters incumbent on the Holy Empire acted and conferred, and in part of the same of their performed and -held points and articles, as namely: The maintenance of peace and justice, with the establishment of a common train in the Holy Roman Empire, decided, until our approval, to establish part of the same as the execution in the Holy Roman Empire. Item, to show a plot to a constant persistent help against the enemy of the Christian name, the Turks, 2c., and to bring them behind them to their countryside and subjects, so that they will meet another day on St. Margaret's Day [13. July 1523], they united and settled, so that on the same day we should first send our message and have to open our will and mind on the above mentioned points of peace and justice, and for the sake of this and other articles, together with our Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Estates, Councils, which they should then also have at Nuremberg, certainly with complete authority, to finally decide all the contents of the farewell taken at the same Imperial Diet. But our message did not arrive at Nuremberg on the above-mentioned St. Margaret's Day, due to noticeable hindrance, nor did the lesser part of the councils of the princes, prelates, counts and estates of the time appear, so that nothing final or fruitful may have been acted or decided on account of the above-mentioned points. Since the aforementioned our brother, for urgent movable causes, as well as for the noticeable benefit and necessity of the Holy Roman Empire, has again called a general Imperial Diet in our name, for the final execution and resolution of the above-mentioned points and articles, as well as others of the Holy Roman Empire, at Nuremberg, on which day a large number of Electors of the Holy Roman Empire will again be present.

Princes, Prelates, Counts and Estates in their own person, also their full power embassy, obediently appeared. To this end, we hereby declare the noble, our and the Holy Empire's dear faithful, Johann Hannart, 1) Burgrave of Limbeck, Knight of the Order of St. James, our counselor, supreme secretary, and the Holy Roman Emperor. We have also ordered our council, supreme secretary and at this time orator in the Holy Roman Empire, with complete authority and instruction, together with the above-mentioned our brother, as governor, also our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, princes and estates, and their embassies, to act, advise and seriously decide on the aforementioned articles, as well as other burdensome duties incumbent on the Holy Roman Empire at this time; How they then all with special, high diligence took such unordered and unresolved points and articles again before themselves, sat about them with timely council, discussed and decided, as follows:

First of all, after we have not considered it good and fruitful, due to many movable causes and requests, that we should erect the common imperial customs for the maintenance of peace and justice this time, we have graciously requested through the above-mentioned orator sent by us to the Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Estates, to search for other means and ways for the maintenance of the Regiment and Chamber Court. However, since after much diligence they cannot this time find an adequate, Since, however, after much diligence they may not find a suitable or convenient way this time, our governor, our orator, upon our authority and order given to them, have, with our and the empire's princes, princes and estates' subsequent maintenance of the regiment and chamber court, for the next two years, amicably and benevolently agreed and united, namely that princes, princes and estates shall be friendly to us, Princes and Estates, as a friendly and subservient favor, shall and will maintain and transfer to us half of the maintenance of our regiment and chamber court in the Holy Empire for the above-mentioned two years, and we as Roman Emperor shall and will maintain and transfer the other half of the regiment and chamber court, in which our Houses of Austria and Burgundy shall be counted with their due imposition. The first year shall begin at Whitsun in the near future [May 15, 1524], and the laying of the present charge by us and the estates of the same first year shall be accomplished in two ends, viz.

1) In Walch's old edition here and in the caption: "Hannart".

Frankfurt fairs. And the first target of such payment shall fall at the next Frankfurt Autumn Fair [Aug. 29]. The first target of such payment shall fall at the next Frankfurt Autumn Fair [29 Aug.] and shall be immediately and irresistibly deposited and paid behind the mayor and council of the cities of Augsburg, Frankfurt, Nuremberg or Esslingen, and all this shall be delivered and handed over to the collector, who shall then, at their request, give a thorough and clear account of his income and expenditure to these and other governors, princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, or to whom they may order it, every two years.

2. On the other hand, our governors, with the knowledge of our orator and the common estates of the realm, have established at our first Imperial Diet in Nuremberg, in accordance with our regimental regulations, that our regiment and court of justice have been moved and changed from Nuremberg to Esslingen for mobile reasons, and thereupon ordered the administrators of both, regiment and chamber court, to dispose of the chancery acts and actions, together with the persons belonging to them, to the best advantage in Esslingen. So that they are most certainly all there in Esslingen before the holy day of Pentecost. And since there will be a good time for the change of such places in the outward journey and with the preparation of the lodgings and other things useful for the regiment, we, our governor and orator, have suspended all regimental and chamber court matters, trades and business until Tuesday after the holy day of Pentecost, and have therefore graciously allowed the present regimental persons to move to Esslingen.

3. However, if between Pentecost and the date of this farewell, or the time before the regiment, content of the above described order and settlement is set, in these swift runs and uprisings, some serious uprising would arise in the holy realm, or something brave would happen, our governor shall and may require one of the electors, two, three or more of the twelve princes, who are at any time seated nearest to his beloved, to come to him at a place and time convenient to him, and describe them, but that such shall not take place via Augsburg or Cologne, who shall also appear at his beloved. Or, if they are prevented from doing so due to matrimonial reasons, they may nevertheless send a public council to his beloved, and together with it advise him on such matters for the best. However, if the matters

or otherwise be so contemptuous or needy that they do not want to await the request and arrival of the princes, and the same princes therefore do not come or send their advisers at the request of our governor, nor shall it be necessary to trouble such princes for that reason, our governor shall and may then act for himself, as if the regimental persons were even with each other, for the best and most skillful, in accordance with our regiment's order and farewell.

4. Likewise, our governors and orators, together with our and the empire's princes, princes and estates, have unanimously agreed that our regimental order, as initially established at Worms, with the timely and courageous advice of all princes, princes and estates of the empire, Princes and Estates of the Empire, assembled there at the time, shall be and remain in force in all and every one of its points, articles, contents and opinions, as it stands in the letter, and the contents thereof shall be acted upon, excluding the following points.

And most importantly, according to the same order, the number of two and twenty persons in the Holy Roman Empire of Princes, Princes and others shall remain in the regiment next to our Governor, so that the greater part and at least fourteen persons of the Council shall always be with the above-mentioned Governor. Thereupon, princes, counties and estates, their councils belonging to the regiment, are to be summoned on the next Whitsun Tuesday [17. May 1524] without further trial, so that [the same appointed councillors] may take into their hands on the following Wednesdays, or on Thursday at the latest, all or some of the matters incumbent upon us and the Holy Roman Empire, and may most faithfully deliberate and act upon them, in accordance with the order of the regiment and its farewell. And for the most beneficial, since the maintenance of the Regiment and the Chamber Court is not granted for more than two years, to consider in the meantime other means and more convenient ways, how such maintenance may be carried out after the end of such two years, without any special complaints of the Estates.

6th And since the six electors and twelve princes and prelates ordered to sit in the regiment in their own person, for movable causes and other their excellent business, and especially in these rapid runs, is burdensome, our governor and orator, also electors, princes and estates have united, if a elector, prince or prelate, whom the order to sit in the regiment concerns, does not sit in his own person.

may appear, that then the same Elector, Prince or Prelate may send an excellent councilor, with full authority, to sit in the regiment at the beginning of his fourth year, until the end of the same, and do his duty like other regimental councilors; half the pay, which would have been due to the Elector or Prince by whom he was sent for the same fourth year, shall also be given to him. And in order to keep the regiment stately and respectable, also in good reputation, and to attract the attention of men, our governor and orator, princes, princes and estates, so that every quarter of the year a prince, ecclesiastical or secular, sits next to our governor at the reported our regiment, have agreed to the following opinion of the session of princes and princes. Namely, that the Archbishop and Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Strasbourg, as well as Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg, as reported co-princes of Cologne, shall personally sit at the said regiment during the first quarter of the year, which is to begin on Whitsun Tuesday, and each of them shall send a public council.

The other quarter of the year, which is called the sixth in the treaty of Worms, in which Margrave Joachim, Elector, the Bishop of Augsburg sit in his own person, and the Elector of Brandenburg and Margrave Philips of Baden send their advisors.

The third quarter of the year, in which the Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz, Elector, sits, and the Cardinal of Salzburg, and Duke Frederick, Count Palatine, as associated princes, Duke Frederick shall sit as the secular prince, and Mainz and Salzburg shall send their valiant councils.

The fourth quarter of the year, in which the order concerns Palgrave Ludwig, Elector, the Bishop of Bamberg and Duke George of Saxony, Palgrave Ludwig shall sit in his own person, and Bamberg and Saxony shall send their advisors.

The fifth quarter of the year in which the Bishop of Trier, the Bishop of Würzburg and Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria are to sit, the Bishop of Würzburg shall sit in person, and Trier and Bavaria shall send their councils.

The sixth quarter of the year, in which Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector, the Bishop of Speyer, and Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg shall sit, the reported Bishop of Speyer shall sit in his own person, and Saxony and Brandenburg shall send their councils.

12. the seventh quarter of the year in which the bi-

In turn, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Bishop of Strasbourg and Duke Henry of Mecklenburg shall sit, the Duke of Mecklenburg shall sit in person, and the Archbishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Strasbourg shall send their advisors.

In the eighth quarter of the year, the Elector of Brandenburg shall sit in person, and the Bishop of Augsburg and Margrave Philips of Baden shall send their advisors.

And the personal sitting of the Electors and Princes at the Regiment shall now follow the indicated measure and order of the two years, and thus be kept irresistible, also thirteen weeks shall be counted for a quarter of a year.

15 If, however, one of the princes or rulers, ecclesiastical or secular, should have to provide his fourth year for marital and honest reasons and should not wish to sit personally in the aforementioned regiment, the said prince or prince shall request another prince or prince and ask him to take his place for the fourth year of the same once, so that the order established at Worms remains in force.

16 If one of the aforementioned electors or princes were to come and sit in the regiment in person, he shall be permitted to take one of his councillors with him into the regiment, who shall also do his duty. Likewise, our governor shall be permitted to take two councillors into the regiment. However, the same councillors whom the governor, elector or prince take with him into the regiment shall have no vote.

17. Our governor, orator, princes and estates have also united so that no delay or default may appear in the filling of the regiment: If any Elector, Prince, District or Estates should fail to appoint or send his Councillors to the Regiment in accordance with the Regulations and this moderation, our Governor or Regiment may then appoint and reimburse the same persons at the place where they would be lacking, in all measure as the Councillors of the Councils of the Councils, established in accordance with the Regulations at Worms.

18. our Governor and Regiment shall refer all judicial proceedings and justifications to the Court of Appeal and other ordinary courts.

19 And this improvement and settlement of our regimental order, established at Worms, shall otherwise be unbroken in all other articles, of which no special report is made here, and shall especially exist and remain with their dignities and powers.

(20) Further, our judge in chief in the realm, the content of our order, shall be established at Worms, be-

1) In the old edition: "des".

and all this is ordered and provided here according to good inquisition and investigation of necessity.

21. Item, although at the next Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, at the vehement pleading of several princes and estates of the empire, a special article in the same treaty, should the urgent aid of the four thousand men of the next crazy year against the Turks be granted, stipulated: that for this no estimate shall be made, nor shall anyone be obliged to give it, unless those who complain of being excessively afflicted had first been given a fair measure of moderation in their imposed fee. However, such moderation would not be possible for half the time, nor for more than half of the complainants, absentees, and other causes; nor would it be possible for this present charge to be granted for the entertainment of the Regiment and the Court of Appeal for more than half the time, and thus for the Estates of the Realm to be discharged of half the burden, and for each of them to benefit from it in a way that is suitable and unburdensome.

22. However, in order that the aforementioned agreement on its points may be followed, and that the complainants may not complain any further, and that they may therefore make some withdrawal or cause for their non-payment: Our governor, orator, electors, princes and estates have agreed and united that the complainants and complainants shall therefore be granted moderation according to their ability and opportunity, on their sufficiently thorough and constant presentation of their assets; and our governor and regiment shall, upon each complainant's request and presentation, as now reported, ring-fence and mediate his or her tax and assessment of the fee; however, each complainant shall apply to our governor and regiment at Esslingen within two months, the next after such assessment has been made known to him or her and announced to him or her. Then, if such two months pass and he does not apply, he shall not be heard any further, but proceedings shall be taken against him for his tax, which he shall also be obliged to pay.

Item 23: As many of the princes, princes and estates have now brought up and complained to our governor, orator, princes, princes and estates about all kinds of complaints, our governor, orator, princes, princes and estates have invited the honorable scholars of ours and of the kingdom, Rudolffen of Ehingen, Johann Vogt, Heinrich

Heiminger, both teachers of law, and the Electors, Princes and Estates Hieronymum Enckhorn, the Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, Simon Reibesen, Provost, the Bishop of Worms, and Johann von Dockheim, the Duke of Jülich, Cleve and Berg Embassy, also the teachers of law 2c., who will act in kindness between the plaintiff parties, and if it does not take place, then inspect all acts and complaints of the same parties, and at Whitsun in the near future will make a report of it to our governor and regiment at Esslingen. The same our governor and regiment shall decide in these matters the parties of their error, together with those now affected, who have inspected such action, in the most beneficial way, and these are the same complaining parties: the Archbishop of Trier, Count Palatine Ludewig, both Electors, and the Landgrave Philips of Hesse, against Frobin's judgment pronounced by Hutten. Duke Wilhelm and Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, against our chamber judge and assessor. The city of Augsburg and its several special citizens, content of their handed over writings, the common city against the regiment. Lorraine on account of the accusations against the Fiscal and Doctor Friesen. Item, the counts' complaints, which they have brought forward now and at the previous Imperial Diet, or still have, to be acted upon after the present and next session. Item, the bishop of Würzburg with his handed over writing.

24. And after we, together with princes, princes and estates, have decided at our Imperial Diet held at Worms, after many actions and counsels, from no final execution in the Holy Roman Empire, on the concept and chamber court order, but have ordered our appointed governor and regiment to issue a concept about it with timely counsel, As a result, an opinion was reached, which was then presented to the next Imperial Diet held before it by our governor, princes, princes and estates, who made several necessary changes to it, discussed it, but nothing was finally decided, but was taken into further consideration by all the estates of the empire until this Imperial Diet.

(25) Although now, by virtue of the present Imperial Diet's decree, it should finally have been acted upon and decided upon once again, it may not have been done here for honest reasons.

1) In the old edition: "shall".

26. To ensure that there is no lack of due execution of sentences pronounced 1) in the Holy Roman Empire, and that no one may complain about this, our governor and orator, as well as princes, princes and estates, have decided to execute and enforce the sentences pronounced against their subjects and countrymen, and other sentences pronounced with execution, according to the content and by virtue of our Court of Appeal, recently established at Worms, the content of which our governor and regiment, whenever the case of disobedience arises in this way, shall enforce seriously and keep strictly to it; Also, if necessary, other princes and twelve princes shall be appointed to the regiment, or shall require their councilors to join them, and together they shall deliberate how the execution should and may be carried out in the most tolerable manner.

27. For all sorts of reasons, nothing definite could be done here, and therefore it was decided that our governor and regiment, at the next meeting, should take the advice of several princes and princes, mintmasters and guards of the past summer and present it to them, They shall take it in hand, together with some mintmasters and guards, as well as the twelve princes' councils, which they require for this purpose, inspect it, consider it according to necessity, and then announce their decision to the realm, and order to mint according to it. However, the princes and other estates are not bound by the laws and regalia of the mint. Even if our governor in the holy realm of time would not be at the reign, nothing final shall be decided for this reason without the knowledge of his love. But if his love is not within the country, then his love shall not command anyone else to decide it. And when the permanent coin has been found and established, it shall then be duly established, so that no coined silver or gold is taken out of the holy realm, and also with our governor, such as the Elector of Saxony, Archbishop of Salzburg and others who have mines, it shall be most skilfully negotiated for a permanent silver purchase, for the permanent preservation of such coin.

28 Item, since the bats of this time are of an excessively low value, and are also dragged down much more wickedly among the good, which is then a noticeable secret complaint of the common man in the holy realm: therefore it is resolved, at all the

to order those who coin coins with seriousness not to coin any half or whole coins until further notice; as our governor is now to declare immediately at high penalty and to keep serious order about it.

29. item, because by our instruction, besides others of the monopolies and forbidden purchase, our mind and opinion so declared, soern of the same forbidden cause, according to and according to the ability of our next letter given to the estates, namely, as is right, and that acted according to legal knowledge, we also let ourselves like such opinion. But after we have heard how some articles are to be made for this reason, it is our opinion that such articles should be sent to our governor in the holy realm and to skilled orators, who should examine these articles in our stead and on our behalf and then act according to equity and necessity. Thereupon the said our governors and orators shall and will, collectively and especially, or will, upon special diligent request and remonstrance now made at Nuremberg, the princes, princes and estates of the Holy Roman Empire such monopolies, as much as is in them, in the most favorable way, in accordance with the law, so that no one may complain and complain about it in a legal or reasonable way, and this shall be done in the most favorable way, as between here and Frankfurt Lent. If, however, this is not done in due time, it shall be set up in accordance with imperial law and according to the decree of 1512 at Cologne, among others, and shall be kept in place so that such complaints are stopped.

30. As our instruction, so that we dispatched our message, Johann Haunraten, to this Imperial Diet, also contains, among other things, that we provide that the estates of the Holy Empire, as protectors and guardians of the faith, should have obediently lived and complied with our mandate issued at Worms with the approval of the electors, princes, prelates, counts, and all estates, and that they should have administered the same, and that this should not have happened, so that the common Christianity of the German nation would have no small complaint; For this reason, we have again made our request and demand that every prince, count, prelate, and city for itself, as well as for its subjects, be willing to do this and be obedient, so that our mandate issued at Worms may be followed obediently again. To this

1) "Urtheils" put by us instead: Urtheil.

Upon such request, our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, prelates, counts and commoners, as obedient members of the Holy Roman Empire, have united and resolved to obediently live, observe and comply with our mandate as much as they are able.

(31) To this end, every authority shall exercise due care in its printing works and elsewhere, so that disgraceful writings and paintings are for the time being completely removed and not spread further; and that for the sake of the printing works, the contents of our mandate are kept. If, however, anyone encounters or is prevented from doing so, he may report this to our governor and regiment; they have orders from us, as we also hereby earnestly command them, to provide assistance and advice to those requesting it, to uphold it, and to execute our mandate with all diligence. And so that the good may not be suppressed next to the evil, and finally it may be discussed how each one should behave in this matter: We have governors and orators, as well as princes, prelates, counts and estates of the empire, present here, as necessary, of a common free universal council of Christendom, which, by papal sanctity, with our permission, may most beneficially take place, if such can always be done, to be proclaimed and advertised in appropriate places in the German nation, as is proper, and considered hereupon with papal sanctity legation acted upon, which accepted to bring such to papal sanctity, and to promote it most faithfully; and shall, nevertheless, in the meantime on St. Martin's Day. Nevertheless, a general assembly of the German nation is to be held in Speyer in the near future on St. Martin's Day, where, as mentioned above, it is to be considered and discussed how a general council is to be held, at which each prince, prince, prelate, count and other estates of the empire are to appear in their own person. If, however, this does not happen, then he shall send one or more of his brave and excellent councillors with complete authority to act and conclude the matter.

32 And thereupon it is written and commanded to princes, rulers, and estates, and especially to those who have high schools in their principalities and cities, to make through their learned, honorable, experienced, and understanding councils an abstract of all new teachers and books, what is found disputable therein, and to submit the same to us, or in our absence, to our governor,

The more we advance at the above-mentioned assembly, the more fruitful and beneficial it will be for us to proceed in trade at the future Council 1). Our governor and regiment, as well as the princes, prelates, counts and estates of the empire, shall also take special care that the holy gospel and the word of God are preached and taught in the meantime according to the true understanding and interpretation of the teachers accepted by the common churches, without turmoil and agitation. The complaints of the German nation by the secular princes and estates against the See of Rome are also to be reported at the next Imperial Diet held here, and then the secular complaints against the clergy are to be reported to the councils and persons ordered by princes, princes and estates as mentioned above, to be deliberated, assessed, and, together with their discretion as to how the same should be directed and brought to a satisfactory course, to be brought before us or our governor, princes, princes, and estates at a future general assembly of the empire, and in such a case the necessity shall be considered and decided.

33. Item, as also at the present Imperial Diet Papal Holiness, likewise our brother, the King of Bohemia and Hungern, with our governor and orator, also princes, princes and estates of the Holy Empire, again, with narration, in what nobility and armament the Turk stands, minded, this future summer to overrun the crown of Hungern violently, and to bring it under his tyrannical power; With attached report, in which way the Hungarians are completely incapacitated by the protracted war they waged against the Turk many years ago, so that they are unable to resist the Turk on their own without the power and help of other Christian believers, and therefore they have once again requested and asked for substantial and most diligent help. Since our governor and orator, as well as the princes, princes and estates, have found it necessary for our brother, King of Bohemia and Famine, to be skilful in this matter, and also for the Crown of Famine to appear with assistance, for many excellent reasons, they have judged it necessary with public counsel: So Princes, Princes and Estates have granted to the most illustrious Prince Don Ferdinand, Prince of Hispania, Archduke of Austria and Burgundy, our Governor in the Holy Roman Empire, after

1) Maybe: Handle?

his love united with the crown of Hungern this summer, of a brave resistance on horseback and on foot against the Turk and compared, the two fourths of the foot soldiers of the 20,000 men, which granted us to our Rome march, and of the next year, contents of the same held imperial diet attack, The two-fourths of the 20,000 men granted to us for our march to Rome and promised to the Crown of Famine for urgent aid, reported to our governor, to the Crown of Famine for consolation, and so that they on both sides might resist the Turk all the more sturdily, have now been granted and promised anew for urgent aid, but in men and not in money.

34 And every city of the realm shall deliver the two-fourths of the money due to them, as it was announced last year, between St. James's Day and the mayors and councils of the cities of Augsburg, Frankfurt, and Nuremberg, and our governor shall issue mandates in our name for this purpose and notify each of them of his due share, according to the previous estimate, to be paid between the aforementioned times.

Because such help of the two fourths has a specified time, namely six months and no longer. So that this help is not used in vain, nor other than to resist whether the Turk wants to make a mighty move this summer, so much shall be done with our friend and cousin, the Bishop of Augsburg and Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria, that they shall, at the request of our governor, take the money deposited by the estates from the mayors and councils of the above-mentioned cities, at the request of our governor, to require, collect and receive from the mayors and councils of the above-mentioned cities where it has been deposited, to take in and appoint captains and servants, to send such people to our governor and to have them accounted for at the future assembly of the Holy Roman Empire of princes, lords and estates.

If the Turk sits still this summer and does not do anything to starve the crown, so that this urgent help of the two fourths will be unnecessary, the same money shall nevertheless remain behind the mayor and council of the above-mentioned cities until the next future meeting, when other persistent help shall be given. And if the same is found, or if this urgent help will not be needed or used in the meantime against the Turks, each town shall certainly be given its money again.

37 Further, after our governor, orator, and also princes, princes and estates have been highly praised, the

Because the Turk is so serious in extending and expanding his power into Christendom with daily, careless pressure, that a mighty, powerful, persistent army is needed to resist him bravely and fruitfully 1). And this time, at the present Imperial Diet, for manifold, mobile, valiant reasons, necessity and finally nothing of it may have been done; and especially considering that the Turks' power by sea and land is somewhat valiant and great, and that such a noble resistance cannot well be made without the help and assistance of other Christian powers, and that above all it will be necessary to first make a common peace in the Holy Empire, and especially between the Christian chiefs: Our governor, orator, and princes and estates of another common assembly of the holy realm have, on St. Martin's Day, most earnestly desired that a common peace be first made in the holy realm, and especially between the Christian heads. The same has been sent to each of the estates, and on the above-mentioned day, our governor, orator, and electors, and estates of the Holy Roman Empire have agreed with another common assembly of the estates on St. Martin's Day, most recently at Speyer, on a note of common assistance for such persistent and brave resistance and action, but on further consideration, and to bring it to the attention of each subject and kinsman. And on the above-mentioned day and time, each prince, duke and estate shall appear in its own person, or through its authorized attorney, and open its permanent opinion on the matter, so that it may finally be decided with timely counsel how such persistent action against the Turks should be taken.

Item 38: The imperial treasurer is to be ordered with seriousness to proceed against the disobedient who have not yet paid their share of the one and a half quarter of the foot soldiers who were granted and provided for urgent aid against the Turks in the past, and also against those who have not yet paid their fee for the maintenance of the regiment and the chamber court for the past two years, so that the same may be brought about by the disobedient. And what is paid out of both outstanding amounts shall first be delivered to Duke Frederick of Bavaria two thousand, and Adam, Count of Beichling, to our chamber judge one thousand gülden, of which they are promised, content of the next parting, as for worship. And that Duke Frederick of Saxony, Elector, and the Bishop of Wuerzburg, of their resignation, which was done to them during their session, also Count George of Wertheim and others, who are still indebted to them.

1) "Heerzug" put by us instead: Herzogs.

and paid, and the rest, deposited behind the mayor and council of Frankfurt, will not be moved from there without the knowledge and will of the estates, but will remain and be kept on further notice of the place 1).

Thereupon we promise and promise to keep and execute all and everything as written above and which Emperor Caroln touches us with our imperial dignities and words steadfastly, unbreakably and sincerely, to comply and live with it strictly and without refusal, and not to do, undertake, act or allow anything contrary to it, nor to allow anyone else to do it for our sake, except all danger. In witness whereof we have hereunto affixed our Imperial Seal.

39. We Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts and Lords, as well as the envoys and rulers of the Holy Roman Empire and its free and imperial cities, hereafter called, also publicly confess with this farewell that all and every of the above-written points and articles have been made with our good knowledge, will and counsel, which we also grant in force of this letter; We do, in good faith and in good faith, promise to keep and perform as truly, steadfastly, firmly, sincerely and unbreakably as each of us may concern or be concerned with his sovereignty or friend by whom he is sent, or by whom he has been given power, and to comply with and live by them to the best of our ability, without any danger.

40 And these are the following written, we the princes, counts and lords, the free and imperial cities, embassies and rulers of the Holy Roman Empire:

By the Grace of God, we Reichard, Archbishop of Trier, of the Holy Roman Empire, through Gaul and the Kingdom of Arelat, Archchancellor and Elector. Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, Archchancellor and Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Cardinal and Archbishop of Mainz, Archchancellor and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire through Germania 2c., Doctor Caspar von Westhausen, Chancellor. The Archbishop of Cologne, Elector 2c, Diether, Count of Manderscheid and Blankenheim; Hans, Lord of Schleiden and Hieronymus Enkhorn, Doctor of Laws and Canonicus of Cologne. Duke Friederich of Saxony, Churfürst 2c., Philipps von Feylitsch, Knight. Margrave Joachim, Elector 2c., Doctor Gangloff Rodwig 2c. Ecclesiastical princes, so allhie personally appeared: Albrecht, Hofmeister in Prussia, German Order, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, of Pomerania, the

Cassuben and Wenden Duke, Burgrave of Nuremberg and Prince of Rügen. Weigand, Bishop of Bamberg. Conrad, Bishop of Würzburg. Bernhard, Bishop of Trent. Sebastian, Bishop of Brixen. Dietrich of Cleen, Master of the German Order in Germany and the French lands. These are the messages of the ecclesiastical princes. The Archbishop of Salzburg, the Elector of Trier. The Bishop of Worms, Doctor Simon Reibaisen, Provost. The Bishop of Eichstädt, Philipps Hildebrand, Canon. The Bishop of Speyer, Georg von Schwalbach, provost there. The Bishop of Augsburg, Wilhelm von Knöringen. The Bishop of Freisingen, Magnus von Schellenberg, Doctor, and Melchior Sottor, Licentiate of Law. Of the Bishop of Passau, Hieronymus Meyring, Doctor. Administrator of Regensburg, Georg Brenner, Doctor. The Bishop of Ratzenburg, Balthasar Schmid, Canon there. Bishop of Constance, Jacob Croll, Doctor.

Secular princes who appeared in person. Duke Wilhelm and Duke Ludwig, Palgraves on the Rhine, Dukes in Upper and Lower Bavaria. Duke Frederick, Count Palatine on the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria, and as counsel to Duke Otto Henry, and Duke Philip of Bavaria. Casimir, Margrave of Brandenburg, of Stettin, Pomerania, Duke of Cassuben and Wenden, Burgrave of Nuremberg, and Prince of Rügen. Messages of the secular princes: Duke George and Duke Henry of Saxony, Landgrave in Thuringia and Margrave of Meissen, Doctor Ott von Pack. Duke Johann of Cleve, Jülich and Berg 2c., Doctor Johann von Dockheim, called Frieß, and Johann Ganwgref, Licentiate. Duke Otten and Duke Ernten of Brunswick and Lüneburg, Friedrich Burdirn, provost at Ysenhagen. Duke Ott and Duke Philipps, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Upper and Lower Bavaria, Duke Heinrich of Bavaria, Duke Johann, Count of Spannheim, Hieronymus Veysen, Doctor of Law. Duke Ludwig zu Veldenz, Doctor Hieronymus Veysen. Of the Landgrave of Hesse, Johann Teigen. Margrave Ernst and Margrave Philipp of Baden, Doctor Hieronymus Veysen. Duke Albrecht and Duke Heinrich of Mecklenburg, Balthasar Schmid, Canon of Ratzeburg. Count Wilhelm von Henneberg, Ludwig von Beimelberg zu Lembsfeld. On behalf of the prelates: the coadjutor at Fulda, Doctor Caspar Westhausen, Mainzi.scher chancellor. Gerwig, abbot of the church of Weingarten, for his own sake. And Heinrich, Abbot of Markthal, by force Sebastian of Kempten, Rudolph of Freidingen, Lendcommenthur of the Ballei in Alsace and Burgundy, German Order. Conrad of Kai-

1) In the old edition: "love".

sersheim, at Salmonsweilen. Johann at Elchingen. Andreas zu Ochsenhausen, Peter zu Irrsung. Johann at Rod. Jakob at Mindemau. Johann of Schussenried, all abbots of the Abbot of St. Heimeran at Regensburg. Gerwig, Abbot of Weingarten, and Georg Brenner. Of the Abbot of Weißenburg, Doctor Simon Reibsen, Provost. On account of the counts and barons: Count Bernhard of Solms, of the counts who sat in and around the Wetterau, and of whom he has command. Count Georg von Werthheim and the von Gerolzeck, of all the counts in Swabia; of Count Reinhard von Bitsch, Simon Reibsen, provost and doctor. On behalf of the free and imperial cities: Augsborg, Conrad Herbard, mayor there. Frankfurt, Haman Holzhausen. Regensburg, Goslar, Doctor Krauß. Offenburg, Gengenbach and Zell, Johann Justenhpfper, town clerk at Offenburg. Ulm, Bibrach, Gemünde and Älen, Bernhard Besserer, Mayor of Ulm. Freiburg, Lorenz Quol.

And for further evidence We Reichard, Archbishop of Trier, of the Holy Roman Empire, Archchancellor of Gaul and the Kingdom of Arelat, Ludwig, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, of the Holy Roman Empire, Archduke, both Electors; and we Albrecht, Grand Master of the German Order, Margrave of Brandenburg, Stettin, Pommern, Duke of the Cassuben and Wenden, Burgrave of Nuremberg and Prince of Rügen, of our and all spiritual; and we Friederich, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, on behalf of ourselves and all the secular princes, also affix our seal to this farewell letter, given in our and the Empire's city of Nuremberg, on the eighteenth day of April, after the birth of Christ, fifteen hundred and in the fourth and twentieth, of our kingdoms, of the Roman in the fifth and of all others in the ninth year.

742 The protest of the Electors and Princes of Saxony, and also of the Counts and Lords, against the Imperial Decree at Nuremberg, April 20, 1524, and its § 28.

From the Hofrath's Brother Collection of Various, Mostly Unprinted Writings, p. 26.

Protestation Herr Philipsen von Feylitzsch, exhibitum et lectum die Lunae post Misericordias Domini [April 20] Anno 1524.

1. ewren Churfl. Princely. I have asked for more than one favor and friendship before.

shows that my most gracious lord, the Elector of Saxony, has left me here at the Imperial Diet on account of his and his Elector's brother. The most gracious Lord, the Elector of Saxony, on account of his brother and his Elector's Grace, has left me here at the Imperial Diet after his leave, and has given me permission and authority from His Electoral Grace and the same brother, that I am to be married to the Elector of Saxony. I am to act and decide with the Imperial Stendencies, as he then indicates and brings my authority, to which I then also willingly and obediently pledge myself. However, of other articles, which are not reported in the letter, and of the order at Wurmb, by Kays. Mt.'s own person, all princes, rulers and common sovereigns of the Holy Roman Empire, I would not nor would I want to be accepted in the same. Since my power does not extend as indicated, I will not allow it, nor will I grant it on account of my most gracious and gracious lords. Hereupon I again rely.

2. on the other hand, I will also, for the sake of my most gracious and gracious lord, in no way approve of the fact that Cays. Mjt. Highness to harm, peace and justice in the Holy Roman Empire, 2) to cause uproar and indignation, and to oppose those who decided on the recently held Imperial Diet, which I hereby publicly protest and denounce.

Where, however, something is taken and to be acted upon, which is reported in the letter with 3) which is to the praise and honor of God the All-Mighty, King of Bavaria and the Holy Roman Empire. Mjt. and the Holy Empire, and such would reach my most gracious and gracious lords, I do not doubt that your princely and princely lords will be represented herein as Christians. I have no doubt that your Lordships and Princes will herewith present themselves as Christian Princes and Princes in praise of the Almighty, in honor of the Holy Roman Emperor, and in honor of the Holy Roman Emperor. Mjt. to honor, and to the empire to use and wolfarth to know how to keep. I ask that my protestation and counter-submission be considered and forgiven, for I do not intend nor am I willing to exceed the measure of my authority, which I also protest against.

4) Thirdly, that my most gracious lord the Elector should have his deputy at the regiment in Essling at Whitsun in the near future, and if this does not happen, that my most gracious lord the Duke of Ertz, as the key city governor, should have the power to appoint and order another in his place. If this is not the case, then my most gracious lord, the Duke of Ertz, as the key city governor, should have the power to appoint and order another in his place, 5) and I do not want to grant it, because I protest.

Philips von Feylitzsch, Knight.

2) That is, disruption. In the old edition: "to disruption".

3) Maybe: nit?

4) Maybe: "who" [would be]?

5) This refers to § 17 of the previous document.

Graven and Mr. Protestation.

Most Illustrious Prince, Holy Roman Emperor, Our Lord Most Gracious, City Holder. And your Mt. Orator, Most Reverend, Most Illustrious, Most Illustrious, Most Gracious Lord and other sovereigns of the Holy Roman Empire! 1) Previous days, when E. F. Durchleuchtigkait, Churfürstlich, Fürstlich Gnaden und ander Stend des hailigen Reichs zu Underhaltung Regiments und Khamergerichts zwey Jhar, die nechsten khommend, gewilliget,

Likewise, concerning the mandates that are to be issued against Martin Luther and his doctrine, we two have acted on behalf of the counts and lords, because of which we have all here, at this Imperial Diet, let ourselves be heard beforehand loud and clear, that we, on behalf of our friends, have not submitted to it and in such a way that such a thing would not be appropriate, but too contrary, to the most recent Imperial Diet held at Nuremberg, and therefore we could not or would not consent to it,

If, however, there is good hope that our friends in their complaints will be averted and accepted, as is fair, and after the above-mentioned farewell, you will keep to it without question and in accordance with justice 2c. We note, however, that such a thing will be set forth unseen in the parting of the last Imperial Day. As we three have protested 2) we have consented; therefore, on behalf of our cousins, brothers, and friends, we have submitted ourselves to the F. F. D. and to the Imperial Orator, Elector, and Prince. We therefore, on behalf of our cousins, brothers and friends, before E. F. D. and the Imperial Council, Princes, Princes and other sovereigns, have caused ourselves to protest and testify that we do not want nor consent to this parting. 3) We hereby protest and testify publicly, now as then, and then as now, that we do not want nor consent to this in any way, nor therefore with anything in disobedience to Kays. Mt., E. F. D., nor to anyone else. With submissive pleas, we do not wish to consider this in any other way than in accordance with our great necessity, graciously and kindly, and we intend to provide ourselves with this graciously and kindly, and to deserve it. 2c.

Bernhart Graue to

Solms.

Georg Graue at

Werthaym.

1) In our template, there is only one comma here.

2) It seems to us that the word "protest" is too much here.

3) "gehelen" - gehellen, to give our consent.

C. How enraged the emperor was by the papists' blowing in about the parting, and by the letter of complaint and very sharp edict sent by him to the estates on this account! Letter of complaint and very sharp edict.

743 Act on the Roman Catholic religion, at a convention in Regensburg, by the governor of the empire and some Catholic estates on July 6, 1524.

From Lünig's Imperial Archives, part. general. covtin. I., x. 454 - Walch has erroneously placed this document here with the wrong information in the heading: "at the Imperial Diet in Nuremberg" instead of: at a convention in Regensburg". It actually belongs in the third section of this chapter, before No. 748.

We Ferdinandus by the Grace of God, Imperial. Majesty in the Roman Empire Stadtholder, Prince and Infant in Hispania 2c.

Mattheus, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Churches, Archbishop of Salzburg.

Wilhelm and Ludwig, brothers, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Upper and Lower Bavaria.

Bernhardt, Bishop of Trento.

Johanns, Administrator of the Regensburg Abbey, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria,

And we, the most illustrious, high-born princes and lords, Migandt, bishop of Bamberg.

Mr. Jörgen Bischoffe zu Speyer, Pfaltzgrafen 2c.

Mr. Wilhelm, Bishop of Strasburg.

Mr. Christoffen, Bishop of Augspurg.

Mr. Hugo, Bishop of Costnitz.

Mr. Christoffen, Bishop of Basel.

Herr Philips, Bischoff zu Freysing, Pfaltzgrafen.

Herr Ernst, Administrator, Pfaltzgraffe bey Rhein, Hertzog in Obern- und Niedern-Bayern.

And Mr. Sebastian, Bishop of Brichsen, herein charged with but violence, and therefore for our Principal's ratification, promised counselors, publicly confess with this letter, and announce it to all:

1. when the most powerful prince and lord, Mr. Carl, Roman Emperor 2c. our dear lord and brother, most gracious lord and cousin, also most gracious lord, at the recently held Imperial Diet at Wormbs, with councillors and of the H. Roman Empire electors, princes and estates. Roman Empire, Princes and Estates, at the request of Pope Leo X, against the seductive and heretical doctrine, which was condemned long ago by the Holy Fathers and the Christian Church, but which has now been abolished by Martin Luther.

In the year of the death of Luther, his successors, and others, an edict and mandate has been issued, on which it was also decided in the Imperial Diets held at Nuremberg in the M. D. and xxjij. and now in the xxijij. year. Year, and in the same decrees it is understood that the Kayserl. Edicts shall be obediently lived and complied with, as far as the Imperial Estates are able. Which edict we and our principal not only recognize as Christian, but also consider necessary for the suppression of all rebellion and evil, which result from the touched and condemned doctrines and which have to be taken care of daily.

Therefore, at the request of the Most Reverend Lord Lorentzen 1) Copey, of the Holy Roman Church of the title of Anastasia Cardinal, Papal Holiness Dean, who has also given his authority, will and approval in place of Papal Holiness, we have resolved and agreed that we and our Principal shall be the above-mentioned Cheys. Edict of Wormbs, and also the decrees passed and issued at the two imperial congresses at Nuremberg for this reason, in our and our gracious lords' principality's sovereignty and jurisdiction, will keep and execute them, and will act and proceed with punishment against those who violate these edicts and decrees, as follows.

3. firstly, that we and our principals praise God Almighty and the Mother of God, and all the dear saints, and also the heavenly host in honor of Papal Holiness and Imperial Majesty and the edicts, mandates, and decrees that have been issued. Majesty and the edicts, mandates and decrees issued therefrom, and for the benefit of our and our Principal's subjects and relatives, 2) the Holy Gospel and other divine Scriptures, in accordance with the common Christian principles. The Holy Gospel and other divine scriptures, according to the common Christian understanding, as the teachers accepted by the Holy Church have taught them. They also accept and keep their doctrine with good, merciful customs and conduct, confirmed by the shedding of their blood, and do not want to suffer or allow such a gospel to be preached in order to prevent laudable Christian customs and traditions, good words and deeds and true Christian brotherly love, nor have they ever interpreted it in any other way.

4. and whether anyone has committed damned heresies or blasphemies against Christ our Savior, His most blessed Mother, the Virgin Mary, and the dear saints, or otherwise, that appears to be the case

1) Laurentius Campegius, papal legate.

2) In the old edition: "Hayl, to God".

If a person may stir up, preach, or otherwise spread sedition among the common believers in Christ, and is found guilty of this by his own confession or credible knowledge and experience, he shall be punished for this, in accordance with the Imperial Edict, and according to the nature of his fault, crime, and conspiracy.

5. And so that the holy word of God may be understood and interpreted according to the right belief, without fear or excitement, but rather preached with humility, we want to and shall order in our and our gracious lords' principalities and bishoprics, so we will and shall order in our and our gracious lords' principalities and bishoprics, provinces and territories, that no one shall be admitted to preach in the church unless he has been examined by his ecclesiastical ordinaries and declared fit and sufficient for this purpose, and has to produce a credible certificate.

6 Similarly, the preachers who have preached up to now shall be examined as to their suitability, and no Winckel preacher shall be permitted.

7. Thus the Papal Legate, with the advice, consent and approval of us and the envoys in place of our principals, has adopted and decided upon an order for the abolition of abuses and the establishment of a merciful, chaste conduct and behavior in the clergy, which we want to bring into the truck, and in our and our gracious lords' principality, prebendalships, archidiaconates and capitularies, and keep it, so that such order may be lived obediently and in a good image by the clergy and priesthood, so that the unrighteous may be brought to obedience and punished according to the commandment.

8 We and our principals do not want to change anything in the holy mass and sacrament. We and our principals do not wish to have anything changed in the Holy Mass and the celebration of the Sacraments, nor in other Christian ordinances and customs, such as fasting, prayer, confession, and sacrifice, but we wish to keep it as it has been praised to us by the holy fathers and elders. Therefore we, and our gracious lords, also want to punish seriously all Läysche persons who go to the most reverend sacrament of the altar without prior prayer and absolution according to the form of the churches, or who commit or abstain from taking the same sacrament under different forms, contrary to the order of the holy churches.

(9) Because the old custom of eating meat and other verpoten food during the fast and other days, out of good and sensible Christianity, is not to be followed.

If the law of the land, which was established by the holy fathers, our forefathers, for a number of reasons, and according to the custom of every country, has been a praiseworthy custom until now, we do not want to let the offence, which arises from the transgression of the same law and custom, be tolerated in our, and our most gracious lords' lands and territories, but we want to punish the transgressors seriously.

(10) We will not suffer or tolerate the expired religious, female and male, nor the priests, dyacones and subdyacones who marry in our lands and territories, but we will punish those in our upper citadels and territories.

(11) We find that up to now the damned and seductive heretical doctrines, shame and disgraceful writings have mostly been practiced through trucking, and have not been kept everywhere, as should be the case, because of the provision of the Imperial Edict. Thus we have decreed, and we want, that from now on, in our gracious lords' lands, territories and bishoprics, no book printer shall be allowed to truck any book or painting, unless such has first been brought to us and our gracious lords, or to our and their graces' decrees, diligently examined, and allowed to be trucked. But whoever would abstain from trucking outside of such permission shall therefore be punished according to the disgrace and fortune of the Imperial Edict.

12) Luther and his followers, as well as other heretical, seductive, and mocking books, shameful and disgraceful writings and monuments, shall not be sold, given away, or practiced in any other way by anyone in our and our lords' lands, bishoprics, and territories. Edicts, and other punishments.

13. We have also agreed, with the full consent and authority of the Papal Legate, that all those who have come from our and our most gracious Lord's lands and territories, and who are currently attending school in Wittenberg, shall dispose of themselves from there or in other universities where the Lutheran doctrines are not condemned and seduced, within three months after the announcement of this settlement, dispose of themselves from there or in other universities, where the Lutheran condemned and seductive doctrines are not held, and shall not come to Wittenberg again, with loss of all their benefits, God's gifts and inheritance.

14. that neither a foreigner nor a foreigner who is still studying at Wittenberg, in all of our

We also do not want to allow them to read in our high schools. We do not want to admit them to any ecclesiastical divinity, nor to any benefice, neither to papal holiness ordinaries, nor to any patronage, nor to have any geniuses of it, but they should be despised. We also do not want to allow them to read in our high schools.

15. In order that this Christian understanding of ours may be executed and carried out more effectively, we want to appoint several commissioners in each of our countries and territories, who, together with our town councillors, regency councillors, court councillors, captains, governors, stewards, and other of our officials, will diligently take notice of and make known to us and the aforementioned town councillors, regency councillors, court councillors, captains, stewards, stewards, and other of our officials, who will then report them to us or to the aforementioned officials, who will then report them to us or to the aforementioned officials, and to report them, be they of spiritual or secular standing, to us or to the aforementioned city officials, councillors and bailiffs, who shall then accept them as venal [imprisoned] and keep them in good custody, as long as and so that we may punish the same objectors according to their fault, which we and our gracious lords also do, and do not want to spare anyone in this.

16. And so that our understanding and reason may be kept, handled, and carried out in an expedient manner, we have for ourselves, and on account of our principal, all made a friendly settlement with one another: We also hereby knowingly agree, by virtue of this letter, that we will abide by the much-publicized imperial edict issued at Wormbs at the Nuremberg Diet, and by the above-described articles, and that we will severely punish the violators, and if anyone is punished for Lutheran and heretical actions and expelled from the country, he shall not only be punished for the principality of the country or the ecclesiastical ordinariate bishopric in which he has acted criminally, but for all of us and for every principality of our country, provinces, bishoprics, upper chapters and territories. And those who, out of fear of punishment, escape and commit a fugitive offense, shall neither be admitted to our custody nor contained, but shall be accepted in punishment upon the other's [request to punish] 1). And if one or more of us, on account of the Christian intercession of ours, should be entitled to anything repugnant or disobedient, or to insurrection on the part of his subjects, then we shall be mutually helpful and righteous. However, this excludes all agreements, alliances and contracts that we may have with other princes or anyone else, faithful and honorable.

1) Added by us.

744: The imperial edict against the Nuremberg imperial decree, to the city of Burgos in Castile, to the estates of the empire.

July 15, 1524.

This edict of the Emperor concerns the mandate of King Ferdinand on the basis of the Nuremberg Imperial Treaty, which concerns Luther and is known as "the Nuremberg Edict". The same is found in No. 747. - This same writing is also addressed in the form of a letter to the Elector Frederick of Saxony with some insignificant changes, as Titulatur 2c., and a very substantial one, of which the Elector himself writes in No. 746 to Ebner and Nützel. This letter of the Emperor to the Elector is printed after the original in Förstemann's "Neues Urkundenbuch", p. 204. We have included the variants in the text, which seemed to us to be a real correction. On the address of the original is noted: "Einkommen zu Loch vltimo Septembris."

Karl von Gots gnaden Römischer Käyser zu allen Zeiten Merer des Reichs.

Dear faithful, We have, on various days, heard, acted upon, and decided upon all that has been proposed, acted upon, and decided upon at the recently held Imperial Diet in our and the Empire's city of Nuremberg, by you and the common stand of the Empire, and in particular what you, together with the other wretches of the Lutterian sects and Jrsal, have done for order and understanding, and have heard, and how much we consider it to be of the utmost importance that you 1) of the mind, of Christ's spirit, and of his being, should not do anything that would be contrary to our Christian constitution, empty of faith, and contrary to our will. We are not a little relieved, and because of this, we are also grateful to God of the Almighty, for our own glory, We are not a little relieved, and out of what we owe to God of the Almighty, His Holiness, our own glory, mandates, and decrees, we will not bear a clear grievance and displeasure, that I and the common sovereigns have let in. 2) Inasmuch as, not only the said His Holiness, but also ourselves, have been minded, and because we, at the next Imperial Diet at Wormbs, unanimously advised, knew and agreed with the princes, rulers and other sovereigns of the Holy Roman Empire, to publicly proclaim these Lutheran emptiness and insanity as heretical, evil and poisonous, with great, severe punishments and penalties, and to this end, to declare all of this to be a crime.

1) "you" put by us instead of: "also".

2) In Cyprian: "so vereingelassen". - "so ver" is - "so far", as can soon be seen from what follows.

Luther's writings and books, after they had been so rightly rejected and condemned by the bishops. The Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Roman Empress, after they had been so rightfully and Christianly rejected and condemned, murdered, destroyed and burned, have accepted and given at the recently held Diet of Nuremberg only the Luther's "Dishonor and Shame Booklet" and also the unruly deeds and the same order, and have given it to each one as much as he is able, We have ordered to keep it as much as possible, no matter if in the previous mandates and promises we have taken and imposed something new, burdensome or impossible, and it would not be less and more important to keep the previous all praiseworthy and Christian preachings and orders, than to freely accept and keep unheard mispronunciations. We are also pleased and moved by the fact that the same common stenants have been compared with each other and are willing to establish and maintain a general or common council in the German nation, and for this reason we have requested the bishop's heyligk. We have therefore requested the bishop's sylvan legates to act on this with their holiness, as if such a thing were more incumbent on them than on our holy father the bishop, or on us as Roman emperors, their rightful lord, and had not been more prudent, if it were thought that they and the common German nation would be so excellently and greatly interested in it, that they would have welcomed us for it beforehand, so that we could obtain such a thing from the bishop's holiness. Holiness, and how we recognize what the Holiness of Bavaria, and even our own authority, means to us. Holiness, also our own authority and authority, decides from this acceptance and action, and yet, besides, consider that it may not be at all unnecessary or unfruitful, we therefore want to prove ourselves more noble in this and not refuse such concilium, but if and so far as it is with the aforementioned authority and approval of the Holiness of the Holy See. If and so far as it is accepted with the authority and consent of His Holiness, even at an occasional and appropriate time and place, it will be suitable and in such a way that we may also be there with reason and without common harm and damage, as we want to be there with the help of the Almighty, and therefore act with His Holiness, confident that He will not refuse it, as much as is felt, but that you, together with the Stenden, have in the meantime considered and resolved for yourselves, on the next day of St. Martin's Day, to hold a general and common meeting of the German nation in our and the Empire's city of Speir, and thereupon to consider and accept the way and means and order, how and in what measure and form it is to be done with the divine

and that because highly learned men of the Holy Scriptures and other understanding persons put into writing everything that is not contrary to the faith, and decide the doubts and other things according to their ability, we can neither admit nor permit such things, but, as is most due to us as a protector and guardian of the Papal See, we will not allow such things to happen. We will neither admit nor permit such a thing, but, as we are most entitled to do and feel to be a protector and guardian of the papal stature, we will most strongly condemn it, so that we may provoke the wrath and displeasure of God's almighty, also papal holiness. Holiness's wrath and displeasure, then what great injury, dishonor and dishonor to the holy divine and Christ's church might be inflicted. Churches could be inflicted, as if Christ's divine right and obedience were so violated and diminished, and that the German nation alone, which has been considered the most divine for this reason, which has also obediently kept the Christian Churches' law and statutes for a long time, would accept such a thing and be subjected to it, which, however, all the other princes of Christ, including the pope, would have to accept. The same is true of the pope, who has obediently kept the rules and statutes of the Christian church for so long, that all other princes of Christ, including the pope, could not begin nor accept to reject and abolish the divine and common Christian order, law, statutes and preaching, which have been kept for so long and for so long in the whole of Christendom, to the trust of all Christian souls and people, unquestioned and unchallenged. From this no one has departed whom the righteous divine judgment and court has not severely punished for this. However, the inhuman and unchristian lout thinks that he alone can escape this, and with his unholy evil [evil] 1) deeds, he tries to poison as much as possible, and to ruin both soul and body, and to make himself great and respectable in the eyes of men through his deceitful deception, which many others have failed to do, and most of all, the villainous and great leader of Mahomet, who alone has done more harm and damage to common Christendom with his sect and evil, than all other nations and peoples in the whole world could not have done, which errors, falsehoods and misrepresentations, so ingrown in the hearts of men under the guise of truth, are not easy to eradicate; God Almighty wants to annul and prevent such practices and thoughts in the German nation, which we love with but grace, so that we do not see such evil in the time of our government, and because we recognize and find such evil and common practices and actions to be unjust, where we would not see and perceive them in time, which would cause great

[illegible]

745. Ebner's and Nützel's letter to Chursachsen from Nuremberg, in which they send to the Elector a letter from the hand of a good friend of

2) Here the Emperor's letter to the Elector continues thus: "auch bei der peen in vnsern kayserlichen Mandat und Edict begriffen", with omission of the intervening.

3) Instead of what follows in this sentence, the letter to the Elector reads: "Daran thut Dein lieb vnser ernstliche mainung." - At the end of the letter it says:

CAROLUS

V. waltkirch. Ad Mandatum Caesaroao ac
Cath.oe M.tis propriuw
Brantner.

1) with Förstemann: "suessem".

Send the copy of this imperial Castilian mandate received from Esslingen, and also enclose other news. September 23, 1524.

From Cyprian's Documents, vol. II, p. 300.

Most Illustrious, Highborn Prince and Lord, our submissive willing service synt Ewern Churfürstlichen Genaden mit Bleis voran bereit, Gnedigster Herr. Your Elector. We have received your letter, which is now addressed to us, in respect, we are grateful to your Electoral Grace. We are grateful to your Lordship. And the next day, a copy of a key legal mandate was brought to us by a good friend from Esslingen, of which we hereby send your Lordships a guarded copy. To what advantage or disadvantage such things may be in the Holy Roman Empire, the end was indicated. We wish to send this to your churl. Gl. as a noble, understanding Elector. We also send to Your Electorate a list of all the documents we have received. Gl. a list of what has recently been done in Vienna. Thus, the Bishop of Bamberg, as we have informed Your Electorate. Gl. the provosts of the parish churches there, as well as the prior of the Augustinian monastery, on account of the termination of some ceremonies that had been performed. The same provosts have been examined in court, one in the absence of the other, and have been asked to give a uniform answer as to what should be held against each of them. The bishop is also asked if he can prove from the Holy Scriptures that they have done the right thing by making such a statement, and they will gladly accept and carry it out. But outside of the protested, that they might let or recognize his Genad in this matter for a key judge, then as much as the divine word instructs them. Then the matter is too sacred for any human being to judge from human inventions, and several writings have arisen against each other because of it. But in the end, neither the Bishop nor his Fiscal has shown me any reason from the Holy Scriptures to revoke your name. Neither do they want to hear your reasons and motions, so that they would have been something stately, but go solely to the facts. In the meantime, the termination is known and against the old custom, it is necessary to act further. The provosts have appealed against this. We did not want to deny this to E. Churfl. Gl. not to refrain from doing so. Furthermore, most gracious saint, have

vnnser Herr vnd Freund, ein Erberer Rath, auf Ewer Churfl. Gl.'s most recent letter, concerning the sum of E. Churfl. Gl. concerning the Turkish draft, to which he replied that Ewern Churfl. Gl. shall be notified. When the same sum of money is to be returned to the Leipzig court. Accordingly, our lord and friend Moritzen Bücher, citizen of Leipzig, have agreed, and for this reason have also submitted a quid pro quo. To this our Churfl. Gl. will pay the same sum and receive the receipts. With this we do to our Lord Privy Councillors. Gl., whom we are willing to serve only, in obedience. Date on the third and twentieth day of September, anno 1524.

Jheronimus Ebner vnd Caspar Nuzel zu Nurnberg.

746 The Elector's answer to Ebner and Nütze, in which the Elector reports that in the copy sent by the Imperial Regiment some very alarming and threatening words of Imperial Majesty were omitted, which are nevertheless in the copy sent by them, whereby he also answers the other overwritten messages. October 3, 1524.

From Cyprian's Documents, vol. II, p. 311.

Our greetings to you, dear friends, dear friends. We have read all the contents of your letter, and have received the copy of the Kay. Mandate, which was brought to you by a good friend from Esling, and give you your gracious opinion that the same mandate came to us four days ago [Sept. 30] from a regimental messenger from Esling, only that the words, "in avoiding Criminis lese Majestatis, our and the kingdom's attention, also in privirung und entsetzung aller gnaden, freyhaiten" 2c. 1) not to stand in the way, and because in such Kay. Mandate, among others, it is stated that Kay. May. has heard the parting and all the other things that have been brought up, acted upon and decided upon at the last Imperial Diet held at Nuremberg, and yet Kay. May. to the same no answer fell, allain what dy Handlung mit D. Lutter anlangen thut, kann wir nit ermassen aus welchen Ursachen solchs verbliben.

1) In Document No. 744 towards the end.

We have also graciously accepted the verzeichnüs, what has recently been traded at Wyen, and in what way the priest of the parish churches, as well as the prior of the Augustinian monastery, are responsible to you against our friend from Bamberg, for whom they have been cited, for the alteration and other ceremonies. Concerning the sum of our money for the Turkish train, we have determined that Moritz Bücher zu Leiptzk, whom you 1) have told us, if God wills, such money, according to our previous request, should be handed over to him in this march at his request, which we, in your gracious opinion, do not want to do, but we are graciously obliged to you. We also have no doubt that you will know how to keep this letter of ours secret. Date Lochaw on the third day of Octobris anno Le. XXIII.

747 "Two imperial discordant and repugnant commandments concerning Luther," with Luther's bor- and nachrede. After April 1524.

This manuscript contains the Worms Edict against Luther of May 8, 1521, and the Nuremberg Edict of April 18, 1524; the former with Luther's marginal glosses. It appeared in several individual editions under the title: "Zwey Keyserliche vneinige vnd wydderwertige gepott den Luther betreffend. Im 1524. Jar." At the end: "Im Jar 1524." 5 quarto sheets. In the collective editions: in the Wittenberg (1569), vol. IX, p. 190; in the Jena (1585), vol. II, p. 398b; in the Altenburg, vol. II, p. 762; in the Leipzig, vol. XIX, p. 303 (without Luther's Nachrede); in the Erlanger, first ed. vol. 24, p. 210 and in the second ed. vol. 24, p. 220. In Latin Uebersetzung in the Wittenberger (1551), tom. II, fol. 410. About the twofold printing of the Worms Edict in all German editions, except the Erlangen edition, see what was said in No. 585. Since the original printing offered in the Erlangen edition is often inaccurate and incomplete, we have often followed the Wittenberg and Jena editions, especially in their first redaction, as Walch has already done.

I, Martin Luther, wish all dear Christians in German lands grace and peace in Christ Jesus, our Lord and Savior.

I have had these two imperial commandments printed out of great compassion for us poor Germans, whether God, out of His mild mercy, wanted to move some princes and others so that they would grasp and feel (for there must be no seeing, no sowing, and no pestilence).

and donkeys could well see) how blind and obdurate they act. It is shameful that emperors and princes deal publicly with lies; but it is more shameful that they all at once let out repugnant commandments; as you see here that it is commanded that one should act with me according to the eight that went out at Worms, and earnestly carry out the same commandment, and yet at the same time also accept the repudiation that one should first act at the future imperial diet at Speyer as to what is good and evil in my teaching. I am condemned at the same time and saved for the future judgment; and the Germans shall hold me as a condemned man and persecute me at the same time, and yet wait how I am to be condemned. They must be drunken and mad princes to me!

We Germans must remain Germans and the Pabst's donkeys and martyrs; even if we are pounded in the mortar (as Solomon says [Prov. 27:22]) like porridge, foolishness will not leave us alone. No complaining, teaching, pleading or begging helps, not even our own daily experience of how we have been maltreated and devoured. Now, my dear princes and lords, you are almost hastening to death with me poor few people, and when that is done, you will have won. But if you had ears to hear, I would tell you something strange. How if Luther's life were so valid before God that, where he did not live, none of you would be sure of his life or dominion, and that his death would be the misfortune of all of you? It is not [to] jest with GOD. Only continue fresh, choke and burn. I will not depart, whether God wills. Here I am! And I ask you kindly, when you have killed me, not to wake me up again and kill me once more. God has not given me (as I see) to deal with reasonable people, but German beasts shall kill me (am I worthy), just as if wolves or swine tore me apart.

(3) But I advise anyone who believes that there is a God to refrain from this commandment. For although God has given me the grace not to fear death as I did before, and will also help me to die willingly and gladly, let me not be afraid of it.

1) "her" put by us instead of: "he", which has probably been read from "ir".

they will not do it sooner, my hour is here, and my God calls me, no matter how much they rage and rage. For he who has now brought me to the third year against their will, and kept me alive beyond all my hope, may well keep me longer, though I do not greatly desire it. And if they kill me now, let them do such a killing that neither they nor their children shall overcome. I would rather have warned them of this, and I truly do not begrudge them it. But it does not help, God has blinded and hardened them.

4 But I ask you all, my dear princes and lords, both gracious and ungracious (I do not begrudge you any evil, God knows that; so you cannot harm me, I am sure of that), I ask you (I say) for God's sake, you want to have God before your eyes, and attack the matter differently. Truly, truly, there is a calamity, and God's wrath is coming, which you will not escape if you continue like this. What do you want, dear sirs? God is too wise for you, he has soon made you fools; he is also too mighty, he has soon destroyed you; be a little afraid of his wisdom, lest perhaps, out of disgrace, it has put your thoughts into your heart in such a way that you should be burned; as he is always in the habit of doing with great lords, and has this very glorious thing sung and said of him in all the world, Ps. 33:10: "God puts an end to the plots of princes"; and Ex. 9:16. to King Pharaoh: "I have raised you up for this purpose, that I may show my power in you, and that my name may be proclaimed in all the earth." A piece of his rhyme is called: Deposuit potsvt68 de sede [Luc. 1, 52.]. This also applies to you, dear sirs, now that you see it.

I.

We Carl the Fifth, by the Grace of God, elected Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire 2c., in Germania, Hispania, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, Famine, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. King; Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy 2c., Count of Habsburg, Flanders and Tyrol 2c., Dismissing all and any Electors, Princes, ecclesiastical and secular Prelates, Grasen, Freeman, Lords, Knights, Servants, Captains, Landvögten, Vitzthumen, Vögten, Pflegern, Verwesern, Landrichter, Schultheißen, Schöpfen, BÜRGER

We would like to express our grace and all our good to the mayors, judges, councillors, citizens and municipalities, as well as to the rectors and regents of all common universities, and to all other subjects and loyal persons of ours and of the empire, as well as of our hereditary principalities and lands, regardless of their dignity, status or nature, to whom this imperial letter or a trustworthy copy (made by an ecclesiastical prelate or a notary public) of ours is presented or shown.

2. reverend and honorable, highborn, honorable and noble, dear friends, nephews, grandparents, princes, devotees and faithful! Since it is the duty of our Roman imperial office,^a) not only to expand the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, which our ancestors of the German nation, for the sake of the Holy Roman and common church protection, have brought to themselves by divine grace with their heavy bloodshed, in the extermination and suppression of the infidels, ^b) but also, according to the rule which the Holy Roman Church has hitherto kept, to take care that no taint of heresy or suspicion, in the Roman Empire, contaminates our holy faith, or, if some of these have now begun, to eradicate them with all the diligence, good means and modesty that are to be undertaken in such matters:

a) Where is this written? In the smoke hole.

b) The clergy should do this with the word as the apostles did.

(3) Therefore we consider, where it is ever due to one of our ancestors, that the burden of it is laid upon us much higher and more, since the Almighty God's immeasurable kindness, for the protection and increase of His holy faith, has provided and endowed us with many kingdoms and lands and more power than many years ago any of our ancestors ever had in the kingdom.

4. because we are also of paternal lineage from the most Christian emperors and archdukes of Austria and dukes of Burgundy, and then of maternal lineage from the most Christian Hispanic, Sicilian and Jerusalem kings, whose clear deeds, practiced by them for the Christian faith, will never depart.

Therefore, where we have allowed some heresies, which arose within three years in the German nation, and were formerly condemned by the holy councils and the Pope's statutes, with the consent of the common church, and are now drawn anew from hell, to take deeper root, and to be imposed and tolerated out of our neglect:

our conscience would be noticeably weighed down, and the eternal glory of our name in the blissful entrance of our government would be surrounded by a dark mist.

6. Since it is undoubtedly not known to all of you how far the errors and heresies deviate from the Christian way, so one, called Martin Luther, of the Augustinian order, in the Christian religion and order, especially in the noble German nation, as an incessant destroyer of all unbelief and heresy, in such a way, where it is not conducive to it, that the whole German nation [and] later, through such entrenchment, [all other nations] would come into an inhuman separation and] into a miserable apostasy of good morals, peace, and Christian faith. 1)

7 For this reason, our holy father, Pope Leo the Tenth, the highest bishop of the holy Roman and common Christian Church, who is especially responsible for the care and supervision of matters pertaining to the Christian faith, was moved to initially warn and admonish Luther fatherly and mildly to refrain from such evil beginnings and to revoke the widespread riots.

When he failed to do so, and the longer he did so, the more evil he became, his Holiness undertook to implement appropriate and not unusual means and ways, and on several occasions required and appointed cardinals, bishops and other prelates, as well as priors and generals of the regular orders, ministers, and many other excellent, honest people, experienced in all honor, art and knowledge, as well as many other Christian doctors and masters.

9) And the same Martin Luther cites, +) and when he disobediently remained out, [are] all his writings, which went out in Latin and German, and will still go out, as harmful and quite repugnant to the faith and unity of the church, condemned, and out of papal power, with the council and will of the said Cardinals,

2) Bishops, prelates, doctors and masters, to be burned and completely destroyed everywhere.

c) That is, with vacation! not so.

(10) And the same Luther, unless within a certain time, after the opening of His Holiness' decree, he proves that he has repented of his error, also that he has changed and revoked, as a son of disobedience and wickedness, and to be shunned as a divider and heretic of males.

11. And according to the statutes of the rights, with the penalties contained in the papal bull, which his Holiness has sent to us, as the true and supreme protector of the Christian faith,^d) and of the Holy Papal See and of the Roman and common Christian Church, through his and the same See's orator and embassy, which his Holiness has therefore specially ordered to us, with request and demand, according to our duties and from the authority and justice of our imperial office, to inform His Holiness in this matter of our assistance with the secular sword for the salvation of the Christian faith, and to command and enjoin everywhere in the Holy Roman Empire, also as befits a Christian king and prince, in our hereditary kingdoms and principalities and lands, and especially in the German nation, to keep everything and anything contained in His Holiness' bull unconfidel and to execute and carry it out.

d) "Protector." O of the wretched faith that has such a supreme protector! What is God doing in the meantime?

12. And although we have proclaimed such exhortation, after overruling the papal bull, and finally the condemnation of Luther in many places in the German nation, also in our Lower Burgundian lands, and especially in Cologne, Trier, Mainz and Liège, we have commanded it to be executed and carried out: Martin Luther has not only not recognized, 3) corrected, nor revoked his insanity, nor sought absolution from papal holiness, and again grace in the holy Christian church,^e) but of his wrong mind and spirit much evil fruit and effect, like a raging man in an obvious suppression of the holy church.

1) Without the brackets we have the reading of the German Wittenberg and the Jena edition, with which also the Latin translation agrees. Walch has completed the original (here without doubt incomplete) of this writing from the original of the Wormser Edict (Wittenberger Ausg. Bd. IX, Bl. 119) as we give it. The first Erlangen edition has retained Walch's text; the second offers, according to the original: "and later, through such rootlessness and wretched apostasy of good manners, of peace 2c. would come".

2) In Latin: xsnsations spisoovoruva ste. - "Masters" according to the Latin are the heretics.

3) "erkenet" is missing in the original of our writing, but is in the Worms Edict.

The first of these is a book that has been published daily in Latin and German, made by himself or at least under his name, and which is full not only of new heresies but also of blasphemies that were previously condemned by the holy churches.

e) Luther does not desire to be in the church because the pope is a head.

Therein he, held by the holy church for so many years, destroyed, reversed and violated the seven sacraments in number, order and use^f), and disgracefully defiled the indestructible laws of holy matrimony in wonderful ways. He also says that holy matrimony is a fictitious thing. He also wants to draw the use and enjoyment of the unspeakable holy sacrament to the condemned^g) Bohemia habit and use, and initially entangles the confession, which is most useful to hearts that are stained or burdened with sins, in such a way that no foundation nor fruit can be taken from it.

f) It is not long custom that applies here, but what God says; to this you dear sirs shall respond.

g) Damn those who live according to Christ's appointment. - This gloss is only in an original edition.

14) Lastly, he urges^h) to write so much about confession (where this is permitted) that not only would there be no one who would not dare to say from such his absurd writings that confession is unfruitful, but there would also be few who would not preach that it is not necessary to confess.

h) My books show this differently.

15 He not only holds the priestly office and order in the least, but also dares to move the secular, lay persons to wash their hands in the blood of the priests,ⁱ) and calls the supreme priest of our Christian faith, St. Peter's successor and Christ's true vicar on earth, with slanderous and shameful words, and persecutes him with manifold unheard-of enemy writings and abuses.

i) There be GOD for!

16 He also confirms from the pagan poets[^]) poem that there is no free will, the opinion that all things are in a certain statute; and writes that the measuring attitude never comes to anyone's good but to the one who accomplishes it:

For this purpose, he reverses the practice of fasting and prayer that has been established by the Holy Church and kept until now. ^l)

k) Poets are called here: John, Paul, Peter.

l) O Lord God, how blind are the people!

17) In particular, he also despises the holy fathers' authorities, which are accepted by the church, and completely removes obedience and government, and casually writes nothing else at all,^m) which is not enough and does not serve for rebellion, division, war, deaths, robbery, fire, and the entire apostasy of the Christian faith. For, as he teaches 2) a free, self-willed life, which is excluded from all laws, and completely animalistic; so he is a free, self-willed man, who condemns and suppresses all laws; as he then has had no horror or shyness to publicly burn the decrees and spiritual laws. ⁿ) And if he did not fear the secular sword more than the pope's ban and penance, he would have done much evil to the 3) secular laws. ^o)

m) Contrarium est verum [The opposite is true], n) They well deserved it.

o) Read the booklet of the secular authorities.

18. He is not ashamed to speak publicly now against the holy councils, and to belittle and violate those according to his will, from which he especially touches the council of Constance everywhere with his stained mouth, and calls it, to the shame and diminishment of the whole Christian church and German nation, a synagogue of the devil, and because those who have been in it, and have ordered Johann Hussen to be burned for his heretical act, namely our ancestor Emperor Sigmund, also the princes and common assembly of the Holy Roman Empire, final Christians and the devil's apostles, death-rowers and Pharisees,^p) and says that all that is condemned in the same Concilio because of Hussen's insanity is Christian and Protestant, and renounces 4) to accept and prove it. But he will by no means accept the articles that the same council has adopted and decided. 5) And has fallen into such nonsense with his mind that he glories in being the

2) Erlanger: lernet.

3) Erlanger: dem.

4) "verzicht", in Latin proutetur - he makes himself anheischig. - In Walch's old edition: "veracht" according to the Wittenberg, Vol. IX, p. 121.

5) This sentence, which is missing in the original of our writing and in the Latin translation, is in the Worms Edict.

If Hus had been a heretic once, he was a heretic ten times over.

p) O that I had lied about it, or could still lie!

19. And so that all other of Luther's innumerable wickednesses, for the sake of brevity, remain untold: this some one, not a man, but as the evil enemy in the form of a man with assumed monk's robe, has gathered many a heretic's most condemned 1) heresies, which remained hidden for a long time, into a stinking puddle, and even devised some of new ones, in pretense, that he preaches the faith, which he imagines manly with such high diligence, so that he destroys the true, righteous faith, and under the name and appearance of the evangelical doctrine reverses and presses down all evangelical peace and love, also of all good things order, and the very noblest Christian form.

20. We have taken all this to heart, and in virtue of our imperial office and dignity,^{q)} so that we are provided by God, and out of special love and affection, which we, like our forefathers, have and bear for the protection, preservation and administration of the Christian faith, and also for the honor of the Roman bishop and the Holy See: that especially about the above-mentioned papal holiness admonition and request, without our noticeable reproach and the whole of Christendom's disgrace and damage, it is not due to us to be negligent in such a great and frightening action, as we should not do, nor has it been our will and mind, but rather we want to follow in the footsteps of our forefathers, the Roman emperors, and follow their highly praised deeds, which they accomplished for the protection of the Christian church,^{r)} and adhere to the praiseworthy constitutions, which were made for the punishment and extermination of heretics.

q) God grant that it may prosper.

r) Christ says: He who does not follow me wanders in darkness.

21) And especially for the sake of this matter, our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, princes, and estates have now summoned us here in Worms several times, and with great diligence, as the noticeable necessity requires, have excellently considered this matter, and with unanimous counsel and will have united and resolved us to this following opinion, in the form of: "Although such a condemned and in his obdurate perversion

1) In all German editions except Walch: "damned", but the Latin confirms our reading.

s) (2) that many books are printed and written in Luther's name which are not supposed to have been written or originated from him, and also that some think that Luther should be heard beforehand and before we proceed further against him, that we should demand that he come to us and that he should be given a free escort.

s) Ex. 23:2: "Do not deviate from the right of the multitude."

22. Thereupon we also summoned him to our court, and by one of our heralds with written escort let him come here to us, and in our and all the above-mentioned our and the realm's princes, princes and estates, personal presence let him 3) ask: Whether he has made the books which were laid before him at that time, and also other books which are carried over in his name; and whether he wants to revise the things which are contained in such books, contrary to the holy councils, decrees, customs and habits, which have been kept by our forefathers up to this day, and to come again to the peace and unity of the holy church.

23) And this was held up to him with such opinions and admonitions,^{t)} which would soften and move the most obdurate man, and harder than a stone; and as soon as he heard the same books, he confessed and affirmed them to be his books, 4) and then protested that he would never deny them, and said in addition that he had made many other books, which we have not indicated here, because we have no knowledge of them,^{u)} . But concerning the revocation, he has at one time requested it; and although it would have been justly refused to him, yet against the innovation and error in faith, action is to be taken without any delay, and he has clearly understood from our previous mandate and our letter sent to him, both of which have certainly been delivered to him, for what cause he is required to come to us, and for that reason he should not have come before us and the estates without a ready answer.

t) They meant well, because they had already condemned Luther before he arrived at Worms.

u) Protect us from the prudence, condemnation, of which one bears no knowledge.

2) Erlanger: "to negate"; in Latin: eontsnckant.

3) "him" is missing in the Erlanger.

4) In the old editions: "provided", that is, affirmed.

24. Nevertheless, out of charity and kindness, we granted him one day; And after the appearance of the same day he appeared again before us and the kingdom, and with diligent exhortation, as before, was requested to go into himself, with our promise, if he revoked that which was condemned and evil in his books, that he should again come into our holy father Pabst's favor and grace, and we also want his holiness to have two good men from every Christian nation, of good life and high doctrine, diligently survey his books and do the evil from them, and what would be good, the papal holiness should approve.

25) But over all this he did not want to do such a revocation, 1) nor did he want to accept our gracious offer, but rejected it completely, and with such unseemly words and gestures, which are by no means appropriate for a sensible and regulated clergyman^{v)}, he publicly said that he did not want to change a word in his books. And thus, in our and the estates' presence, he mocked, condemned, reviled, and completely despised the holy councils, and before that, he restored peace and unity to Constance, which has given eternal honor to the German nation^{w)}, so that he would be overcome with disputations, which he requested out of our good will, regardless of the fact that he has good knowledge 2) that they are forbidden in divine and human rights.

v) But befitting a God - clergyman. - This gloss is only in one original edition.

w) If the Germans have no other honor, they may well remain silent.

26. And although we had undertaken to take further measures in response to such an impolite answer, which had not been heard without some slight aggravation of our and the estates' minds, and also of the common people's anger, for mobile reasons, we had had him leave again and go home, inasmuch as we had our opinion, written with our own hand, opened the following day: we have been moved by the above-mentioned electors, princes 3) and estates' high request, since we have given him three more days 4) to convert; and in the meantime two electors, also two ecclesiastical and two secular princes, and then two of ours and the

1) Erlanger: than.

2) Erlanger: conscience. Latin: nou iZnorans.

3) "Princes" is missing in the Erlanger.

4) Erlanger: after three days.

The authorities of the Holy Roman Empire have been ordered to summon Luther before them by order and on account of the general assembly of the Empire, and with good warning, admonition and instruction, and all that is possible and expedient to convert him, to refrain from doing anything, and to indicate, if he does not convert, to what severe punishment he will fall in our country and in the Holy Roman Empire, even according to the order of the law.

27. And when such diligence and earnestness had been unfruitful with him, our Elector took two kind and skilful doctors to him, and together with them, also alone in particular, not only with 5) high exhortation, but 6) also with apparent indication of many things of his, Luther's insanity 7) to persuade him to consider more our [Holy] Father Pabst's, as well as our and all imperial states, and also other Christian believing nations' use, which they have brought according to the order of the Christian church for so many years, than his common sense; with the proviso that if he deviates from his unanimity and turns back, he will find and recognize that this is done from a laudable example of many holy fathers, and for the preservation of his soul, honor and body.

28) To this, when we are credibly reported, Martin Luther is said to have answered: that he not only considers all the persons now reported, but also 8) [a] common concilium (whether or not there would be one) suspicious and distrustful; and that he does not want to change the fewest syllables from his writings, as he had also done before in our and the empire's estates, unless he is overcome by a learned man, but according to his rule,^{x)} and not from the concilium, nor from imperial or ecclesiastical laws, nor even from some fathers' authorities, however holy they are, but only from the words of the holy Scriptures, which he supposes to be understood according to his sense, to satiate his random mind 9); about which it is clear and evident that from the same authorities, which are for the fulfillment of that which is not reported or expressed in either testament, the holy Christian church has hitherto been governed.

x) How mockingly they call the Holy Scripture Luther's Rule!

5) Erlanger: in.

6) "but" is missing in the Erlanger.

7) Wittenbergers and Jenaers: that many are Luther's errors.

8) "also" is missing in the Erlanger.

9) Latin: Lā SUUIL arditrium.

29. Because 1) the matter has now become so muddled,^y) and Martin Luther thus remains completely obdurate and perverse in his openly heretical opinions, and is thereby regarded and held by all those who have the fear of God and reason,^z) nonsensical, or that he is possessed with the evil spirit: According to our will, on the twenty-fifth day of April, next to the moon, we let him depart from our presence by the hour, and again assigned a herald to him; so that he, to be reckoned from the same twenty-fifth day of April, shall have our free safe conduct for twenty days, the next following, and that the same our conduct, after the appearance of such twenty days, shall be over, and shall not tolerate him longer, and at last to proceed to suitable remedies against this heavy poisonous addiction; as follows:

y) Which is still unproven.

z) If they had reason, they would act more reasonably in this.

30. First, for the praise of the Almighty, and the protection of the Christian faith, and also of the Roman bishop and see of due honor, in virtue of the office of our imperial dignity, majesty 2) and authority, and also with the unanimous counsel and will of our and the Holy Empire's princes, princes and estates, now assembled here: we have, in perpetual remembrance of this act, for the execution of the decree, sentence, and condemnation, according to the bull which our holy father Pope, as the ordinary judge of these matters, has issued, recognized and declared the said Martin Luther, as a member set apart from God's church^a), and an obdurate disruptor and open heretic, to be respected and held in special esteem by us and you all and everyone.

a) God's church here is called the end Christian.

31. And do so knowingly, by virtue of this letter, and thereupon command all of you, and each in particular, by the duties that you owe to us and to the holy realm, also avoidance of the penalties of *Criminis laesae Majestatis*, and of our and the realm's respect and disrespect, and, in addition, the privation and release of all regatta, fiefs, graces and liberties, which you have hitherto had from our ancestors, from us and from the Holy Roman Empire in some way, from the Roman imperial power, earnestly with this letter, and wish that you all and especially, after the appearance of the

1) Erlanger and Wittenberger: "If"; Wormser Edict: Weil. Latin: Huanuoyuictoril.

2) "Highness" is missing in the Erlanger.

The above twenty days, ending on the fourteenth day of this present month of May, do not house, court, feed, 3) or abstain from the aforementioned Martin Luther, nor show him any help, support, assistance, or encouragement, either by word or deed, secretly or publicly, but, where you then arrive and enter him, and may be able to do so, accept him in custody, and send him to us in good custody, or order him to do so, or at least (if he is brought to us) announce and notify us of this immediately, and in the meantime keep him in custody until you have been informed by us what further action you should take against him in accordance with the law, and you will receive a fair amount of satisfaction for such a sacred work,^b) including your efforts and costs.

b) Behold, the murderers called people strangle a holy work!

32. but against his kinsmen, followers, retainers, advisers, patrons and successors, and their movable and immovable goods, you shall, by virtue of the holy constitution, and our and the kingdom's attention and disregard, act in this way, namely, to cast them down and see them, and take their goods into your hands, and turn them to your own use and keep them, without male hindrance. Unless they show by credible appearance that they have left this way and obtained papal absolution.

33. Furthermore, we also command all, and yours in particular, by the prescribed penalties, that you not condemn any of the above-mentioned Martin Luther's writings, by our holy father Pope, as stated above, and all other writings, which have been made or will be made by him in Latin and German, or in any other language, 4) as evil, suspicious and suspect, and emanating from a manifestly obstinate heretic, buy, sell, read, keep, copy, print or have copied, nor fall into his opinion, which also does not hold, preach, nor protect, nor that in some other way, as man's sense can consider it, subordinate, regardless of whether in it something good is introduced to deceive the simple man with it.

34. For as the very best food, mixed with a little drop of poison, is shunned by all men, so much more should such writings and books, in which so much of the souls are poisoned, be shunned.

3) Erlanger: esset. - To "höfet" the old editions have the marginal gloss: "herberget".

4) "or be made to go away" is missing in the Erlanger, also in the Latin.

and condemnation are not only to be avoided by all of us, but also to be removed and eradicated from the memory of all men, so that they may not harm or kill anyone eternally, since everything else that is well written in his books, which have been accepted and approved by the holy Christian Churches, has been repeatedly referred to, and may be read and acted upon without all concern and suspicion of any harm.

35. To this end, you are to order, punish and order all and everyone, regardless of their dignity, status or nature, and especially those who have and use authority and judicial power, to avoid penalties throughout the Holy Roman Empire, including our hereditary principalities and lands, order and command that all and any of Luther's poisoned writings and books, as those that serve to cause a great uprising, harm, disruption and heresies in God's Church, be burned with fire and completely destroyed, annihilated and annihilated in these and other ways.

Likewise, you shall assist the Papal Holiness' embassies, or their appointed commissioners, in such matters at their request with all diligence and fidelity, and nevertheless, in their absence, do and act all and everything thus to be done, to be executed, and to be accomplished, by our command and order. In addition, we earnestly enjoin all other subjects and faithful of the kingdom, including our hereditary principedoms and lands, with this letter, that you be helpful, obedient and willing in the above-mentioned estates and authorities, like ourselves, in such matters, avoiding the above-mentioned penalties, punishments and fines.

37) And since it is necessary to prevent and prevent Luther's books or extracts 2) or evil excerpts from them, which are in other names than the poet's name is not reported, from going out, nor many other books, which, as we report with discomfort to our minds, have been made and printed in Germany, and are full of evil teachings and examples, from now on will no longer be written or printed. So that the believers in Christ do not fall into greater insanity of faith, life and good morals from reading them, and anger, envy and hatred in God's church spring from them, as has been the case up to now.

1) "in such" is missing in the Erlanger.

2) "or Extract" is missing in the Erlanger and in the Latin.

The more time goes by, the more we have to worry about rebellion, division and disobedience in kingdoms, principalities and countries.

38. Accordingly, to eradicate such harmful, pernicious addiction, we again command, with the advice and will of our and the empire's princes, lords and estates, with foreseen heavy fines, penalties and punishments, you the same our and the empire's and our hereditary principedoms and lands' subjects, all and yours, as Roman Emperor and hereditary Lord, that henceforth no one of you may read such defiling and poisoned books, nor any other notes or copies, as those which give birth to insanities to our holy faith, and to that, which the holy Christian church has hitherto held, as well as writings of enmity and dishonor against our holy father the pope, prelates, princes, high schools and the same faculties, and other honorable persons, and what they contain, which are contrary to good morals and the holy Roman church, and the Holy Roman Church, not to write, print, paint, sell, buy, nor to keep secretly or publicly, nor to print, copy, or paint, nor to permit, impose, or procure this in any other way, however conceived.

39 Likewise, we seriously command, at the indicated penalties, all those who are ordered and appointed to the judiciary, that they accept, tear up and burn with public fire, for our sake, all now reported writings, books, notes and paintings, which have been made up to now, and will be written, printed and painted in the future, wherever they may be found, throughout the entire Holy Roman Empire and our hereditary lands, in virtue of this commandment of ours. Also the poets, writers, printers and painters, as well as sellers and buyers of such shameful writings, books, notes and paintings, who, after the proclamation of our present imperial commandment, persist in it, or for that reason are subject to it, where it is evident, body, Goods and righteousnesses, where you may get them, accept, see, and keep, and therewith act according to your liking, you shall have good reason and right, and therewith against no one have done, nor anyone therefore, neither inside nor outside of law, not be liable to answer.

(40) So that all this and other causes of future insanity may be cut off, and the poison of those who write and make such writings may not spread, and the highly famous art of printing may be used and practiced only in good and praiseworthy things, we have continued,

out of imperial and royal authority and right knowledge, also with the unanimous advice of our and the Holy Roman Empire's princes, rulers and estates, with our and the Empire's attention and disregard, and other pre-touched pleas commanded, also such knowingly in force of this our edict, which we hereby acknowledge to be an unbreakable 1) law, that henceforth no printer or anyone else, whoever or wherever he may be, in the Holy Roman Empire, also in our hereditary kingdoms, principalities and lands, shall publish any books or other writings in which anything is understood that touches the Christian faith little or much,

41. first prints, reprints, without the knowledge and will of the Ordinary of the same place, or his substitutes and deputies, with the approval of the Faculty of the Holy Scriptures, of one of the nearest universities. But other books, in whichever faculty, and understanding what they will, shall by no means be printed, sold, nor subjected to printing or selling, procured, nor permitted in any way, with the knowledge and will of the Ordinary, and outside of the same. 2)

42. If, however, anyone of any dignity, rank or nature, contrary to our Christian and imperial opinion, decree, statute, law, ordination and commandment, which are also to be wholly and indestructibly observed, in one or more of the prescribed articles concerning the subject matter of Luther or printing, in any way that man's mind may conceive, shall act and do so unlawfully, [that] 3) we shall destroy and render void such: Against the same we want that with the prescribed, also the tones in the rights, and according to form and shape of the ban and imperial attention and disregard acted, proceeded and continued. Only men are to be guided by this.

43) And that all this may be accomplished and believed, we have sealed this letter with our imperial seal, which is given in our city of Worms, and in the city of the Holy Roman Empire, on the eighth day of the month of May, after the birth of Christ, fifteen hundred years, and in the one and twentieth year, of our kingdoms, and of the Roman Empire in the second, and of all the other kingdoms in the sixth year. Ad mandatum Domini Imperatoris proprium.

1) Erlanger: unbreakable.

2) Instead of the following, the Wittenberg edition, vol. IX, p. 122 d only says: "etc."

3) Added by Walch.

II. 4)

1. we Carl the Fifth, by God's grace chosen Roman Emperor, at all times Major of the Empire 2c., in Germania, in Hispania, both Sicily, Jerusalem, Famine, Dalmatia, Croatia 2c. King; Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy 2c., Grase of Habsburg, Flanders and Tyrol 2c.. Offer our grace and all good to our and the empire's dear faithful, Günthern, Ernsten, Hoyern, Gebharden and Albrechten, Counts and Lords of Mansfeld, and Lords of Heldrunen.

2 Dearly beloved, dear faithful! When the illustrious Prince Don Ferdinand, Infante of Hispania 2c., Archduke of Austria 2c., our friendly dear brother and governor in the Holy Roman Empire, out of a noticeable and great need for some grave and important articles concerning that same Empire and the Christian faith, which were not finally decided at the next Imperial Diet, but were taken into further consideration by the estates of the Empire, he has called for another Imperial Diet on St. Martin's Day, next to be held, here at Nuremberg in our name. in his own person, and we through the noble our council and supreme secretary, Johann Haunart, Burgrave of Lumbeck, Knight of St. Jacob's Order. Jacob's Order, whom we have appointed with instruction and full authority, and also princes, princes, prelates, counts and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, obediently appeared in their own person, and with their message having full authority, acted with brave, timely counsel on the needy matters and concerns of the realm, and finally resolved much of the same:

3. besides other two articles, and not the least, as namely the Lutheran and other new doctrine and preaching, and on the other hand the frightening, serious action of the enemy of Christ, the Turk, against common Christianity, have been put forward: on this, after much deliberation, nothing has finally been acted upon, but for the sake of these two points and articles, after considering all their necessary circumstances, the following opinion has been decided, and namely on the first one:

4) In this mandate, to which Förstemann in his "neue Urkundenbuche", p. 190, gave the title: "Mandat, von dem Erzherzog Ferdinand im Namen des Kaisers Karl V. an die Fürsten und Stände des Reichs erlassen" (Mandate, issued by the Archduke Ferdinand in the name of the Emperor Charles V. to the Princes and Estates of the Empire), of which he had the original copy issued to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, we have used the corrections given by him to Walch's text. Luther used the copy that was addressed to the Counts of Mansfeld.

4. After the Lutheran and other doctrines and preaching have almost and highly gained the upper hand, leading the believers in Christ into a sorrowful and troublesome doubtful opinion of our holy Christian faith, in such a way that, if not taken care of with timely counsel, there is nothing but noticeable annoyance of the common people, nothing else than noticeable annoyance of the common people, to wresting of God's love and fear, extinction of good, honorable, Christian discipline and custom, and noticeable disobedience and rebellion against their authority, to severe damnation of their souls and ruin of body and goods, would arise;

5. Therefore, and so that such a serious case may be dealt with salutary and with well-considered, timely, courageous advice, the good may not be suppressed next to the evil, the Christian believing subjects may be brought into a steady opinion of a unanimous faith: Our governors and orators, as well as the electors, princes, prelates, counts and estates, have deemed it useful and necessary that a free common council be established by papal sanctity, with our approval, for the most beneficial purpose, be advertised and proclaimed at the appropriate place of the German nation, to act thereon on the above-mentioned and other matters of common Christianity, and accordingly all legates have now been sent to this Imperial Diet with His Holiness, who has acted most diligently to bring such to His Holiness and to promote it most faithfully.

6. And so that every Christian man may know how he should keep to the Concilii in the meantime, our governor and orator, as well as princes, prelates, counts and estates of a common imperial diet and assembly at Speyer, have united, as reported hereafter, united to advise and act on such of necessity, so that also at the future Concilio the new doctrine may be advised the more conducive, more stately and more tolerable, what is good, accepted, and what is evil, shunned.

7. That every prince, sovereign and estate, and especially those who have high schools in their dominions, should now order some learned, honorable and understanding persons to take such Luther and other new teachings, sermons and books in hand, to examine them with the utmost diligence, to debate them, to make an extract, to separate the good from the evil; likewise the complaint of the German nation by the secular princes and estates against the See of Rome at the next Imperial Diet held here, and for the secular

The Council of the Holy Roman Catholic Church is to inspect and assess the complaints against the clergy with all due diligence, and then to decide at its own discretion how these complaints are to be judged and brought to an end, to us or, in our absence, to our governor, and to the princes and estates, and also princes, princes and estates, so as to advance at the subsequent Imperial Diet and Assembly, the more peacefully to proceed in trade to the future General Council, as mentioned above, and also that the necessity in such may be considered and decided upon by all.

8. Therefore, we hereby order you to take before you, in the manner indicated, and in the most beneficial way, some learned, honorable and reasonable persons, such action of the new doctrine, also the complaints against the See of Rome and the clergy, who, as mentioned above, are ordered to inspect, examine, discuss and deliberate, to make extracts and advice with all due diligence, and to hand them over at the above-mentioned time.

9. And because our Imperial Instruction, with which we dispatched our aforementioned Imperial Commissarius and Orator to the Imperial Diet in question, 1) contains, among other things, that we provide that the estates of the Holy Empire, as guardians and protectors of the holy Christian faith, should have obediently lived, complied with, and administered our mandate issued at Worms with the approval of the Electors, Princes, and Estates; and that this will not happen, we of the common Christianity of the German nation will not bear a small burden, and for this reason our request and demand will be made once again that every prince, prelate, count and estate for itself, as well as for its subjects, will be obedient to the mandate issued at Worms; and, at our request, our and the Holy Roman Empire's electors, princes, prelates, counts and common estates, as obedient members of the Holy Empire, have united and resolved to live obediently to our mandate (as they acknowledge themselves guilty of doing), as much as possible, and to comply with it.

10. that every authority at the printing houses and elsewhere should have the necessary insight, so that disgraceful writing and

1) In the German editions: "und unter". Walch has deleted the "and", as has the Latin translation.

The governor and the regiment are also under serious orders from us to give advice and assistance to the applicants, to hold them to it, and to execute our mandate with all due diligence, all with the contents of the above-mentioned farewell.

11. Accordingly, and so that such a decision and union may be carried out all the more: We herewith earnestly command you by imperial power, and want you to obediently live, comply and keep in accordance with the above-mentioned mandate issued by us at Worms, also to live and comply with it with your subjects with all diligence, and also to take necessary care with the printers and otherwise, so that disgraceful writings and paintings will be completely stopped and not spread any further. We sincerely believe that this is the case.

12) Secondly, after the papal legate, also of our dear brother, the king of Hungary and Bohemia, 2c., message to our governor, orator, electors, princes and estates, with a lamentable mood, how the Turk, in his tyrannical manner, also insatiable, raging desire, which he practices and carries for the extermination of Christendom, has armed himself with a mighty military campaign, and is in the mood to overrun, besiege and bring the Crown of Hungary under his power this summer; and how the Hungarians, as people of the faith of Christ, have long benefited the German nation and Christianity by shedding their blood and by suffering loss of body and property, and how they are now in such a state of decline of the people and their food that they cannot continue to hold out without other help, and how they have been exhorted to the utmost and implored and begged not to abandon them with comforting and noble help.

13. Since it is now obvious how great, noticeable and damaging a loss of people and land Christianity has suffered from the Turks up to now, he has also, with his cruelty and power, recently seized and conquered Stuhlweissenburg, and many other cities, castles, markets and towns in Hungary and elsewhere, as well as the city and island of Rhodes, which had not been the least fortification and comfort for Christianity: Our governors and orators, together with princes, princes and estates, have thought of the high, great, unavoidable necessity of his being.

The Turkish authorities are to be resisted in time and in the most favorable way.

14) And since this is not possible to do without the help and assistance of other Christian authorities, and since it is not possible for a group of common Christian believers to do this properly, they have united with each other in a number of a common group, which we are sending to you herewith, but which they will bring behind them and consider further, and have therefore decided to hold a common imperial diet and assembly of all the members and estates of the Holy Roman Empire on St. Martin's Day 1) in the near future in our and the Holy Roman Empire's city of Speyer; which day we hereby proclaim to you by the Roman imperial power. We hereby proclaim this day to you, by the Roman imperial power seriously commanding, also commanding by the duties, so that you are related to us and the empire, that you appear on the above-mentioned St. Martin's Day in Speyer in your own person.

15 Or, if you should not appear in your own person for matrimonial reasons, then one or more of your excellent councillors, with complete authority to finally act and decide, will certainly be ordered and sent away at the above-mentioned time, and will not be delayed any longer. For we want that the next Monday after that such a day and Imperial Council shall be started without further delay, together with other states, which we, by virtue of the aforementioned farewell, have described in the same way on the aforementioned day, to deliberate in the above-mentioned articles, concerning the new doctrine and persistent help against the Turk. Also to open your minds to the common system, to resist the Turk, on account of your and your subjects, to finally decide on it and to carry it out, and if you do not remain outside, nor refuse or forgive anyone else, so that the matters may be acted upon all the more favorably for the welfare of common Christendom, and may be decided without delay.

1) Here and again in this paragraph Förstemann brings the alleged correction: "St. Michelstag. This is certainly based on an error of the writer. For both the Imperial Decree (No. 741, § 37) and the Imperial Edict against it (No. 744) name "St. Martin's Day" as the day of the assembly at Speyer.

2) Walch changed this "auf" into "auch", and the second Erlangen edition is of the opinion that "auch" should be read. But the Latin translation gives a good sense for the unanimous reading of all printings: nso proptsr tsrxivsroatiollsva alioruru vsrürs äudltstis ant äiLerLlis.

16 You do this, together with the fact that you owe this to the empire in the cause of your relationship, also our sincere opinion. Given in our and the Empire's city of Nuremberg, on the eighteenth day of the month of April after the birth of Christ in the fifteen hundred and twenty-fourth year, of our Empire, of the Roman Empire in the fifth, and of all others in the ninth year 2c.

Martinus Luther.

In the end, I ask all dear Christians to help God for such wretched, blinded princes, with whom God has undoubtedly plagued us in great wrath, so that we do not follow to go against the Turks or to give, since the Turk is ten times wiser and more pious than our princes are. What shall such fools succeed in doing against the Turk, who so highly tempt and blaspheme God? For here you see how the poor, mortal maggot, the emperor, who is not sure of his life for a moment, brazenly boasts that he is the true supreme protector of the Christian faith.

The Scripture says that the Christian faith is a rock too strong for the devil, death and all power, Matth. 16, 18.

And such strength shall be protected by a child of death, whom even a bruise or a leaf can put to bed. Help God, how nonsensical is the bet! So the king of England also boasts of being a protector of the Christian church and of the faith, yes, the Ungern boast of being God's protector, and sing in the Litania: Ut nos defensores tuos exaudire digneris: You wanted to hear us, your protectors. If there were a king or a prince who would be Christ's protector, and then another who would be the protector of the Holy Spirit, I think that the Holy Trinity and Christ and the faith would not be badly protected.

I lament this from the bottom of my heart to all pious Christians, that they have mercy with me on such mad, foolish, nonsensical, raving, insane fools. If one would rather be dead ten times than hear such blasphemy and disgrace of divine majesty; yes, it is the deserved reward that they persecute the word of God, therefore they shall be punished with such horrible blindness, and start. May God deliver us from them and give us other rulers by grace, amen.

Section Three of Chapter Nine.

The first of these was the Regensburg Private Convention of Papal Princes, Bishops, and Estates, which took place soon after these two imperial congresses, and the constitution drawn up there.

748 The papal nuncio in Germany, Cardinal Laurentius Campegius, as well as King Ferdinand of Rome and most of the Catholic ecclesiastical and secular princes of the Roman Empire, issued a constitution concerning the reformation of the abuses committed by the clergy in Germany. Regensburg, July 7, 1524.

This document is found in Latin in Goldast's *constitut. imperial. tom. III*, p. 487 and twice in Lünig's *spieiiKA. eeewsiast.*, Theil I, x. 395 and x. 768.

Translated from the Latin by Joh. Frirck.

Laurentius, by divine mercy of the title sanctae Anatasiae of the Holy Roman Church.

Cardinal-Presbyter, to all Germany and the kingdoms of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland, as well as to other places where we may arrive, our Lord the Pope's and the Apostolic See's legate, for the constant remembrance of the cause.

By virtue of the office of legate conferred upon us by the Apostolic See, we are bound to consider carefully how we may improve the condition among the clergy, as far as our legation extends, in such a way that we undertake a necessary reformation in matters in which they have departed from the ordinances of the Holy Fathers, and that we may be concerned about such reformation with all seriousness. Recently, our most holy lord, Pope Clement VII, considering both his pastoral office and the affection which he has for the praiseworthy German nation

The heretics' perceived fickleness and their godlessness, which is increasing day by day, prompted him to send us to all of Germany as his and the apostolic see's legate *a latere*, for no other reason than that he might care for the peace of the country and the salvation of souls, which are in the greatest danger because of the aforementioned recent outbreak of all heresies, and that he might promote this. Although we are not equal to this important office, we have nevertheless dared to obey his command and have taken it on trusting in the grace of our Savior, whose cause it is, whereby we do not attribute anything to our own strength and do not wish more than that we do complete justice to this office. And because we noticed some months ago how many things had fallen into disrepair and how much difficulty was involved in their restoration, we consulted with the most illustrious Lord Ferdinand, Infante of Spain, Archduke in Austria, Roman Imperial Governor, and came to the unanimous conclusion to set up a special meeting in the city of Regensburg.

The aforementioned most illustrious prince and archduke attended this event along with us.

The Most Reverend Matthew, of the Holy Roman Church of the title sancti Angeli Cardinal-Presbyter, Archbishop of Salzburg.

And the Highborn Lords William and Ludwig, Palgraves of the Rhine, Dukes of Upper and Lower Bavaria, brothers in the flesh.

The venerable Fathers in Christ, Bernhard, Bishop of Trent.

John, Administrator of the Church at Regensburg, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke in Bavaria.

And all the authorized nuncios or oratores of the venerable in Christ fathers and most illustrious princes:

Wigands, Bishop of Bamberg.

George, Bishop of Speyer, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria.

Wilhelm, Bishop of Strasbourg. Christoph, Bishop of Augsburg.

Hugh, Bishop of Constance. Christopher, Bishop of Basel.

Philip, Bishop of Freisingen, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria.

Ernst, Administrator of the Church at Passau and Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Upper and Lower Bavaria, and

Sebastian, Bishop of Bressanone.

With whom, when we talked about one thing and another, and especially about how and in what way the aforementioned German nation, which is in danger, should be helped: they unanimously held that this fundamentally pernicious heresy, which so seemingly caught the eyes of the simple-minded rabble because of the freedom falsely assured to them under the pretext of evangelical love, had been brought about without a doubt, partly by the evil conduct and dissolute life of the clergy, partly by the abuse of the holy statutes and ecclesiastical ordinances, which could no longer be restrained, and it would therefore contribute greatly to the eradication of the Lutheran heresy and its adherents if the clergy were instructed to lead an honorable life and to conduct themselves in such a manner as St. Paul requires and prescribes, and if the abuses, which cause great offense to the laity, were abolished. We have therefore found it necessary, after careful consideration and Christian advice from the above-mentioned Lords, Prince Ferdinands, Cardinals, Dukes and Bishops and their nuncios named below, to prescribe, draw up, order and issue some salutary articles for the necessary reformation of the clergy. Accordingly, by virtue of our apostolic power, which we exercise in this matter, we wish to enforce the statutes and ordinances made by us, as intended, from all and any archbishops, bishops, abbots, provosts, deans, archdeacons and other persons holding ecclesiastical offices, as well as from the heads of the parochial churches and other ecclesiastical benefactors, We hereby decree that the above-mentioned laws, as well as those of the parochial churches and other ecclesiastical benefactors, head priests, monastery preachers and clergymen throughout Germany, insofar as they are or can be affected by them, shall be observed inviolably in the future, and we recognize it as invalid wherever anyone, by whatever power, should knowingly or unknowingly do or attempt to do anything against them. And we hereby command, notwithstanding, all and every archbishop, bishop, and other persons standing in ecclesiastical offices, as well as the bishops in the capitals and other cathedral canons, and the archbishops' and bishops' officials and vicari generals, that they themselves and each of them, if it is sought by them, who are concerned about it or will be concerned about it in the future, to have such statutes and ordinances and each one of them kept inviolably, and to punish the criminals by church censures and other legal means, also, if it would be necessary, to appeal to the secular authorities for help,

Notwithstanding the Constitution of Pope Boniface the Eighth of blessed memory, according to which it is forbidden that anyone be summoned outside his city and diocese, except in certain cases, and in such excepted cases over a single district court (*dietam*) from the boundaries of his diocese, or that the judges appointed by the apostolic see, or by its prestige and authority, outside the city and diocese in which they are appointed judges, or others, take the liberty of acting against anyone, or of entrusting their office to others; and notwithstanding that in the General Council of two regional courts mention is made, and that persons are not required to appear before the court in excess of a certain number, also notwithstanding other apostolic and repugnant statutes and ordinances. But because it would be difficult to send the present original to all places where it will be necessary, we want and decide that the copy of this letter signed by a *Notario publico and provided with the seal* of a person standing in the ecclesiastical office shall be considered as credible as the originals themselves, which may either be handed over or only presented. And in order that such laws and ordinances may be made known to everyone, we command all ordinaries in the places, according to the aforesaid apostolic authority, in virtue of holy obedience, that if they publicize or cause to be publicized these articles and ordinances either themselves or through one or more others in their churches or cities, they shall, after such publication, stop those who are or will be concerned about them, just as much as if they had been or would have been made known to them personally.

But the content of the first thought articles and regulations is as follows:

I. Since the soul lives chiefly by the word that goes through the mouth of God, but this may not be preached now and then, nor by anyone, according to the apostle's admonition: "How shall they preach if they are not sent? We order and decree that no one shall be allowed to teach the gospel, even if he publicly professes the religion and is still so skilled in it, unless he has been put to the test and found good in doctrine and life by an ordinarius or his vicar, to be certified by an open letter, which is issued freely, without the notary taking any trouble. Therefore, those who are sent and found good, who teach the Gospel rightly, wisely, and purely, will not be able to read the mysterious

and obscure passages, so difficult to understand, not according to a new and fancied explanation, but as they were understood by the holy fathers and teachers accepted by the church, especially Cyprian, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory, also take good care that they do not present dreams and old wives' tales instead of the truth, for the certain the uncertain, for things which the whole church has accepted, uncanonical doctrine which has long since been eradicated and banished from the orthodox church, and to exercise all modesty in their recitation, lest they fall to blasphemy and invective and dishonor the holy place to the displeasure of the congregation. For this reason, the Ordinary shall appoint some learned and skillful people to examine in the diocese who have the skill to preach the Gospel, and who do not turn to the Lutheran side, so that means may be found so that the people may be properly instructed in the Christian law, and who may turn away from it, The divine service should be kept pure, and should be performed in the manner and with the customs described by the holy fathers and observed by our forefathers in the sacrifice of the altar, masses for souls, *horis canonicis*, and other acts of worship and ceremonies.

II. Therefore we remind and admonish all and every ordained priest that they lead such a life as their state requires and Christ wants them to have when he says: "Let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works and praise your Father in heaven; that they may also go about in respectable dress, as elsewhere Paul prescribed. Wherefore every prelate is to see carefully that the clergy whom he has under him do not wear all sorts of colored, as dashed and hemmed, but long garments, which go down to the heels, do not wear armor as when traveling, do not let the beard and hair grow, have a shorn plate, and take care that they do not give offense to the laity by indecent dress, as has been warned against in the holy Canonibus.

III. Moreover, they shall avoid the inns, except when they have to go to them on journeys, and there, as well as at home and elsewhere, they shall beware of gluttony, drunkenness, all forbidden games, blasphemy, brawling and all other offences and aversions, and shall not be found in "comedy" or at plays and public dinners, lest

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because of silence and horniness get their office a stain.

IV. And because, according to the apostolic dictum, no man of war should become involved in food trafficking, no one, contrary to the provincial and synodal laws, may open an inn or tavern to the laity, because drunkenness often gives rise to quarrels, murder and manslaughter, and other vices that are detrimental to the dignity of the clergy. Moreover, they shall refrain from all trade and commerce.

V. However, the duly appointed clergy and their vicari shall not encumber the laity in the means and other parochial rights, beyond what is due to them by right, and shall not require them to take it away to keep the weekly, monthly or annual celebrations, nor shall they demand anything else from them except the sacrifices that are customarily made on high feasts, because these are to be made at everyone's discretion.

VI. Also, no one can and should tract with the people for the burial, for the administration of the sacraments and other spiritual acts, or demand something from someone who does not give willingly, nor should he, if a parishioner has given nothing, deny him any sacrament, or refuse to bury someone in the churchyard for the sake of fees. However, the foregoing does not in any way abolish the parochial jurisprudence, which, once introduced, belongs to the person who performs the office.

VII. Since there is no uniform custom in the dioceses, and many disputes arise between the laity and the clergy, in that some clergy demand more than they should, while the laity oppose it because of lack and poverty: We order that each Ordinary, within six months after the publication of this letter, when he has well considered and sufficiently investigated the aforementioned, make a certain law and decree with the advice of the princes and secular rulers who are concerned with these things, so that widows, orphans and other poor people are not unfairly overcharged on their property. Which, if it has not yet been done, when we or our successor come into the country, we assure that, after having obtained the matter, we will do so ourselves, or let the matter reach his papal holiness, who will then appoint judges to take care of this matter.

VIII. The gasteries of the clergy, which until now have been used at funerals and fraterni

If, however, either custom or the remoteness of the place requires that a meal be held, it should take place in the house of the clergyman, and be arranged respectably, not for excess, but for the greatest need, since eating and drinking is not suitable for clergymen, partly so that the words do not reach them: To whom the belly is their god; and also because their office entails offering gifts and sacrifices to the Lord in sobriety and chastity for the sins of God.

IX. Further, and lest it be thought that their desire for gain is stronger than their desire for the salvation of souls, when they sometimes absolve laymen who confess gross crimes, to no small damage to their honor and office: We order and decree that henceforth any confessor may absolve penitent confessing laymen of all secret sins, however grave and heinous they may be, even of those which the Ordinary have reserved to their power, with the sole exception of death-witnesses, heretics, and excommunicates, who are to be referred to the bishop or his vicarium. Which ordinance, as far as the clergy are concerned, is not to be regarded as new, but for the remission and forgiveness of sins, which we call absolution, they are not to extort anything from him who gives nothing willingly.

X. We also command, according to the Apostle's saying, "Lay hands on no one soon;" that one should not impudently, carelessly entrust the pastoral care to one, but should first have such a one, who has given public samples of his religion, examined by the bishop or his officials. Nor shall anyone take the liberty of ordering and setting up a vicarage of his church and parish, and of making a profit under the appearance of absence, without the authority of the bishop or his vicarii. For as one should not bind up the mouth of an ox that threshes, so we hold that such benefits of appointment and absence are to be moderated according to the will of the bishop or the official.

XI. No less shall the owners put their inherited 1) collegiate houses and estates, which are dilapidated, in good repair, as much as necessity requires, and if this is done, preserve them in their structural essence; but if they are in the wind, they shall be destroyed by

1) "erheiratheten" here will be as much as given by the laity, according to § 17 of the gravarniva. See above Col. 2156.

the archidiaconos and deans in the country and others to whom it is due by right and custom, with the collection of their revenues, by virtue of our authority, be compelled to do so.

XII. Next to this we want to have expressly prevented, so that the care of the churches and founders is not entrusted to those who have professed themselves to an order, it may be which one wants it, or who have been excluded; If, however, some have been accepted or readmitted, they must, unless it is known that it is by favor and grace of their superior, and that they are staying away from their monasteries for well-founded reasons, put up with it, if we issue an order to the Ordarios or Vicarios, to direct such fugitives to their superiors by depriving them of the means of life or other means of rights.

XIII. The prelates in monasteries, who have jurisdiction over a single church, shall not in the future reappoint the first-mentioned *vicarios perpetuos*, who were to be dismissed after the order had been issued, in the same churches, unless they had previously been recognized by the ordinarii or their vicarii as competent and skilled; Those churches, however, which are united with the monasteries and are so close to them that the friars, if they were to perform the office in them, could at the same time be under obedience in the monastery, may be provided with such friars, if they are fit and skilful. We also allow this to small and poor monasteries that cannot provide sufficient maintenance, and we want such religious and other excluded persons who are in ecclesiastical foundations to be subject to the Ordinary in every place.

And since it is far better to have few righteous and learned servants in the Church of God than many unlearned and unskilled ones, which is to be considered especially in our time, then no others should be initiated into the spiritual state than those who are pious and learned before others, and who have also passed a test of this in the examination.

XV. As for the ordinands in a city or in a foreign diocese, we decree that they shall show their ordination letter or appointment, and likewise shall not be admitted to perform the divine service until the bishop or his vicarius or official duly accepts them.

XVI. Above this, because no one is more deserving of being perfectly pure and holy than those who carry the vessels of the Lord and work at the sanctuary, such ministers the Lord Himself has appointed.

that they perform the sacred acts daily and be found in them, so we want and command them, according to the canonical ordinances, which have been laudably instituted by the holy fathers, to live chastely and moderately; But the clergy, who keep cohabitants and lead a disorderly life, are to be restored to order by the imposition of the penalties assigned to them in the canons, whereby the established habit, harmful tolerance and negligence of the prelates are not to be of any benefit to them, or serve to defend them.

XVII. Of the promoters of indulgences, who are commonly called stationers, we resolve that no one, whoever he may be, shall press for a letter, either to preach, or to collect a contribution and alms, however much indulgence he may boast of having, unless he has presented letters of admission and permission from the Ordinarii or Vicarii; the ordinaries themselves, that they admit only those who have the testimony of an irreproachable life, and can give an account of their sermons if required, do not abuse the alms and gifts of pious souls for their own benefit, and affirm on oath that they have neither a part of the authority, nor the whole authority, to make collections for a certain sum of money. However, we leave the liberties granted to the mendicants by the apostolic see unimpaired and unchallenged.

XVIII. And that the shepherd may know the voice of the sheep, and that the sheep may hear the voice of the shepherd, and that all occasion for dissipation may be cut off, we order that foreign and unknown clergy be not admitted to the sacrifice of the Mass, nor tolerated in the company of the clergy for more than a month, unless they have written permission from one of the archbishops or bishops, to whose diocese they go, as well as a written testimony from their ordinarius, from whose diocese they came directly, and who has the best knowledge of their order and honesty, so that one who does not want to mend his ways after his committed errors does not sneak into another and foreign diocese with impunity.

In order that the alms of the Christian faithful may be used for the final purpose for which they were given, the administrators or their stewards in any church shall not be at liberty to distribute any of the funds received for the building, or to use them for any other purpose.

The building authorities shall not use the buildings and other things for their own benefit without the knowledge of the superintendent, but shall place them in the building chamber for safekeeping, as has been done so far, and shall keep two or three keys according to each place's use, one of which is to be handed over to the superintendent; incidentally, however, in handing over the keys and filing the accounts, the custom hitherto established by the princes and superiors shall be maintained and observed.

XX. Thus we also decree that the bishops vicarii shall not demand anything in pontifical functions at the feast of the church and altar, as it is written in the holy canons, except what belongs to them by virtue of their office. For it is reasonable that the bishops, according to the circumstances of their position, see to it that they keep the table money determined by the apostolic see, and that they do not raise anything new that could be a disgrace to their dignity and a burden to them.

XXI. Not without reason, but rather for just causes, we have also considered it good to limit the excessive number of feast days, and make the decree that Sunday, which has been kept highly solemnly by us from the old church on for the glorification of the resurrection of Christ, as no less the commemorative days of the birth of Christ/ of St. Stephen, of St. John and the innocent children, of the circumcision, of the apparition, Easter only for three days, the Ascension, Georgii, Pentecost likewise not more than three days, Corpus Christi, four Marian days, the Purification, Annunciation, Ascension and Nativity, the birthday of the Apostles, St. John the Baptist, St. Magdalene, St. Laurence, the Church Consecration, St. Michael, all the saints, St. Martin, St. Nicolai and St. Catherine, and in the diocese of Salzburg, St. Rupert, as they have been kept until now, will also be solemnly celebrated in the future; On the other feasts, however, they may be instituted or introduced as they wish, also on those for which the people are united, we allow and leave everyone free to go back to his work, from which he must support himself and his family, after having heard the mass; on the feasts of the consecration of the church, the church patrons and principals, however, we do not want to change anything as far as their celebration in the cathedral church city and place, where there is an episcopal residence, is concerned.

XXII. Since also among the shepherds and the herds much quarreling and annoyance have arisen over the wedding, which some call enthronement, others solennization, so

We declare and decree that marriages may be solemnized before the congregation without obtaining the consent of the Ordinary or giving him anything, except during the whole of Lent, the last week of Advent, Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, together with their octaves, and on days of prayer.

XXIII. The fast days ordered by the church should be determined in the future under the obedience owed to the holy catholic church, and the punishment of banishment should not be considered, so that the weak consciences do not take offense, because at these times almost all godliness lies low, and the clergy is given little hearing.

XXIV In order to restore the defunct worship service and to prevent the common people from becoming more sleepy and negligent in it from day to day, we want only the person to be banned for a death committed against the clergy, but not the place, unless the murder was committed in the congregation and with a large crowd of the congregation.

XXV. Prohibit enclosed that if an ordinary clergyman dies without a will, the bishops may or shall appropriate their inherited property or property acquired by their own diligence.

XXVI. And since, on account of new heresies which have long since been condemned, the number of derogatory monks and priests is becoming astonishingly great every day, and the great majority of them take wives, we give authority to all secular princes and estates and their officials to take such derogators and church thieves by the head, so that such robberies of the church do not go unpunished; but in such a way that they first refer the culprits to the ordinaries and hand them over to them for due chastisement, without imposing any punishment on them; To whom also the serious command is given that they punish the vicious without delay and without all mercy neglectfully, not as has hitherto been done, according to the sacred orders, in such a way that, where the heinousness of the crime requires it, the bishop, according to the contents of the *Capituli primi de haereticis in sexto*, may either deliver the guilty to temporal rule, or condemn him to eternal imprisonment. If, however, it should come to the attention of the apostolic see that the Ordinarii have been negligent in this regard, ecclesiastical judges shall be appointed by the same, who, if they are informed of the negligence of the Ordinarii, shall, at the request of the princes and other authorities, punish the guilty, especially those who have been convicted of heresy.

XXVII Because some bishops, as we have learned, demand tithes from the monastery funds and vacancies, but this is highly unjust, and it is better to abolish abuses that have crept in than to allow innovations to break down: so from now on it shall be forbidden to collect and pay such tithes, and we hereby completely abolish such abuses, no matter how they may be introduced, and also want others to consider them abolished.

XXVIII. Likewise, we disapprove and reject as something inconsistent that the bishops want to take half of the intestates of benefactors, of which hardly a single one can maintain himself sufficiently and for his need, as there are those which do not yield more than thirty-two Rhenish gold florins, of which the Roman court itself does not demand half; which we also want to have observed by the Ordinarii, unless the opposite is prevented in the *Concordatis*, or they do not receive something in an honest and lawful way, without penal burdening others.

XXIX In order that the friendship and harmony among the provincials of the whole province may be more and more strengthened, we reintroduce the old custom of holding meetings, and decree that a provincial assembly shall be held every three years after Easter.

XXX. Since, according to the sacred statutes, charity is given for the sake of service or work, and since it is almost impossible that there should not be found among the great number of canonists (*praebendatorum*) some who, unaware of their office, do not keep the *horas canonicas*: We want, set and order that the Ordinarii, through the Archidiaconos and Decanos, be carefully instructed by such negligent clergymen, and after each one's neglect and laziness, use the benefits enjoyed either for the benefit of the church, or of the poor. If, after due remembrance and first instruction, a person should again fall into such negligence and laziness, which would be a sign of a fundamentally evil disposition, he shall be deprived of the ecclesiastical endowment altogether, and the collatori or patrons shall be permitted to look around for another capable person or to present him.

XXXI. Still further we place that one shall keep steadfastly above the ordinance of the fathers, according to which burial in the churchyard is denied to anyone who has not confessed and received the Lord's Supper at paschal time; and where

If it happens that someone dies suddenly without prior confession, we do not want to deny him the aforementioned burial in that case, if his clergyman knows or is assured that he has confessed and communicated according to the first-mentioned regulation, nor is there any other obstacle in the canons in the way.

XXXII. To prevent the dreadful blasphemy of the name of God and of the saints, which should not be held in low esteem, we decree and command that every clergyman or priest who has openly blasphemed and reviled God, and thus with detestable words impugned God and our Lord Christ, or blasphemed his mother, the most blessed Virgin Mary, and other saints, should be regarded with the deprivation of his income or endowment, or with other punishments, according to the nature of his blasphemy and crime.

As for the shameful vice of simony, we do not depart from the decrees of the ancients, but want them to be followed and the punishments set forth therein to be executed.

XXXIV. Against the clergy, who by lot tell fortunes, interpret signs, practice sorcery, on whom both in holy scripture and in the *Decretis patrum* a curse is laid, we decree and order that, according to the opinion of the superiors, a stain of shame be attached to them; if they will not desist on remonstrance, they shall be expelled from office, confined for a time in a monastery, according to the opinion of the superiors, and deprived of all ecclesiastical benefactors and functions; but the other false Christians who entertain erroneous opinions in matters of faith, and are either heretics, or are attached to the Jewish side, shall be excluded from the sacred assembly of the church without respect of person. They are to be excluded from the holy assembly of Christians without regard to their person, and a thorough investigation is to be carried out against them by the ordinaries or their vicars, or by the inquisitors of heretical wickedness, or by the judges appointed by the apostolic see or by us, so that they may be deservedly punished if they do not repent.

Both the clergy and the laity should be forbidden to speak insolently of the holy faith, especially at feasts and banquets; especially the clergy should exercise all modesty and spend their time properly in reading the Old and New Testaments, so that they are not tempted by idleness to all kinds of vices and pleasures.

XXXVI We order and wish that each bishop take care that the vicarii, who may hereafter be *perpetual* or at will, are not subjected to any other form of supervision.

The prelates and other ecclesiastics are to be careful not to get too much of the necessities and necessities of life, so that they do not have the opportunity to burden the subjects for lack of food; they are also to remind the prelates and other ecclesiastics, in view of the apostolic command and the practice of the early church, not to forget the poor, and to behave so that one may precede the other in helping them.

XXXVII. There are also, besides those now narrated, many other things distinguished and suggested by the Popes, Sacred Councils, Provincial and Synodal Constitutions, which adorn the conduct of the clergy and prevent the offense of which Christ has warned from time to time; which things we wish to keep and observe as sacred, with the further injunction that the transgressors, according to the aforesaid Canonibus and Constitutions, shall be regarded with severe punishment.

XXXVIII. And for this reason we forbid all and every Vicariis and Officials, as well as all Archidiaconis and Diaconis in the country, along with others, whose office entails reporting and correcting the sins and faults in progress, or who are charged with this by the Ordinariis, that they do not look through the fingers of the transgressions and violations of any of our aforementioned constitutions, statutes and ordinances, for the sake of money offered or for any other reason, but rather duly exercise the punishments deserved and usual by right on the transgressors, according to the nature of the crime and the requirement of their duty. In order that this may be done, it is of no avail to pass laws.

We have decided to reintroduce the ancient use of such assemblies, and we order that every year, at least once a year, an episcopal synod shall be held, at an appropriate time, by all the bishops, with the participation of all the bishops, so that the Catholic faith may flourish and grow again, and the Church may regain its former prestige by the complete eradication of all heretical doctrines, which can be preserved almost by no better and more convenient means than by the assemblies: We, who wish to reintroduce the ancient use of such assemblies, therefore, decree and order that every year, at the least, an episcopal synod be appointed, at the appropriate time, by all the bishops, with the participation of the most distinguished prelates and deans in the country, as well as other dim men, among whom judges shall be chosen everywhere, who shall take diligent care that the decrees and other statutes of the bishops, which are to be established at the synods, are kept rigidly and firmly in place, since in an adverse case the temporal power can be called upon to help. Finally, we order that this Constitution and Ordinance of ours be diligently read out in the above-mentioned provincial and episcopal assemblies, right at the beginning, so that no one may in the future plead ignorance and excuse himself with it. Given at Regensburg, in the year after the birth of Christ 1524, July 7, of the Pontificate of His Papal Holiness in the first year.

Visas. Jul. Flo. Montinus.
D. de Paternina.
C. Piego.

Jodocus Hötfilter, of the Most Reverend Cardinal L.
Campegii, Legati etc., Notarius, has signed it.

Section Four of Chapter Nine.

About the death of Pope Hadrian VI at Nuremberg between the two above-mentioned imperial congresses, after he had canonized Bishop Benno of Meissen a quarter of a year before, against which action Luther had printed a document, and what qualities this Pope had.

749 Pope Hadrian VI's Bull of the Canonization of St. Benno, formerly Bishop of Meissen. Rome, May 31, 1523.

From Lümgs kpllettZA. 666168. xurt. II. Continuation and its "outiuuutio 3rd, x. 43.

Translated into German by M. A. Tittel.

John, by the grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of the holy and pure Church of Meissen, 2c., to all and everyone who will see, read, or hear read the present letter or this copy of the public testimony, offer constant salvation in the Lord, and that they firmly believe the present writing.

You should know that we have an apostolic letter, with a golden bull, on which silk cords of red and yellow color hang, according to the custom of the Roman court, emblazoned and issued by our most holy in Christ Father and Lord, by divine providence Pabst the Sixth, because of the canonization of St. Benno, bishop, our ancestor, which has already been done, executed and conferred, entirely correct and perfect in all things, unaltered and uncorrupted, also otherwise without any fault or suspicion, as it was immediately found at the first sight before a public notary and witnesses named below, received, the contents of which follow from word to word, and is this:

1 Adrianus, bishop, servant of the servants of God, in eternal memory of the cause! The high Lord has miraculously decided to build the contending Church, which is adorned with living, precious stones united with the supreme cornerstone Christ. Hence came the holy patriarchs, who in faith became worthy to shelter the holy angels, and saw God face to face. These were followed by the holy prophets, to whom God revealed His secrets, so that they might recognize and pronounce future things as present, through the illumination of the Holy Spirit. But after the fullness of time had come, and the exit from on high in the assumed humanity had made us worthy of grace to visit and fulfill the mysteries of our blessedness, as the prophets had proclaimed, the holy apostles were appointed as preachers and heralds (heralds) of the divine law, who throughout the whole world awakened the human race, which lay under the yoke of the devil's power, to blessedness, and preached the word of God to all the ends of the world.

2) Then the glorious martyrs followed, who, clothed in the armor of faith and girded with the belt of unwavering steadfastness, washed their robes in the blood of the innocent lamb, and following Christ with the white army, carrying a glorious palm of victory in their hands, joined themselves to the living stone, Christ, and left an everlasting memory of themselves and a holy example of the contending church. There have also appeared highly enlightened teachers who, with their teachings and examples, have resisted those who want to overthrow the Catholic and right faith itself, and have adorned the said contending church in many ways. With which

The same church, like the dawn, beautiful as the moon, chosen as the sun, terrible as the tops of the armies.

3. Then follow the holy confessors, who shine with the jewels of virtue, and who, as faithful and pious servants, have brought manifold profit and fruit of their labor to the Lord, who demands an account of the trusted pounds, and have placed them in the heavenly box (or barn); Who have also shunned all the caresses of the world as otter poison, have gone to lonely places, have been in caves and gorges, have mortified their flesh with bad food and spring water, have covered themselves with goatskins, have slept on reeds or straw, and have sought God barefoot, and have found the eternal fatherland.

(4) There are also beautiful virgins who, with a pure body, a pure heart, and a holy mind, with oil in their lamps, go to meet the bridegroom, who is more beautiful than the children of men. Similarly, devout and chaste widows, and other many persons of all sexes, who always seal on godly and holy works, and have presented themselves to the same heavenly bridegroom with full hands of a good harvest, glorifying God on high with the angels, and peace on earth for the people of good will (or good pleasure).

(5) All this is done by one and the same Spirit through a marvelous mystery. And as the Most High from the beginning visited, fortified and increased his vineyard with such godly servants, according to his promise: so he still lends the help of his protection in many ways, and visits the same vineyard in ordinary measure; therefore he has also brought a brave man to the construction of this vineyard, namely the glorious confessor and blessed Benno, who is to be joined to the crowd up there, yes, is already selected; who, among the other fighters of Christ, has adorned the holy church in many ways through the cooperation of divine grace, and has brilliantly illuminated the darkness of the present time with the brilliance of his lamp. For he fought valiantly against the world, the flesh, and the devil, and, running after the odor of the Most High, he drew to himself a multitude of the faithful of both sexes, and left behind him a holy generation of his order, poured out, as it were, over the whole face of the earth, so that he might be preserved by a famous memory for the enlightenment of the Gentiles, as a bright star in the firmament of the church.

(6) Of whose origin, life, customs and fame, as well as miracles, which God has been pleased to show in many ways to the world as a reward for His holiness, the least to be reported is that the descendants of such a famous man know something.

7 For the father of this blessed Benno was Friedrich Bultenburger, of noble lineage, who produced him from Bezela, his godly wife. And since a good nature was perceived in the blessed Benno from his youth, he took care, as soon as he was out of childhood, that it would not be spoiled by other young fellows, evil manners and wrong opinions, as it tends to happen in youth, and therefore handed him over to Bernward, bishop in Hildesheim, and ordered him, who also diligently took care of the assigned matter, namely that the boy would be well led to virtue. Therefore, he first urged him to love the good and great God, but afterwards, since the wise man well saw how fine it would be if scholarship and godliness came together, he had Blessed Benno taught by Bigario, a pious and learned man. He was taught by Blessed Benno of Bigario, a pious and learned man, under whom he gained a great deal of weight, so that when he had already become a young man and learned to live properly, he chose the monastic life and became a monk, renouncing all pleasures and devoting himself solely to virtue. His brothers, who lived with him, were satisfied with this and found as much virtue in him as was appropriate for a clergyman, which is why they unanimously chose him, since their abbot had died. But because the matter became controversial, and some, although not many, gave their vote to Siegebarto, a holy man, St. Benno, who was far from all ambition, refused the honor, and on the other hand tried for Siegebarto and asked that he not be deprived of his quiet way of life. The more he asked for it, the more zealous the monks became, and forced St. Benno against his will to accept this dignity, which he resigned in the third month and returned to his previous well-adjusted way of life.

Therefore Henry IV, Roman emperor of glorious memory, began to love him very much. And seeing that the holy man was fit for regimental business, he did not want to let such a man rot in the corners of a monastery, but, since he had been appointed by the pope Leone, of blessed memory, who, however

1) he took him out of the monastery against his will and made him bishop in Goslar and Hildesheim. Since he lived holy and blameless in such a bishopric until his old age, the canons of Meissen were moved by his fame to elect the venerable old man, who has now reached 56 years of age, as bishop of their church, in which he administered everything commendably, but especially here, that he tore the Wends, who were hostile to Christianity, out of their harmful error and brought them to the point that they zealously protected the Christian faith together with the Catholic Church; which is a wonderful and entirely divine deed.

For about the same time Gregory VII, Pope of blessed memory, our ancestor, and Henricus IV, Roman Emperor of the same memory, had great enmity among themselves, so that one sought to overthrow the other from the high dignity in which he stood; therefore each held council with his own. Not only the princes, but also all the bishops in Germany and Gaul were obedient to the emperor. Blessed Benno alone disobeyed the Emperor's order, considering it an honor to protect the Church's reputation as much as possible. And in order to prove his devotion to the church, he banished the emperor and the margrave of Meissen, who were considered enemies of religion, and denied the margrave entrance to the church in Meissen, and went to the pope's council. What could be higher than such magnanimity? Before he set out on his journey, however, St. Benno threw the keys of his church in Meissen into the Elbe, a great and famous river, so that those who were on the emperor's side and therefore had the ban on them would be barred from entering the church. From this it is easy to see what enmity he was putting himself in for the Roman church and what danger he was taking upon himself. For since the emperor thought that he and his people had been insulted, and he wanted to avenge his insults and those of others, he imprisoned the blessed Benno, who had come back from the Council (or Concilio) to cool his troubles; but the almighty God, who saves the pious, who are oppressed in an ungodly way, looked upon the divine man. That is why St. Benno was soon done with it and returned to his life.

1) Non prckseessore nostro, although below VON Gregorio VII. etiana precksoEssor is written, and thus noa seems to be wrong, since about ollm or the like should **stand.** (Walch.)

has been restored to its former state. Since the keys of the church in Meissen, of which we have spoken, were missing at that time, a fish is caught in the said Elbe river, in whose entrails the lost keys are found again. Certainly a high and clear sign of divine providence!

Now we want to say something about what the holy man did for the adornment of his church; first of all, since he saw that a fine song at the service was something beautiful, he ordered a fine way of singing (or music), which is still in use in the church at Meissen. He also increased the church with many and beautiful goods; he also built and established a collegiate or cathedral church in the place where he sometimes went to be in silence in order to deal with God. But what shall one say much about the good affection of St. Benno for church matters?

11) He walked dry-footed across the Elbe River, and when he once visited the farmers, as was his custom, and saw the people very thirsty from fatigue, he turned water into wine out of compassion.

At another time, when St. Benno was preaching in the valley near the city, he saw many people almost dying of thirst, as it happens in the summer; to please them, he cut the earth, from which a rich and ever-flowing well immediately sprang up, which is still called the Holy Well today. The bell, however, which St. Benno himself consecrated, drives away all storms from the neighboring fields. 1) The field over which the holy man used to travel also surpasses all fields in the neighborhood in fertility.

There is also a village Neumbergk, which is far away from Meissen; and yet it happened once, by divine providence, that St. Benno said mass there at the same time, and also seemed to be present at the service in Meissen.

14 When a margrave in Meissen, who was a bit stingy, out of shameful malice took the goods of the church in Meissen, St. Benno said that man would do well if he returned what he had taken from the church in Meissen; if not, God would avenge such malice one day. The mad man was furious and slapped the bishop on the cheeks; then the holy man, out of divine inspiration, said: "I will not be punished,

1) It must have been no longer there when the thunder struck in Dom, at the time when one sang the Te Deum inside about the Mühlberg victory. (Walch.)

He said: The almighty God will avenge this injustice at the same time in the following year. But the insolent and proud margrave laughed at him. Soon after that, St. Benno fell ill, and he was afraid that he would soon pass from this life into the blessed eternity of the community of all the elect; therefore, before he died, he exhorted the canons to diligently preserve the love that Christ taught us. Afterwards, he enjoyed the night meal, the divine food, very devoutly and devoutly, and after praying to God heartily, he passed away in the fortieth year of his diocese, after the birth of Christ in 1106. So much of what the holy man did in his life, not in a human way, but through divine help.

But what happened after his death with the greatest astonishment, we must also tell something about it. And at the beginning, when the time came when the holy man had announced that the margrave would suffer punishment, the margrave broke out into the following words: Benno once threatened us that something bad would happen to us today; now he is dead, we have nothing to fear. No sooner had he uttered the word than he was struck by the blow, and crying out to the bystanders for help, he died miserably with lamentation and sighing. From this it is easy to see that divine power was given to this divine man.

16 There is another example, which is quite similar to this. William, another margrave, did all kinds of evil to the church in Meissen; and when the bishop persuaded the man with many pleas to change his mind, he not only did not want to follow good advice, but plagued the church much more than before; so the bishop, knowing no other help, called on St. Benno and asked him to preserve the church. So it happened that St. Benno warned the margrave three times in a dream that he should leave the church in peace; and since he dismissed it as a vain dream, he finally lost an eye when he was warned the fourth time, and he was threatened with even more trouble if he did not desist from his godless behavior. Wilhelm, the margrave, then thought better of it and reimbursed the church for everything, and increased its assets as much as he could, also honored St. Benno and held him in high esteem.

17. not forgetting that there are two villages, one of which he went to when he was

In the other, however, he converted the Wends from their horrible godlessness to the Christian faith; the footprints of his feet can still be seen in it. Also the hut in which he lived with the Wends, although it may have been poorly built and had a roof, has, since it was very old, not collapsed, nor was it damaged by fire, since the neighboring houses often burned down. His episcopal robe, in which his body was buried, has also lain in the earth with the bishop's hat for over two hundred years, and is still seen and shown in its entirety without much change since it was excavated.

(18) Many other miracles could be told, for it is known that through the merit of St. Benno many have been raised from the dead, many sick have been healed, and easily no one who has made a vow to him has been left helpless by him. Therefore, our beloved son in Christ, Carl, the Roman and Spanish Catholic King, elected (Roman) Emperor 2c., and our beloved sons Albrecht 2c., priest (presbyter) at St. Peter's in Banden 2c., and Matthew Diaconus at St. Angelo, Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church; and our venerable brothers Richard of Trier and Hermann of Cologne, Archbishops, by their open letters; likewise our beloved sons, the noble men, Ferdinand, Archbishop in Austria, and George and Henry, bodily brothers, Dukes of Saxony, Landgraves in Thuringia and Margraves of Meissen, by our venerable brother, John, Bishops of Meissen, their envoy to us and the beloved son, William of Enkenvort, and our court prelate (Domesticum), as well as their envoy and agent (negotiorum gestorem) to us and to our apostolic see, humbly request that we may, after prior diligent examination and investigation, proceed to the canonization of the holy man.

19. When we were now willing to grant such a request, and were highly pleased that such a canonization had happened in our times, by God's providence, and therefore thought it good not to deprive St. Benno, of whom God had already made known by many manifest signs and wonders that He had made him worthy of the choir of saints in heavenly glory, also on earth of the honor of the saints that was due to him: We have not yet hastened and hastened in so important a matter, but have desired to consider the same, according to ancient and laudable usage, with delay and diligently, namely, after a thrice examination, which was made by the

In the venerable memory of Alexandri VI at first, then Julii II and finally Leo X, our forefathers, commissions were made therein.

Finally, Leo X has ordered three Cardinals, also of the Holy Roman Church, from three of her orders, as our venerable brothers, Bernardino of Ostia, of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, and Antonio, bishops of Alba, then priests of the title of St. Vitalis, and John, deacon of St. Cosma and Damian's, Cardinals, on his brothers' advice and consent. Cosmã and Damians, Cardinals, on his brothers, among whom we were at that time, although absent, council and consent, ordered that they all of the blessed man's life, customs, rumors, and miracles, before and after his death, also the intercessions made by him 1), and other things that belong to such canonization of the saints, review and examine them, diligently inquire about each and every item, and report what they find to his secret consistory diligently, according to usage.

21. Since the said Cardinals, having seen and examined various trials held in Germany by the order of the said See, and sent them to our Court, and duly considered the testimony of credible witnesses, as the importance of the matter requires, and faithfully reported on the above-mentioned miraculous works, holy life and other pertinent things in several secret consistories, and we have found the wish (or votes) of the same and of all the Cardinals to be just and lawful, the said canonization is to be carried out, and for such solemn appointment the beloved son John Baptist of Siena, Doctor of both rights and Consistorial Advocate of our Court in the public Consistory, told us everything about the blessed man's life, customs, fame and miracles, and humbly requested that we, after prior mature consultation, proceed to the same holy man's canonization: After giving heartfelt thanks to Almighty God for what has been set forth and recounted before us, we asked all those who were present at the time in the public Consistory to assist the Church of God with their prayers and fasting, and to implore Him not to let them err in such canonization.

22 Finally, after several days, when all the prelates present at that time were gathered again in our Consistorial Court, in the Apostolic Palace, namely Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Archbishops of the Holy See, the Archbishops of the Holy Roman Empire, the Archbishops of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Archbishops of the Holy Roman Empire.

1) aũko taetis should probably be ad "o heißm. (Walch.)

The same bishops and bishops, in the presence of the same brothers of ours, the said Roman church cardinals, had the same processes of the same holy life, customs, rumors and miracles, which proceeded from it, recently and summarily repeated by the same John Baptist; which the cardinals and others, who were commanded by us to do the same, subsequently told and explained properly. And since all the surrounding prelates, who were asked what they thought of this canonization matter, answered unanimously, without contradiction, that they thought it was right that such a holy man should be counted and placed among the saints, we once again sincerely thanked the Almighty God that he had graciously enlightened our hearts to adorn his blessed servant with proper honor, and celebrated the first Sunday after Pentecost, which fell on 31 May in the year 1523. May in the year 1523, for such canonization, and have in the cathedral church of the Prince of the Apostles in the city a large wooden scaffold or stage, according to use, prepared and decorated, on which we today, after to the surrounding clergy and people a humble and devout sermon of St. Benno's life, miracles and rumors, also the litany and the song: Come, God Creator, Holy Spirit 2c., The lawyers (or administrators) of the canonization case, as well as the elected Roman Emperor Carl's envoy appointed to the said apostolic see, also implored us that St. Benno be included among the host of saints and be counted among them.

23) Since everything was duly accomplished, and no ordinary church ceremony was omitted, because we had God before our eyes, we considered it good to proceed to the canonization of the saint in question with the words:

In praise and honor of the holy and inseparable Trinity and elevation of the Catholic faith and acceptance of the Christian religion, we, by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ and the holy apostles St. Peter and Paul, and our own, resolve and decree that Benno, of blessed memory, formerly bishop in Meissen, shall become a saint and be registered in the register of saints. Peter and Paul, and our own, on the advice of our brothers, that Benno, of blessed memory, formerly bishop in Meissen, be a saint and be included in the register of saints; write him also in the same register of holy confessors, and order that his feast and office (or mass service) be celebrated annually by the whole church, as for a confessor, bishop, the 16th of June, as the day of his funeral. June, as the day of his burial (depositionis), shall be devoutly and humbly celebrated; and also graciously remit from the same authority to all rightful

penitent Christians who confess when they visit annually on the very day of the same Saint Benno grave, seven years and so many quadragens 1) of the penances imposed on them.

24) After this had been accomplished, and after we had sung the hymn: Te Deum etc., Lord God, you 2c., and our song masters had sung it to the end, and the Cardinal Diaconus had sung it at the end: Pray for us, Saint Benno 2c., and the choir answered: that we may become worthy of Christ's promises 2c., we immediately sang aloud a prayer of our own from this same saint, saying:

God, who surrounds and protects us with the glorious confession of blessed Benno, bishop, grant that we may also increase through his succession and enjoy his intercession, through our Lord Jesus Christ, your Son, who lives and reigns with you in unity of the Holy Spirit for ever and ever! To which said choir answered: Amen!

Then we held a solemn Mass, and all the Collects of the said first Sunday after Pentecost were gathered together and concluded, with the addition of the aforementioned and other special Collects of St. Benno, namely 2) *pro secreta*:

Let, then, O Lord, thy holy confessor and bishop please us everywhere, that, when we have all his glorious merits 2c., we may feel his intercession (*patrocinia*) with thee 2c., with its conclusion: namely, through Christum 2c.

Then, after the Communion, we added these words:

We pray, O Lord, since we have enjoyed this holy sacrament (*repleti mysteriis*), that we may be refreshed by the intercession of your holy confessor and bishop Benno, whose feast we celebrate 2c., with just the previous conclusion.

27) And so we have duly completed the Mass to the end with ordinary ceremonies according to the apostolic order 3) and granted plenary indulgence to all who were devout at this high office at that time, and for the testimony of which we have issued the present letter, to the praise and glory of the Almighty God, who is wonderful and glorious in his saints, lives and reigns, highly praised forever, Amen!

1) A quadragene is forty days of penitential indulgence.

2) is dark. (Walch.) - Maybe to read: *pro ssq uontia* - a Is sequence.

3) *suxta Ordinarius apostolieuin*, instead of *ordinona*. (Walch.)

Because it would be difficult to make the same letter known to everyone, we want and decide that its copies, which are signed by a public notary and sealed by an ecclesiastical prelate, be given unquestionable credence in all and every part, and that they be followed just as if the manuscript (or main letter, *originales literae*) had been shown and handed over to all and everyone.

Accordingly, no man shall change our command, statute, enrollment, ordinance, decree, grant and will, or act contrary thereto. And if anyone should do so, he shall fall under the wrath of Almighty God and the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul! In the year of the Incarnation of our Savior, 1523, May 31, the first year of our papacy.

From the (papal) castle.

T. Heizius. Seen

W. von Enkenvort.

Registered with me T. Hezio. On the back (or from behind) the seal of the apostolic bull.

Which apostolic letter, since it was presented to us and shown to us, we have been requested by the venerable men and gentlemen, the provost, dean, senior and the entire chapter of our cathedral church in Meissen, that we have this apostolic letter, which was issued and granted for the canonization of the holy bishop Benno, copied and made into this form of a public instrument. Therefore, we have also had it copied by the public notary written below, copy it and bring it into this public credible form of a copy and compare it properly with the main writing; we also want and order that this public copy instrument be followed and believed everywhere, as and as much as the main writing itself could and would be believed, therefore we add our order to the above-mentioned letter here.

For the all faith and manifest testimony (or document) of which we have also made the present letter, and have had it signed by the public notary named below and marked with our seal. Given and done in our episcopal castle of Stolpen. In the year of Christ 1523, Monday, which was Sept. 7, in the presence of the excellent, venerable, and strict and manly

(strenuis validis) Messrs. Paul Dhums, beider Rechte Doctoris, Georg Kothschitz, our Chancellor, Jakob Renichens, Georg von Schönberg, Georg Pflug and Matthäi Weislicz, requested witnesses.

And I John Caesar, a clergyman of the Prague (episcopal) district, and public notary from imperial authority: Because I, in the case of the enclosed apostolic letter, which was issued and executed on the canonization of the holy bishop Benno, handing over, receiving, copying, repeating and reading, diligently filling, and adding the order and decree, and everything else, in that it has been done and executed by the most reverend in Christ Father and Herm, Lord John, bishop of the holy and holy church of Meissen, and has been present in the company of the aforementioned witnesses, and has been thus seen and heard and well noted: I have therefore made this present public instrument and copy thereof, signed it, made it known, and brought it into this public form, which I have been solemnly requested, called, and invited to believe and bear witness to all and every thing above.

750 D. Martin Luther's writing "against the new idol and old devil, who is to be exalted at Meissen. Late April or early May 1524.

This writing appeared in 1524 in several individual editions (the Erlangen edition lists six of them), for the first time under the title: "Widder den neuen Abgott vnd aliten Trüffel der zu Meyssen sol erhaben werden. Martinus Luther Wittenberg. III. D. XXIIII." At the end: "Printed in Wittenberg by Hans Lufft. 1524." In den Gesamtausgabe": in the Wittenberger (1558), vol. VI, p.452; in the Jenaer (1585), vol.II, p.43Id; in the Altenburger, vol. II, p. 780; in the Leipziger, vol. XVIII, p.511; in the Erlanger (1), vol. 24, p.238 and in the second edition, vol. 24, p. 250. The presumed time results from Luther's letter to Spalatin, De Wette, vol. II, p. 507, which, however, is not to be placed in May, as De Wette has done, but with Burkhardt, p. 70, on April 4 or 5. In this letter, Luther indicates his intention to produce our writing.

Against the new idol.

I hereby state that I do not want the dead Bishop Benno to be condemned or damned. He has his judge, like all other dead people, over whom no human being has the right to judge, unless God Himself reveals such, firstly through the

Word, then by signs. I only want to write against the living Satan, who now at this time, when by God's grace the gospel has risen again and shines brightly, does not know how to take revenge, because he mocks God and disgraces His word by playing such a jugglery that he wants to be raised and worshipped with silver and gold equipment and delicious splendor under the name of Benno (which would probably rather remain lying); and God, through His wrath, also demands that the hardened and blinded tyrants and persecutors, as the pope with his mob, who do not want to hear the gospel for salvation nor suffer, must believe the lies and powerful error, and the work of the devil, to great damnation, as St. Paul says [2 Thess. Paul says [2 Thess. 2, 10-12]. And I do this all the more gladly and gladly, for I know for certain and am certain that if Benno is truly holy, it does not do him any favors to be exalted; just as no saint has ever been fond of being exalted by the pope, even though there are few of them, for they are usually vain papal saints, not Christian saints. The reason for this is that people's confidence in God's grace and Christ is turned away by the elevation of the saints, and falls on the merits and intercession of the saints. And so much good is done to their churches that the good works of love toward the neighbor are not done at all; so that instead of God the saints come, and instead of the neighbor wood and stones, of which only lazy gluttons and idle fattened sows are fed in the churches, monasteries and convents. Now nothing is dearer to the true saints than that faith should remain fine and pure, and love fervent and constant among men.

(2) Therefore God also willed in time past to bury Moses in such a way that no man should know his grave, lest he also be honored and called there; yea, he did not set up any worship or honor in any place, or with any name or manner, which he himself had not commanded. Ezekiel also broke the bronze serpent (which God Himself had named) when he saw that the Jews were setting up worship there. [2 Kings 18:4] Even though the false prophets had not

The people of the city, who were always shouting that they were doing it in honor of the right God, as our pope is doing with his own over this Benno.

How much less is it to suffer that in the New Testament, in the bright light of the gospel, one should worship of one's own choice and devotion, without the one he himself commanded in faith and love, with the sacrifice of himself, as St. Paul teaches Romans 12:1.

(4) At first, that we start at the highest, it has been well arranged that this Satan of Meissen would be exalted by the Pope Adrianum, his special servant in life. For although I hear from the same Adrian that he has lived a seemingly famous life, he has nevertheless (as such hypocrites are wont to do) been the worst enemy of God and of His word, and thus let the two murders be committed in Brussels, and made Christ two martyrs, and, without his knowledge and will, elevated them to the status of saints. And even if they had been heretics (as they are not), nevertheless a murderer has been committed on them, since true Christians, especially in the spiritual office, do not murder anyone, but only avoid the wicked and evade them, as Paul [Titus 3:10] and Christ [Matthew 10:17, 7:15] teach. And although I should not, nor can I, judge how he died, yet my judgment is right, that if he is different in such a sense, and has not recanted or atoned for such murders, and has been held to our gospel, then he is certainly a child of condemnation.

5 Here it is almost and entirely papal, as at Costnitz in the Concilio: there John Hus and Jerome of Prague were condemned and burned, the true holy children of God and martyrs; but Thomas Aquinas, the source and basic soup of all heresy, error and extinction of the Gospel (as his books prove), was exalted. So now Master Adrian must also do. He burned Johannem and Heinricum, the true saints, in Brussels. Now he raises Benno against them, even the devil himself. It is the special office of the popes, they must do: kill right saints, bring up false saints; condemn God's word, confirm their own doctrine, and then say it be done.

In honor of God and His dear saints, as Christ says John 16:2: "The time is coming when he who kills you will think he is doing God a service."

6. On the other hand, the fame would have been worthy of silence, and not only Master Adrian and the pope, but also all those who so nearly rush and hurry with Benno's elevation, should be ashamed in their hearts if there were a spark of Christian understanding in them. That they therefore both write in books and tell in the bull and publicly display before all the world the noble virtue and example of Benno, how he has defeated the Emperor Henry the Fourth to the Pope Gregory septimo, and banished the Margrave of Meissen together with the Emperor, and then escaped to the Pope, (I wanted to say) went on pilgrimage. That is a chivalrous deed! He should not only be called a holy bishop, but also a holy knight, and be exalted with vain golden picks and shovels, so that it would be disgusting and disgusting.

I will be silent about the histories, which powerfully show how the same Pope Gregory septimus acted against the Emperor Henry the Fourth as a traitor and evil-doer, even after reason to speak, and incited the son against the father, and deposed him from the empire, let him die so miserably in the ban, and all this only for the sake of temporal good, splendor and violence. Benno took a stand with such a pope, as the Bulla boasts of him here, and strengthened the pope in his evil ways. And there was not so much spirit in the holy man that he could have recognized how the pope was doing wrong to incite the child against the father, whom God had commanded to show honor and service; but he is so blind as a bat that he leads and stands with the pope, helps him, banishes both emperor and margrave, if he should have staked his life on it, to make a plea to the pope and to resist.

8th I will (I say) keep silent about this, and equate it that the emperor Henry was wrong, and the pope right (which the histories deny) to speak according to reason; so it is undeniable that the same emperor Henry did not touch the faith nor God's word, but as it is said, it was for the sake of the faith.

Money and goods to do violence and honor, as the pagans quarrel. Here (I say) the pope acted against the gospel, because he should not have resisted the evil and let go of what did not want to remain, as Matth. 5, 39. clearly teaches Christ. Yes, even if the emperor had acted against God's word, the pope should also have suffered it and left it alive, like a pious governor of Christ, his Lord. But now he not only resisted the evil and avenged himself, but also did so much evil to his adversary, shed so much blood, caused so much dissension that it is horrible to read, and did not let up until he brought the emperor to ruin the empire, the country and the people, life and limb, honor and friends, and the soul, as much as he cared for it.

9 And Benno, the holy man, who also proved the gospel with miraculous works, holds himself to this. This is the noblest virtue, which is why he is to be scraped out of the earth with golden shovels; perhaps we should also learn from his example how to keep the gospel. Yes, I am sure that this is the miraculous sign and virtue of Benno, which is most highly and diligently moved by the Roman See, and most agreeable. Otherwise, he might have had to lie in the ground for a long time. For he who can perform such miraculous signs, that he praises and helps to handle the wealth, splendor, power and honor of the Roman See, does more than if he raised ten dead, even if all the world should perish in body and soul, goods and honor. Well, you fine Pabst hypocrite Benno, how well you have earned your elevation, that you have made yourself a party to, and burdened yourself with, so much horrible and frightening malice of the pope, against the gospel and reason!

(10) But I truly fear that this virtue of Benno was invented and lied about by the Meissners, in order to pretend to the pope and to persuade him to raise him up, since they knew that such ear-crickets almost tickle the pope and like to hear him sing such a little song; that is why they put it first of all above all miraculous signs, so that the pope would be fooled and caught by it, and the other lame, loose, powerless ones would follow him.

alas! all too Meissen miraculous signs liked the more. And if this is so, that they deal with lies and hypocrisy, who wants or can doubt that this elevation of Benno is vain devil's specter? and that not Benno, but the devil lets himself be elevated, under Beuu's name?

(11) But if it be true, and not a lie, I say, If Benno died in such a conscience, and did not atone for such iniquity, he is surely gone to the devil, for the gospel must be truly kept. Christ says, "Whoever cancels one of the least commandments will be the least in the kingdom of heaven. What then do those at Meissen raise up? A multiple murderer and bloodsucker, and the cause of all misfortune in German lands, and an enemy of the Gospel, a companion of the Antichrist, to whom he has turned and made himself a partaker of his wickedness. This will inevitably follow from this high fame of the highest virtue of Benno in this bulla of Master Adrian. What then is said: We exalt such a saint, who lived against the gospel, because so much: We are mad and senseless, foolish and foolish in Meissen, that we do not know what is gospel or against the gospel, and call holy that which we ourselves praise and extol, as it has acted against the gospel? So let our angry nobles, who persecute God's word, bump and run against each other.

(12) Of the same kind is the noble, tender miraculous sign that the wise Bulla also praises for sins and for disgraces, not only of Bennoni, but also of all who exalt him, since she says how Benno killed for time the Margrave of Meissen, who struck him on the cheek, more than a year later that same day, as he had previously threatened him. Here Benno interpreted and lived the gospel rightly, since Christ says Matth. 5, 44: "Do good to those who harm you, and pray for those who defile and persecute you." But here you see in the bulla that Christ confirms the contradiction with miracles, and teaches with words to suffer this, but with miracles he compels to do otherwise. O Bulla! O holy uplifters! When will you be ashamed of yourselves? And the bulla lets

It is not yet enough for her that she casts such blasphemous iniquity for a miraculous deed, but lead to it, and make Benno a god, and says: *Hinc facile concipi potest, divinam virtutem divino homini esse communicatam*. Fie, that God may forbid you and punish you, you shameful blasphemers! With this they want to indicate that the saints also do evil for themselves, and not God alone, as Psalm 72, 18: *Qui facit mirabilia solus*.

(13) Now, once again, I fear that this is a good, cowardly, strong lie, invented on good Benno, to "soften" the pope. The Holy Roman See also prefers to hear that princes and lords are afflicted when they touch spiritual goods, rather than that all the world would become holy; therefore they have also put this into many legends, examples and books, so that they have good days and goods enough, and may not keep the gospel. But if it is true, I say again that Benno is as holy as Annas and Caiphas, he has atoned for it. But those who boast of such iniquity truly stand with great shame above Benno. For if they do not lie in the bulla with their fame, then Benno is the devil's saint; but if they lie, then the devil rides them with their exaltation. For where it is proven that someone has lived against God's word, he cannot be holy or justly exalted, even if he raised all the dead and performed all miracles.

The gospel is more powerful to condemn than all miracles are to exalt, because the gospel is false and does not lie; but miracles are very deceptive, as Paul proclaimed [2 Thess. 2, 9], that the end-Christian should use false miraculous signs, so that he may also deceive the elect [Matth. 24, 24]. As also Deut. 13, 5. Moses writes of signs, that one should badly believe no sign, where it wants to go against God's word. For the signs should serve and follow the word, and not the signs lead the word. Therefore Benno doctrine must be proven, or his signs are not valid. Marci 16, 20: *Sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis; non ait, praecedentibus vel sine sermone apparentibus*.

15. item, likewise is that Benno after his death once margrave Wilhelm has also

The saint was tormented for the sake of temporal goods, and finally, through the prayer of the provost (as the monasteries commonly have many holy people), one of his eyes was knocked out. The dear lords are all concerned with good and splendor; even the dead saints must protect them. This example is as certainly of the devil as God lives, for he is in the habit of dealing with the appearance of the dead to fool and frighten the people. The prophets, patriarchs and kings in the Old Testament also struck and wondered, but it is always written that it was done for the sake of the word of God and the people of God. But to my lords of Meissen and the Roman blind see, all this must be called miraculous sign, which only temporarily confirms good and honor.

16 Although I consider this to be a fictitious lie, like almost all the other miracles in the entire bull, I think that the pope and those at Meissen want to torture dear Benno in death with such lies and errors, so that they not only have a confessor in him, but also a martyr. For if he has been a pious man, they will certainly torture him with these lies more than any martyr has ever been tortured. How can they dishonor him more shamefully than by praising him for having lived against the gospel and by giving him the appearance that Teusel himself does? O you dear lords of Meissen, how well you might have stayed at home with your Benno in such miracles! And I want to warn you to beware, and do not make too much of a joke with blasphemy; for you see here that your boasting about Benno is either a lie, or Benno must be damned. If you will now continue with your head down, and thus publicly and knowingly strengthen and maintain your lies or Benno's iniquity, then I am innocent of your blood, and of all who consent with you. It would have been enough so far; it is time to stop.

(17) The other signs are so loose that [it is] to be pited, and that there is no wonder, whether the blind are easily deceived, and they that love to lie and to hear lies are deceived. Who

should not laugh that the bell, consecrated by Benno, drives away the weather? Or, if the devil can be banished into a jar, should he not also make a weather and drive it away, to deceive the people by God's decree? If it is God's miracle at all, which is strange, it will never have to be a false miracle. So that Benno crossed the Elbe, and was seen here and there at the same time; who knows whether it was Benno or a devil; how often has the devil done this? Item, how angry should it be with the devil that he, the prince of the world, should offend or charm a man who is in unbelief, and then let himself be led to the saint and stop there? This is what the saint is supposed to have done!

Oh Lord God, how we are so careless, how we go in like the blind, how he has deceived St. Gregory so palpably in his Dialogo! Every day I hear such alienation, which the devil has driven back and forth, and still drives, that I would like to make ten Bennos out of it. Item, who wants to prove that Benno made the holy well, or that the common legend is like that, which one finds a lot, since nobody knows where it comes from. In Rome there is a lot of this kind of thing. Summa Summarum, if one wanted to paint and write a true life of a holy bishop, then one would have to show the word and doctrine that he had led; item, his faith and love, and the cross for the sake of doctrine; these are the right pieces. But now this bulla says: Benno preached; but what he preached and believed, it does not say. Thus, there is also no indication of love and the cross, but says of the ceremonies, and how he was angry, fled and plagued for the sake of the church. In addition, there are several ghosts of uncertain and false miracles, which would rather need to be proven that they were right and true, because Benno was holy.

19 For I would easily let myself be persuaded that Benno had been a pious man, but had been seduced by the pope in many ways, yet finally redeemed by God's causeless grace, like St. Bernard and many others.

1) "Confessor" here stands in the meaning confessor, confessor.

of the elect. But that he should have used such fantastic signs and done them, as the bulla reports, no one will ever prove. But if they were proven, they would make Benno a child of hell in his life, because his life goes too strictly against the gospel.

20 Therefore, my advice is that everyone be satisfied with this exaltation and let good Benno sleep in God's judgment, who alone knows how things stand with him. These signs prove nothing; his doctrine, faith, love and cross seem to be nowhere: what would one want to do with him? There is no need for him to be exalted. For we may well be Christians and become blessed, even if Benno and no saint would ever be exalted, unless the money must be sought here.

(21) And if all the above does not move you, let the bulla itself move you, in which the pope himself confesses that he has asked God with his own that he not let them err in this matter. See and grasp for yourself how here the pope lies and acts against himself. If he asks that God will not let him err, that he will cry out Benno holy, how can he be sure? How will he prove that he is heard? Which angel came and told him that he should be certain? For such a thing must be necessary, since he here sets forth a new article of faith, that the pope has as much power as I have to rule the heavens and the sun. Again, when he approaches and says that the miracles make him certain that he is holy, why does he ask God for what he already has? Doesn't this mean that God is tempted and mocked, asking for something that you already have and confess?

22 But the devil disgraces himself in this way, because lies do not last, they must always speak against themselves. Just as here the pope wants to act in the most spiritual and prudent way, he approaches and asks for security, confessing that he is uncertain, and yet he has previously decided that it is certain, and he complies with this, regardless of the fact that he recognizes himself as uncertain in prayer. So now he certainly leans, either in prayer or in rising; yes, he leans with both cheeks. He only asks

for the sake of appearances, and thus mocks God. Although the prayer is true that he is uncertain, yet again he denies that he is certain through miracles. Since there are lies, deceit, lies and falsehood here, beware of the new idol under Benno's name. And if you do not want to keep him holy, then be sorry that they play such monkey games with the dead, and by them they make poor people miserable. What can Benno do that his bones are so used as an idol to deprive people of money and souls?

(23) Therefore let us not speak of them here, but speak of the right exaltation of the saints, which is certain and profitable for our souls. It should be noted that the Scriptures speak little or not at all of the saints in heaven, but only of those who are on earth, as Paul says Rom. 12:13: "Take ye the need of the saints"; and 1 Tim. 5:10: "Where she washed the saints' feet." In short, Paul in all the epistles calls "saints" to whom he writes; that holy be every Christian on earth. But the papists have no saints, without those in heaven, and whom they still put in daily. Therefore they do not understand the Scriptures and despise all God's saints. If we want to live up to the Scriptures, we must turn away from the dead saints in heaven and return to the saints on earth, exalting and honoring them; this pleases God and He has commanded it.

(24) For of the dead saints he has commanded us nothing; therefore nothing that we apply to them pleases him, but men have invented such idolatry, because that money carries, as all others before me have sufficiently done. For I have hitherto written nothing special against the honor of the saints, and in some little books I have proved that I do not almost deny it, though I must be called as if I had done it. But let it be done, through whom it has pleased God, so love me, I will gladly bear the shame with help, because I do not want to take away the work of others, and I confess that God also works something through others, that I am not the only one who is doing the gospel.

(25) So we see that the bodily exaltation of the saints requires much, and costs much effort; but the right spiritual exaltation and honor of the saints is easy, and is brief, namely, as Paul says Rom. 12:13: "Take care of the saints' needs"; and again [Phil. 2:3]: "Prefer one to another with reverence"; item: "Each one esteeming the other higher than himself". That is rightly called exalting the saints, in GOD and for GOD's sake. For because they are God's temple, each one should humble himself before the other, and honor his God in such a temple, yield to him, have patience with him, love and improve where he can. Behold, this costs no silver shovel, nor hoe of gold.

26 O that all those who exalt and honor Benno and other saints would listen here and let them say! Who would believe it to be true? And yet it is true that all the splendor, all the food and effort, all the honor and service, and what is now being applied to it at Meissen, is not as good nor as pleasing to God as if you gave a poor Christian a meal or clothes. Yes, that displeases God and serves the devil; this pleases God and displeases the devil; for this God has commanded, of that he knows not. How many thousand guilders do you think that Benno has cost, and will still cost? which are all at once lost before God, and in addition deserve greater wrath, so that one could have served so many right saints.

27 Do you not think that if on the same day a pious man in the country took pity on a sick and poor Christian, God would turn there with all the angels and turn his back to Meissen, where Benno is martyred and tormented (should say exalted)? When shall we once become wise? how long shall we be told such things? Ask [reason] whether it is better to give to the poor saints than to raise the dead saints who need nothing from him? Is it better and more necessary, why do people give nothing here and so much there?

28. But God's judgments are right: if we will not give ten guilders to the right saints, which pleases God, then the devil shall possess us and drive us with a raging spirit.

That we may hurl gold shovels and picks, and one thousand florins after another at the dead legs, and earn all misfortune and disgrace. But we do not want to hear it nor believe it; well, we will hear it at last and have to learn it, if it has lasted too long. Shame we seek, shame we shall find, and is already there.

(29) Furthermore, I say that even if all the signs and wonders of Benno were righteous and had been performed by God Himself through him; on the other hand, even if they had been performed for the sake of the Gospel, as Marc. 16, 20. promises Christ (which can never be proven): nevertheless, one should refrain from the insolent, sacrilegious, foolish presumption of exalting the saints. For all such signs, though they prove that a man is holy in life, yet they cannot make us certain whether he has passed and remained holy in death, because God's judgments are secret, strange and terrifying, and He Himself says Matt. 7:22, 23: "Many will say to me, 'Lord, have we not cast out devils in your name, and done many miracles? But I will say unto them, Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity.'" These are indeed greater and more sure signs than Benno has done, which Christ himself confesses; nor does he condemn them.

(30) Deuteronomy 5:13, 1-3 also says that God would send signs through a false prophet to tempt His people. Therefore, it is nothing if even after death a saint performs signs at his grave; who knows if God will tempt us with them? and in the meantime condemn the same saint in death, as well as the false prophet while alive? Especially is this journey great, where the signs reach that thereby the life of the same saint is praised, and not the faith and word of God is confirmed with it. How then are all the signs of this Benno, by which confirmation of God's word is not sought, but of his ceremonies, his intercession, the church of Meissen's glory, and the Roman church's splendor and power. Was it not a great miracle that Balaam 4 Mos. 24,1-5. had to speak God's word without his will and bless the children of Israel? Was it not

How wonderful that Saul prophesied among the prophets? [Should they therefore be holy, that the Holy Spirit spoke and did these things through them?

Therefore we Christians should never judge a man holy before the last judgment, as St. Paul teaches 1 Cor. 4, 5: "Judge not before the time, until the Lord come, which shall light up the darkness" 2c. Especially because we know that Christ [Matth. 24, 24.] and Paul [2 Thess. 2, 9. 10.] proclaimed that in these last times so many great and false signs shall take place that even the elect may be deceived. We may well do this, that we consider them holy in good opinion, as every Christian should consider the others, but we should not rely on them and want to be certain, as an article of faith (as the pope rages with his Benno and others): only to those whom God Himself has exalted, proclaimed and judged holy in the Scriptures, as the patriarchs, prophets, apostles and disciples 2c.

I believe kindly. St. Elisabeth at Margburg be holy; item. St. Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Bernard, Franciscus; but I will not die on them, nor rely on them. My faith shall be sure, and have certain ground in the Scriptures. But the pope, indeed all the angels, have no power to establish a new article of faith that is not expressed in Scripture.

Let this be said against the devilish work. Now I must also do something about this against the devilish words, so that such work may be exemplified and persuaded to the people. For I am well aware of the sermons that will be preached in Meissen, and how they will smear the mouths of the people, so that they will hold the god in high esteem, and open the bag wide for dear St. Benno, that is, for the good and honor of their belly. Therefore, I, of faithful Christian opinion and duty, hereby warn all who will hear such sermons to look at the reason and not at the appearance; for I can well see what foul reasons they will lay from the Scriptures for their jugglery; as the Bishop of Meissen has already suggested in his note one, namely:

34 *Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus* means: "Praise God in his saints" [Ps. 150, 1]. They will then extend this praise further, and say: this is also praising God in his saints, when one lifts them up and calls upon them. When you hear such preaching, think and be sure that you hear the arch liar, the devil, himself speaking, the father of all lies [John 8:44], who perverts the Scriptures and the Word of God. Take it as proof that this saying was spoken and kept in the Old Testament, since no saint was exalted or called upon, nor was it commanded to call upon anything but God alone, as he himself says in Ps. 50:15: "Call upon me in time of need, and I will help thee, and thou shalt honor me." Therefore he also boasts that he is a helper of all men, 1 Tim. 4, 10. Yes, the 36th Psalm, v. 7, says: he helps both men and animals. Therefore, there is no help to be sought from anyone except from him alone.

(35) About this, this saying does not speak of holy persons, but of holy places. For it reads from the Hebrew: "Praise the Lord in his sanctuary", in *sancto*, vel *sanctuario suo*, as also the 20th Psalm, v. 3, says: "He sends you help from the sanctuary", and Psalm 22,4: "But you dwell in the sanctuary", that is, in a holy place, and the like. That with this saying the service of God is stimulated, as it was done in the Old Testament by the Levites and singers in the temple with singing and sounding, 1 Chron. 17,4-6. But now in the New Testament we have no place that God has appointed, but we ourselves are the temple of God, 1 Cor. 3,16. and Christ Joh. 4, 21. 23. abolishes all physical places, when he says: "One will worship neither here nor at Jerusalem, but spiritually and righteously", then this saying at this time must also be understood of the spiritual sanctuary, i.e.: "Praise God in his sanctuary", that is, in the Christian community and among ourselves. Therefore, it does not rhyme with the saints' exaltation and invocation.

(36) And if it be so, that the saints should be lifted up and called, then the bells, cymbals, timbrels, and harps should also be lifted up and worshipped. For it

follows the aforementioned saying in the Psalm: "Praise the Lord in bright cymbals, timpani and strings. Well then, if you praise the Lord in it, call on them also, and raise them up, as the Meissen and Episcopalian note teaches us in the saying: Praise the Lord in his saints. I am silent here, as it is too long to act here, that those who call upon and exalt the saints do not commonly praise God in them, but rather defile and blaspheme Him, because they place their trust in them and hope in them. Which is called abandoning faith, denying God, and making the saints an idol, of which enough has been said elsewhere.

37 After that they have the saying, Job 5:1: Call and return to a saint. So blind and sacrilegious are the papists, where they find the little word "saint", they would like to establish honor and intercession of the saints, just as they confirm purgatory, where they can catch the word "fire" in the Scriptures, and holy water, where "water" is written. You should understand this saying of Job's: that Eliphaz punishes the pious Job that he has sinned, because God punishes him, and says: "Name me one, and look around you for the saints"; as if he should say: God has never punished any saint; you also do not denounce any, turn to whichever one you want; because God plagues you so, you must certainly not be holy, but an evildoer. Now behold how finely they have conducted this saying, that one should call upon saints. Everything is of equal importance to them; what they think, the Scriptures must contain and teach.

The third saying Proverbs 20, 25: Ruina est homini, devorare sanctum et postea quaerere vota. Here they read devotare for devorare, that the saints would stand firm. But Solomon wants to say: Laqueus est homini, exprobrare rem sacram, et postea vota quaerere: It is a snare to man to desecrate the holy word or thing, and then to be pious with sacrifices and good works; as our papists persecute the word of God, and all that is holy, and in the meantime go and hold masses, and do much good; but think not that they change their unholy nature, and cease to devour that which is holy.

39. about that, because they are pushed that they are

have no scripture for themselves, that one should call on saints and let them be mediators, but the scripture alone makes Christ the mediator and intercessor, as Paul teaches Rom. 3, 25. ff. 5, 1. 2. and 1 Tim. 2, 5. and many more, they go on and seek new excuses, and turn the Scriptures away from themselves, saying: "Let the mediator be twofold, satisfactorius et intercessorius, that is, one who does enough for us, that alone is Christ; let the other saints be intercessorii, intercessors. If one asks where this is written, they point us to their holy church (which they themselves are), which the Holy Spirit does not let err; the same says this, therefore it is right. But if they are so foolish in their schools, it would be called *petitionem principii*. For they should prove that the saints are mediators, which the Scriptures do not teach. So they go on as if it were already proved, and invent two kinds of mediators out of their own heads. Now when thou hearest these things, know the wolf by the voice: for the Holy Ghost teacheth nothing but the scriptures, as Christ saith, He shall teach you all things, and bring to remembrance those things which I have said unto you [John 14:26].

40 Thus we shall find that this fool's play at Meissen with Benno will be nothing but lies and deceptions of the devil, both in works and words. Therefore beware, and think thus: Even if it were all right and true, but since it is an unnecessary thing, which you can well do without, keep your money for your children and poor people, since it is necessary and well spent; much more because it is not only unnecessary, but also false, lying and devilish. And look at themselves: if it were their earnestness and heart to honor God and his saints, they would find a thousand and a thousand ways to help their neighbor, each of which would be a thousand times better than all the splendor of such exaltation at Benno. But if they leave that and go here, you will realize that they are blind and mad, and they seek your money and their benefit and glory in St. Benno. But I hope they will come too late and set the net before the eyes of the birds in vain, as Solomon says, Proverbs 1:17.

(41) But if you want to honor and praise the saints, follow the example of the Scriptures,

in which we see how in prayer, or thanksgiving, or lamentation before God, one introduces the grace and goods given to the saints by God. As when Moses prays Ex. 32, 13. and says: "Remember Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to whom you swore" 2c., and Solomon Ps. 132, 1.: "Remember, Lord, David and all his miseries"; and Christ at the cross, Ps. 22, 5. 7.: "Our fathers hoped in you and were saved; but I am a worm" 2c., and Ps. 44, 1. 2.: "God, we have heard, our fathers have told us, the work that you have done for them" 2c., and the like. Here you see that no saint is invoked; but God is praised in them that he has promised them such good and has done it to awaken us, also to seek such grace from him alone with all confidence. Sufficient for us is the one faithful Mediator Jesus Christ, the Holy One of all saints, to whom alone be praise and glory with the Father and Holy Spirit forever and ever, amen.

751 A letter from Battus Parmensis to Hieronymus Saulius, in which Hadrian is accused not only of atrocious avarice, but also of shameful and sodomitic fornication. Rome, 13 Jan. 1524.

From Wolf's Isetion. memorad., tora. II, p. 199. - In Walch this document is dated January 13, 1523, but this must be wrong in any case, because Hadrian died only on September 24, 1523, and here he is spoken of as one who died. Therefore we have shredded 1524.

Translated into German by Joh. Frick.

C. Battus Parmensis wishes Hieronymo Saulio Heil.

Your silence may be due to carelessness, or to much business, or to other causes, but it will not deter me from writing to you more often, although in truth I almost do not know what to write, since I have not even been able to get a few lines out of so many letters sent to you. I can write neither funny nor serious things, and know nothing at all, except that you wish to know, as I believe, what name Pope Hadrianus left to posterity. For of his death, I think, yours will already have given you news.

2 His fame, which he left behind, is not good, and everyone was not less surprised about its presentation than they were happy about his death. For for many years he knew how to conceal his lifestyle and his vices in such a way that, as a supposedly righteous and holy man, he was unanimously appointed pope, and, as you know, absent.

3 He came to Rome when I went to Sabina because of fear of the plague; whereupon the plague immediately became more violent and began to spread from day to day. I think that this was a foreshadowing of such an evil and harmful pestilence, which came here from Spain to our destruction. Finally, since winter was at the door, this rage subsided; therefore I went back to Rome, where everything was quiet, both because of the small number of people, since only a few dared to return to the city and the plague had destroyed many, and because of the severity and seriousness of the new pope, which was the only thing to be praised in this man besides his erudition.

4 He issued an edict that no one should carry a gun; he wanted the authorities to observe the law in the strictest possible way and not to allow any remissions to take place. This brought him no small praise from the inexperienced mob; later, however, it became clear that this was not a true test of his justice, but only a cover for his insatiable avarice.

If someone was summoned for a minor crime, he could not get away without a large fine, and in this case neither the favor and love of honest and noble men nor his previously innocent life helped him in the least. If those who had committed a great crime had no money to buy themselves out of debt and fill his head, he either let them be punished alive without any mercy or sent them to the galleys for their eternal punishment; but those who brought fat bags with them were punished as minor, and they themselves got away without any harm.

(6) The authorities, who had the right to speak, were summoned daily at night time, and the money they extorted from each defendant was collected by means of a sharp investigation. He collected the gold pieces himself on the spot; he also inquired from them the number and crimes of those who that same day had either been summoned to court or had been arrested.

7 He had so few and so few servants that the daily expenses amounted to barely twelve ducats (or gold florins). And what does it take? The Vatican no longer seemed to be the papal palace and, as it were, the eye of the city (Rome), as it once was, but, because of its solitude, a house that, as the poets write, was left empty for fear of the poltergeists. It never happened that he asked cardinals or other noble lords or royal envoys, who were staying in Rome and who often came to him according to custom, to dine with him; therefore, for the sake of this strange performance, he was not invited by anyone. Neither the Swiss nor the cavalry guards, who, as you well know, always accompany him when he goes out and keep watch day and night at the entrance to his palace, received their pay, but always had to suffer from hunger.

8 But he dealt even more unjustly with the inner guard, who stood before his bedchamber during the day. For not only did he not give them any pay, or otherwise prove generous to them, but what the cardinals or other courtiers had to distribute annually at certain times, he took from them and used it for his own benefit.

9. The cities, so under papal rule, he has, if they sent envoys to him, the congratulations to pay, and, as it happens, as often as a new pope is elected, that they assured him of the loyalty and reverence of their citizens. They did not, like other popes, let him enjoy some privileges in order to make his memory, if not immortal, at least glorious among the nations; Rather, he imposed on some and others even more duties or taxes to bear.

(10) The money that some peoples in Gaul, on this side of the Alpine mountains, paid to the soldiers hired for pay from theirs, in the name of the Pope and on the admonition of the fathers, because he was then moving away from Italy and his fortresses had to be protected from the invasion of the enemy, he did not have written down under the items to be paid. Three thousand five hundred Spanish soldiers accompanied him by ship to Italy. So that he would not be obliged to give them pay out of shame and shyness, or at least to give them gifts, he gave them freedom to go out robbing in Parma and Piacenza, as in a hostile country, and to attack towns and villages.

and to plunder, but to demand contribution from others. 1)

(11) These are samples enough of his unspeakable avarice, which seems to have been connected with a rather barbaric injustice. For among all those who have ever dealt with him and submitted to his obedience, he, despite his amazing riches, has never done anyone a favor or given anyone a gift, except one and the other, and that without an archangel; from which it can be concluded that he must have been either godless himself, or a foolish and deluded man.

(12) If, by the way, there is a reason for what was said after his death, he was indeed a godless and lewd man. For he went to the Vatican early in the morning every day, and so that no one would come there, he locked all the doors; some of his privates accompanied him, and when he performed his service there, he went all alone into the inner part of the church. No one could know what he did there during his stay, until it was learned later that he had an exquisitely beautiful woman there, and one had the idea that he had gone to this place so often for the sake of her love and had kept company with her. Which, that it was so, can, apart from the cute shape of this woman's room, the several times held meeting with her, and other speculations, the illness, from which he died, give a proof of it.

13. before he passed away, he was often ill with hamstring and tummy ache, which are common diseases of those who do not keep a moderate pace in carnal intercourse with females.

14 Moreover, he was accused of boy rape, because he had among his servants some young and tender, and at the same time extraordinarily beautiful people.

It is said that after his death a great number of magic instruments were found in his bedchamber. His most secret servants, in order to cover up such a big knavery, freely confess that he had taken great pleasure in the art of transforming metals and had often practiced it. But I am not one of those who accept everything immediately, especially what one wants to pretend about the dead.

16. that he smiled at those who came to him.

The fact that he received the orders of the government with facial expressions and caressing words and did not let anyone leave him saddened was a sign of his cunning and devious head; in fact, however, he did not prove to be as eager as he had indicated in his words and facial expressions. Moreover, he did not let anyone come before him so easily: he postponed from one time to the next the things he had once taken on; he accomplished few completely, except those concerning the coinage.

Much of what he began soon after assuming the papal dignity, he left unfinished in his death. However, apart from all the controversy, one must praise two things about him, namely his erudition and his thriftiness. His piety and holiness, as they say, were only pretended, and this is proven by the reasons and suspicions that I have mentioned above, which vice of pretense is especially common among the Germans, because everyone wants to be considered honest and sincere, and yet, before you know it, there is a mischievousness in his heart.

(18) But so that I do not speak of a dead man, and indeed of a dead pope, more than is appropriate and my intention suffers, this may be enough of Hadrian's performance. But because I think to do you a favor, if I give you a short outline of that pope, whom you will now never see, how he looked and was formed: so I will paint the same picture, as clearly as it is possible, before your eyes.

19 Hadrianus was of tall and straight stature, had an elongated, prominent and beautiful face, except that the depressed forehead hung too far against the vertebra. The eyes were small; yet not quite blue, as in most Germans, but fiery and lively, and so covered with the eyebrows that one could not easily perceive the roguishness hidden beneath. His nose was not unlike an eagle's beak, thick alone and not very crooked. The cheeks were somewhat long and outstanding, and because they looked red, they gave the whole face a special adornment. He himself walked erect, spoke with immense pleasantness, that you would no doubt have said of him that he was born to rule or reign, although his friends and relatives had this verse, cut off from the rest of the eulogies, placed on his grave:

Hic nihil in vita infelicius duxit, quam quod imperaret....

That is, in his life he considered this to be his greatest misfortune, that he should sit at the regiment. These words may have been written either on his orders or with the will of his relatives, but I have never seen anything more careless and foolish. Of this, too, it may be enough, and my letter shall close with the story of Hadriano. Be well, and see that you get here as soon as possible. Rome, January 13, 1524, under the Emperor Carl the Fifth.

752 Speech by Conrad Vegerius on the death of Hadrian VI in the presence of the Cardinals in Rome in 1523.

From Kapp's *Nachlese nützlicher Reformation-Urkunden*, Theil I V, p. 546.

Translated into German by Johann Frick.

When we read, venerable fathers, of Demosthenes, the great light of Greece, that, as often as he began to speak in public, a shudder would have come over him: how should I not be frightened, who lacks perspicacity, erudition and eloquence, and who, moreover, was not born and instructed among any nation where the Latin language is spoken and practiced? And this all the more, since he, when he wanted to give a speech in Athens, could not worry much, because he did not have to speak in front of such distinguished men, and only in front of people from one city; my undertaking, however, is far different, since I have to give a speech in front of the Holy Roman Church Cardinals, that is, in the public assembly of the whole world. And even if I admit that I once did something in the art of oratory, which, however, was something little and bad: this has now either completely fallen away, or at least become rusty, due to the omitted exercises in oratory for quite a long time. Even if this is the case, both your high and peculiar spirituality, excellent fathers, and the old and praiseworthy use, as well as my duty, make me brave and courageous. For who should be afraid of the most learned and honest rulers of the church than those who are accustomed to love the students and to encourage them to virtue, especially to speak of things that bring honor to human life? Especially when one does not voluntarily and impudently intrude upon them.

but only endeavors to do justice to the office entrusted to him. And since it is very important to the common people that traditional good customs are not abandoned, it seems that one must keep above them those that concern the memory of the deceased. For what good can one expect from one who shows himself sleepy and ungrateful in rendering the last honorable service? although a completely different cause has driven me to leave here.

For since I have enjoyed the honor for fifteen years of counting myself among the clientele of the incomparable Pope, for whom we are holding the funeral today, and since I have been greatly saddened by his death, I could not avoid giving way to the family's request and accepting the office of funeral orator. So, excellent fathers, I would much rather try to calm down to some extent in my great and sensitive sorrow, if it were possible, than believe that I would be able to give a decent lecture to such a respectable and distinguished gathering. Just as nature, as the general mother, orders all other things well and wisely, so life seems to have commanded the memory of the deceased by a special and majestic law. For if one reflects on the matter, one realizes that almost all other actions and efforts of mankind are aimed only at how we may either pay our last respects to the blessed, or preserve human society and propagate our race. For we establish houses of worship, together with the priests and priestly offices belonging to them, for no other end than that we give to the immortal God what is God's; nor do we beget children for any other purpose than that human society may be preserved through us. And even if someone tries to accomplish these two things in his whole life, the result will be that he considers God to be the Creator of all things, but considers himself to be nothing but a miserable, mortal man.

(3) But as we celebrate the memory of the dead, we learn, among other useful things, this, about which the most astute among the ancients have argued so often and for so long, that it is almost certain and certain that the human race is partaker of the divine nature. For who can be so strange and so incomprehensible that, when he is on one side, he is on the other side?

Do you hear that among the wise men of the world there are those who doubt the immortality of the souls, but on the other hand, here and there, among all nations, they perceive how the deceased are rendered the last service, and how funerals are held in their honor, if they are not convinced in themselves that man has something in common with God? Nor should the pagans themselves be considered so wrong as to show almost divine honor to those after death of whom they nevertheless thought that their souls died with their bodies; rather, it is believable that nature, at the same time as it planted in the human mind the care for the dead, wanted to indicate that something remained after death to which the survivors owed a service of honor.

4 This knot of doubt, which has occupied the pagan worldly wise men for so many years and has miserably blinded them, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, has banished from human minds by His salvific and beatific teachings. The Catholic Mother, the Church, has also accepted the divine teaching and invoked it, that the souls of men are immortal, and has also decreed and commanded that the deceased should be raised up and honored through intercession and other works of love. What a decree, since it is to be understood by all and sundry, how much more is it to be observed by those who have led the highest priesthood with all holiness and honesty. For in this way, the godly actions of the living can help the spirit that may still be wandering on the journey to heaven, and the survivors can be encouraged to live a blameless life.

In this number we rightly include the most holy pope Hadrianus, who was recently snatched from us by death, since he took up and led this highest office on earth with such zeal, gentleness and justice that he well deserves to be included in the register of good popes. But so that you, respected fathers, may see this all the more clearly, I ask for your kind ear when I shall relate his life and deeds in a proper context.

6. Hadrianus was born in Utrecht, a famous city in Lower Germany towards France, in the year of Christ the God-Man 1459, in the month of Martio, of poor and lowly, but God-fearing and honest parents; and after learning the first rudiments of science, he was sent to

He lived in Leuven in the Netherlands, where an academy had been established not long before. There, after having looked around in grammar and other liberal arts, he concentrated on theology, in which he showed such diligence and increased to such an extent that in a short time, after having attained a profession in divinity through the votes of his teachers, he preceded all others of his kind. Soon after, the Collegium Canonicorum, which was established in the holy temple of the Prince of the Apostles, elected him as Dean; but he himself, as soon as he had more time and opportunity for a better and holier way of life, did almost nothing else but wait for his theological office with all diligence, went daily to the churches, sang, prayed and preached.

7) In order that one would not think that he had only mediocre gifts and skills, he could also serve others of his time and at the same time the descendants with his salutary knowledge, so he has left two books among other writings. One contains an explanation of the fourth book *Sententiarum*; the other deals with mixed questions (called *quodlibeticas*). Which works

For the sake of their thoroughness and the clear style of writing, which is far removed from all turgidity that is otherwise very common to scribes, they are held in such high esteem by scholars that they have been in hand here and there for some time. And even if they have already been handed over to the printer by his friends, this still happened without his knowledge, and when he found out about it, he expressed great displeasure about it. Finally, in order to show even more clearly his great love for theological studies, he had a precious and beautiful house built in this very city, which he later gave as a home to some young people who were devoted to godliness.

8 Since he had led this way of life, which was very decent for him as a very Christian man, for many years, and his fame had spread far and wide, Emperor Maximilian, of most glorious memory, who was very concerned about the education and instruction of his grandson, the then young Emperor Carl, thought that he could not entrust the future great prince to a better man than this excellent teacher of his time. For this reason, he sent deputies to him, who had to ask him whether he wanted to accept the new position? which, after he had finally accepted it after repeatedly giving a negative answer, he nevertheless did.

When the prince was born, he made it his foremost concern to teach him and make him accustomed to worship God and divine things with the utmost zeal and humility, and, next to that, to practice justice, love, mercy, and other royal virtues. By means of these and other wholesome rules, in a short time he brought the young prince so far that he was considered capable of the highly respectable succession to the throne to which he was then destined, and from that time on he has given not a few samples and testimonies of the excellent instruction he has had.

9. It happened about once that this prince wanted to have an envoy visit his maternal grandfather, Ferdinand, who at that time ruled far and wide in Spain and was already a very old gentleman; And when he looked around for a man to whom he could entrust the legation, he found no one more suitable than Hadrianus, because he believed that no one would be better able to reveal to the old king the nature of his mind, as the future successor, than the one by whom he had been specially instructed. Accordingly, our Hadrianus began his journey by land, but as soon as he arrived in Paris, he decided not to leave immediately, but to delay a few days until he had seen the famous academy. Therefore, he went to the Sorbonne, as the most distinguished college there, listened diligently to the debaters, and also debated with them himself accurately and confidentially. From there he continued his journey, and as soon as he arrived at Ferdinand's, he was received with peculiar honor and grace, not only because he was sent by his grandson, the older one, whom he had never seen and would soon have as his successor, but rather because the young prince had not sent a single envoy to him before.

After he had been there for several years, the Tortosa church lost its bishop. Because the wisest leaders, who were in power after the death of the king, were looking for a capable prelate for the said church, they wrote to Carl, who was in the Netherlands, and implored him to entrust Hadrian with this sacred office, even though he was not inclined to accept it.

He was appointed general inquisitor of heretical wickedness in these royal lands, both of which he administered with such diligence and fidelity that he was soon thereafter accepted by Pope Leo into the most reverend college of cardinals for this and other excellent services.

A few months later, King Carl had to return to Germany to take over the Roman imperial crown, and therefore had to entrust the administration of the Spanish lands to another honest and wise man. But here, too, he did not consult with himself for long, but without decency entrusted this important office to Hadriano. And although such high and rare responsibilities were heaped upon him (without his thinking and seeking, indeed rather against his will), he nevertheless took care, with his happiness increasing from day to day, not to become arrogant and puffed up, or to set his heart on riches; rather, one saw that the more favorable his fortune was, the more anxious he was to carry himself out humbly and modestly.

(12) In view of these glorious virtues, with which he constantly endeavored to adorn his conduct, it pleased the Most High not to leave this faithful servant without salutary temptations and trials. For immediately after the king's departure, the Spanish nation was in the throes of the bloodiest turmoil, and everything was thrown into utter confusion by murder and manslaughter, by scorching and burning, by robbing and plundering. Since this wise father, as befits a respectable and honest governor, sought to punish the perpetrators and to control the evil, it is indescribable what work, sorrow and worry this cost, and how many times he came into the most obvious danger to his life, which he, however, with the help of God, in whom alone he placed his trust to promote the common good, did not shy away from and happily overcame, whereby the words that he constantly spoke are very strange: If someone's ways please the Lord, he also makes his enemies pleased with him. This he obtained even in the very heated and dangerous turmoil by his justice and gentleness, so that the restless mob, when they learned that the council had come to a sharp conclusion against him, blamed it on his two colleagues; but if they let the caution prevail, he owed this good to no one but Hadriano.

In the meantime, when the bitterness of the mob had subsided, and most of those who had been most guilty had been regarded with due punishment, the death of Pope Leonis occurred; and after the voices of the holy College of Cardinals could not unite for some time, Hadrianus was finally elected pope and publicly proclaimed. He, as you know, respectable fathers, did not suspect such an outcome, nor did he ever let such a thing come into his mind. The messengers speed up their long journey to Spain without delay and want to deliver the pleasant news. At that time, the Most Holy Father was staying in Vittoria, a town in Cantabria (or Biscay), and when the messenger, upon receiving the letter, wanted to kiss his foot with happy congratulations, he refused until he was convinced by reading through the letter that the news had been delivered without displeasure, and immediately accepted this honor. Nevertheless, he did not change the rest of his way of life until he learned more detailed and certain circumstances about the election. Then, after giving due thanks to the immortal God and the holy college, he began to be executed and venerated as other Roman popes had done. He has kept his name unchanged, contrary to the custom of long ago, indicating that, even if he had now received the pontificate, he would have to act, by virtue of his former modesty and humility, as if he did not have it. Incidentally, since he saw that it was very important to the church that he go to Italy as soon as possible, he thought above all about how he could end the journey soon.

14 He therefore went by ship and sailed to Tarragona, but had to stay there for a few days because he could not leave due to a storm that had arisen at sea, and the sailors asked him to stay. As soon as the wind died down, he set out and arrived in Genoa in a few days. From there, on the shore of the Tuscan Sea, he entered Civitavecchia and immediately moved to Rome, having been previously caught up by your distinguished Collegio with due honor.

15 As soon as the coronation act was over, he turned his thoughts to how he could remedy the decay in Christendom by useful means. But while he was most occupied with this, the pestilence came to Rome very strongly and to general consternation; and although many even in the papal palace were concerned about it, the pestilence was still in progress.

And, most admirable of all, he did not set foot out of his palace as long as this miserable misery lasted, just so that it would not look as if he wanted to turn his back again on the city, which had been plagued with a protracted interregnum and now with an unhealthy air, and leave it in distress.

16 For the above-mentioned final purpose, he sent an apostolic nuncio to Germany to punish the rage of the Lutherans at the Imperial Diet held by princes and estates in Nuremberg; he also sent nuncios to various other countries to advise kings who were at odds or involved in war to make peace. Since they did not achieve anything (according to God's will), he was so distressed by this that the major part of his fatal illness, from which he later gave up his spirit, can be derived from this pain. But when he saw that the kings continued their wars and did not want to enter into a lasting peace, he announced to them a standstill for three years under the threat of severe punishments; but since they did not understand to do so either, and no other means could be found for the decline, he established an alliance with the princes and peoples of Italy, by means of which the city (Rome) and all of Italy should defend themselves against the infidels. At the end he sent to the Holy Roman Church Cardinal Legatum a 1a-

He sent a large sum of money to Hungary, so that he could keep this kingdom, which had to fear a hostile Turkish invasion first, in obedience and loyalty; he also helped other Christians in Dalmatia and Jlyria, who were very afraid of these cruel enemies, with money and provisions, although he himself was very exhausted in the former.

(17) By applying all his work, effort, diligence, care and vigilance to ask for and bring about the assistance of God's hand of power for the unfortunately all too troubled little ship of Peter, behold, he fell into an illness, which, since it increased and decreased with wonderful alternation, in which one could not find oneself, the venerable father finally gave up his spirit after a camp of one and forty days. But before his mental and physical powers began to decline and he became very weak and feeble, you will well remember, respected fathers, how fatherly and loving he was to you in the presence of his last will and other needs of the church.

which, since he was no longer able to do so because of extreme weakness and approaching final moments, it is right and just that the good intention be held in as high esteem as the laudable deed itself.

18. Nor are you, respected fathers, unaware, since he came to Rome and found the Roman see completely exhausted, even hideous and abominable and almost decrepit, both by appalling great debts and by war and pestilence, how reluctantly, how slowly and out of the most urgent need he resorted to those means without which this good and faithful shepherd would either have had to become despondent and fainthearted, or at least inflict an eternal disgrace or damage on the highest papal dignity, which had been so praiseworthy administered for many hundreds of years. And certainly, all impartial people, considering what this man did within a year, must admit that if he had remained alive longer, his other undertakings would have been equally important and most profitable for Christians. By the way, so far one has found footprints of such a hidden wisdom and such an unfathomable counsel of the great God, and in the future they will be noticed even more often, that when we poor, weak people want to start thinking about the matter, he leaves us completely; on the other hand, he does exactly what we like least of all, but in such a way that he nevertheless arranges everything for the honor of his most holy name and the welfare and benefit of mankind.

(19) But how futile, how uncertain, is not our hope, after which we count on everything certain and unmistakable. O how ineffectual and outrageous is the prayer of mortals, in which we ask for long life in vain for our princes! How vain are our prejudices, according to which, in admiration of their virtues and other glorious gifts of body and mind, we think that God will immediately grant us what seems good to us!

20. If the fatal death of the most holy pope, respected fathers, has caused damage; if it has caused misfortune; if it has inflicted a wound on the common people, or even on private persons: we ourselves are the ones who receive it, who must bear it with patience and feel it for eternity, of whose behavior the all-powerful God has just given a clear and distinct statement, and want to show us what we deserve, that he snatched this man, so pleasing to him, from our society so suddenly.

(21) Since this is the case, noble fathers, it is proper that we no longer mourn the death of the most holy pope, but rather heartily grant him the glorious beatitude to which he has been elevated. For after we have shown how from his youth he constantly devoted himself to the fear of God, justice, love and other excellent virtues; since you have also understood how he devoted his first years of life to learning and to public speaking.

What is left but to assume with firm and undoubted confidence that he is now free from the dark and black dungeon of this miserable life, and has ascended to that true and eternal light, and enjoys the certain and infinite reward of heavenly bliss, namely the ineffable and glorious beholding of the majesty of God for all eternity?

Section Five of Chapter Nine.

Of the visitation of the Electoral Lands by the Bishops of Merseburg and Meissen, presumably at Duke George's instigation, in compliance with the resolution published by the Imperial Regiment at Nuremberg on January 20, 1522 (see Document 727 above).

About the visitation of Bishop Adolph at Merseburg, but especially about the dispute between this bishop and the parish priests at Schönbach and Auch.

753 Two letters from Johann Stumpf, pastor of Schönbach, to Adolph, bishop of Merseburg, dated 1522, in which he proves that it is not heresy to serve Holy Communion in two different forms, and also asks for the bishop's protection against his enemies and for safe conduct.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Part II, p. 557.
Translated from the Latin by Johann Frick.

Johann Stumpf to the bishop of Merseburg.

It is said to be heresy that I have given the Lord's Supper to some under both forms at their request. Just as if this were heresy, since nothing is accepted or done contrary to Scripture. Scripture agrees with me in 1 Cor. 11, where it can be seen that this was the custom in the first church. But, they say, it disputes with the assemblies of the church fathers. I answer: For now, in no ancient synod is the use of both forms forbidden. Afterwards, the most recent assembly at Basel did not condemn it as heretical, but rather gave it to the Bohemians.

I am not allowed to do so. Also, I am called out as a heretic for an atrocious crime, since my detractors should consider that the use of the Lord's Supper in both forms has never been considered a crime in any synod. Furthermore, those who accuse me of a great misdeed, that I distribute the body and blood of the Lord in the hand, without a chasuble, in the common language 2c., should know that one should not immediately make someone a heretic, who does something against the concilia, because one should not consider that an article of faith, what is decided by different and contending concilia, without agreement of the Scriptures. For we believe the conciliar only in so far as we believe the Scriptures. I may have acted contrary to the Roman church customs, but I have not sinned against the gospel. Therefore, I do not yet see my errors and crimes. And I have no doubt that those who were not ashamed to accuse me falsely will not be afraid to condemn me, an innocent man, rightly or wrongly.

Johann Stumpf's other letter to the bishop of Merseburg.

Hail! Most reverend Lord, I have already made it known in my previous letter that I do not worry about your venerable fatherhood. For I already know about your godliness.

I am convinced that I am the only one who not only does not harm the innocent, but can also serve as a refuge for the miserable. But I am afraid of those through whose countries I have to travel, who have sufficiently revealed their attitude toward my kind. We are being deceitfully pursued everywhere, and if I exposed myself to danger, I would be acting ungodly. Therefore I ask E. E. V. for a safe conduct, since I will be ready to give an account of my actions without delay. If David has listened to that woman, I ask that H.E.V. also listen to a poor preacher, to whom, as bad as I am, a Christian congregation has been entrusted.

754 Answer given by the pastors of Schönbach and Buch to the castle of Colditz. After 25 Aug. Anno 1523.

From Kapp's "Nachlese", Theil II, p. 562. - Walch has in the heading "Anno 1522", but from the content it follows that this document is to be set later than the "Handlung", No. 756, which took place on August 25, 1523.

Translated into German.

1 If they had stood before the bishop of Merseburg more often than was necessary and answered for themselves. For if he were a true and evangelical bishop, he would visit his sheep as Christ did and taught. For episcopus means an overseer, but not one who only wants to summon his subjects and rule over them.

2. Because the bishop in the previous action, 1) with disregard for all shame and Christian modesty, publicly asserts the proposition that it would be better for a clergyman to have a whore than a wife, since God forbids fornication, but taking a wife is not forbidden by God, but only by men: their conscience would not permit them to deal with such insolent and tyrannical bishops, if they did not first publicly testify that they would refrain from such blasphemies and keep to the word of God, as bishops are entitled to do. For John [2 Ep., v. 10] says: "If anyone does not bring this teaching, do not greet him"; and Gal. 1, 8 Paul curses all such; but in 1 Cor. 5, 9 f. he commands to have no fellowship with such who do not want to obey the word of God.

1) This refers to Document No.756.

They asked the bishop not to force or coerce them to do such bad things for the sake of his own conscience and theirs, unless the bishop refrained from rejecting the holy word of God, from blaspheming it and from hindering its course. For they would not only regard the ban as nothing, but also give their lives for it. And it would do nothing to their conscience for the bishop to refer to the Roman church and its customs. For Peter says: one must obey God more than men. Apost. 5, 29.

But the bishop of Merseburg said:

- 1) It would be better for a clergyman to have a whore than a wife.
- 2) This article of faith: He is risen from the dead 2) cannot be proven from the Gospel.
- 3) Paul's letters would not be the gospel.

755: Citation of the Bishop of Merseburg to Johann Stumpf, pastor of Schönbach. January 20, 1523.

From Kapp's "Nachlese," Part II, p. 566.

Translated from Latin by M. Aug. Tittel.

1. We Adolph, by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See, Bishop of Merseburg, Prince of Anhalt, Count of Ascania and Lord of Bernburg, and the Executor of the Apostolic Letter, (offer) to all and every provost, dean, archidiacon, scholastic, cantor, custodian, canon, also governors of parish churches, and especially in the countryside, in Bothen and Otterwisch, chaplains, who have or do not have care of souls, notaries and public clerks, whoever they may be, who are ordered in our city and district of Merseburg, and each and every one of you together and especially, our constant greeting in the Lord!

2) You should know that, since recently a common and frequent cry has been heard among us and has become known more and more, that unfortunately! one, Johann Stumpf, ordained 3) pastor in Schönbach, our episcopal district, has gotten into the wrong mind, that he, wanting to be wiser

2) This statement is incorrect, it should read: "He descended to hell. If this is emended in this way, then the three points indicated are found in the "plot" No. 756.

3) L886rtm, supposed or alleged, that is, who only falsely calls himself so. (Walch.)

as the holy, orthodox sense of Christian doctrine, and the custom which the holy Roman Church has hitherto held immovable, as well as a prohibition omitted by the most holy in GOD Father and Lord, Mr. Leo, by divine providence Pope of X, We have had the thought of John, by virtue of our pastoral office, summoned before us personally and reproached him with some articles of heretical malice: that with a blinded devilish mind, and with an impudent hard mind, he was not afraid to confess that he had taken a wife in the holy priesthood, according to his pretence, 1) and that he had served supper to people of both sexes in both forms, and also received such most holy sacrament of the body of Christ from the hands of a layman, 2) and did not celebrate (hold) the mass according to Roman usage both in ceremonies and prayers, and did and committed many other things contrary to religious usage. Whether we now, as much as possible, by a small warning and out of a good divine zeal, asked and admonished him to leave all deeds and obstinacy of devilish deceit, to think of something better, and to put away and discard previously reported harmful, pernicious, unjust, devilish and heretical opinions and falsehoods, and behave according to the holy catholic faith and the use and custom of the holy Roman church, as we have then set and granted him one month to return to its unity, which opens the shelter of grace to every returning person: Yet, at the instigation of the devil, I believe, he has completely disregarded our paternal admonition and warning, and up to now he has not in the slightest way been willing to testify to the catholic faith and the use of the Roman church, nor has he yet made the slightest effort to do so, or even asked for it.

Therefore we proceed and proceed against the said John, if necessity requires it, for the denunciation of the punishments of excommunication forfeited by him and as against a heretical and lazy member cut off, likewise for all enlargement and further increase of the excommunication, as well as for appeal to the help of the secular authorities, by means of justice.

4. We admonish and warn all of you and each of the above-mentioned, and each of them in particular, who is required to do so, with the contents of this letter, for the first, second, third and last time, and order you, under penalty of excommunication, to have the said Johann Stumpf, pastor in Schönbach, (or help), whom we also, by virtue of this, have summoned to the extreme (or in the most severe way, *peremptorie*), so that he will be summoned on the Saturday after the feast of the Purification of the Holy Mary, which will be the sixth of the future month of Februarii, 3) appear before us at Merseburg in our bishop's court in his own person, and not through a lawyer (or agent), and present sufficient proof that he has in all respects obeyed our previous and faithful warnings and covenants, and that he has completely and truly renounced the aforementioned errors and heretical opinions, that he has reformed, and that he has returned to the bosom of the holy mother, the church, which he shall first show and declare; Or that he say and bring forward a legitimate reason why the reported things should not happen; or that we otherwise reportedly proceed against the reported pastor in Schönbach, as a heretical, banned, rotten and cut off member of the church, who was declared to be so by virtue of the holy councils and apostolic letters, also imperial decrees, for such declaration, denunciation, enlargement and sharpening, also common banishment, and appeal to secular authority.

(5) The certificate that the same Johann Stumpf, pastor in Schönbach, has been summoned in the above-mentioned way, that he appears within the reported time limit of the last summons or not; we nevertheless further for the second time, at his other delay (or staying out); likewise for the third time, at his third staying out; as well as for the fourth, at the same, and thus for the abundance (scil. slowly enough or manifold times) to such a declaration, excavation and repeated excavation (or increase), common ban (interdict of the congregation), in appeal to the secular authority and other necessary procedures, by virtue of such holy councils and apostolic, also imperial orders, by the demand at the church door of our cathedral in Merseburg, just as publicly posted orders, want to proceed by means of the way of right; that said Joh. Stumpfens, pastor in Schönbach,

1) ut asseruit stands again, as he called them. (Walch.)

2) Namely, perhaps to pass it on to the others afterwards. (Walch.)

3) Saturday after the Purification of the Virgin Mary was the seventh of February in 1523.

his non-appearance or continued absence is in no way obstructive, likewise the day of the citation in our manner and its form, likewise said pastor's name and surname and what you have done in the above matters or what someone among you finds necessary to do, you shall report to me by your open letter or bailiff, with your signature underneath or on the other side.... by your own hand or with the original as soon as possible. Given in our bishop's court Merseburg, Monday, the 26th of January 15(23).

756. act of the bishop of Merseburg with the parish priests of Schönbach and Buch, happened on August 25, 1523.

This writing, which came out in 1523 in quarto in a single edition, is found in des Rabus "Martyrer-Buch", Theil III, p. 52.

Tuesday after Bartholomei early at vij. We, the parish priests of Schönbach and Buch, are summoned to Merßburg for our Lord, the bishop, in his parlors, and in the presence of His Grace Cantzler and a magister, our preacher there, interrogated, in masses, as follows.

Firstly, our Lord at Merßburg has given a long speech, and has repeated the contents of his citation, Geleytsbrieff and Schreybens, given to the priest at Schonbach, also his answer, with an indication of the disobedience, of which his Lord is not unreasonably annoyed, but his Lord will gladly forget and forgive, if we appear in obedience later, and accept both in mercy, before we give up the article, so that we can indicate it. and forgive, if we appear in obedience later, and accept both in mercy, before, if we let ourselves be proven wrong, so that we can be accused and notorious, 1) and improve, because his friend would also be a sinner, needing mercy from God, therefore his friend does not have to be ungracious, if we recognize ourselves. We will tell you in long words, how his God has experienced many things in his day, and a little more, than we young people, have seen many a mighty great and learned man under his eyes, and have also read something about it (without talking about what it was). But such strange things, which we would have assumed for ourselves as parish priests, were unheard and unheeded by his grace, and therefore not leydlisch, so much in his reason weyset, and Bischöffl. Office

1) "notorious" put by us instead of: "corrected" in the old edition.

We are now to state the reason and cause, and ask how it follows.

Bischoff said: Priest of Schönbach, do you have, as they say, a wife?

Parson: Gracious sir, yes!

Bischoff: For what reason?

Pastor: I have found the temptation of lust in me so quickly that it is not possible for me to keep chastity. And although I have asked God for it many times, I have found that God has not given me this, until I have received comfort from Christ, Matt. xix, where he says: "Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, sed quibus datum est," that is, "The word is not for everyone, but for those to whom it is given. And after that: Qui potest capere, capiat &c., that is: "Whoever can grasp it, let him grasp it." Also in Paul: Melius est nubere, quam uri, that is: "It is better to be free than to be in heat. In which, as well as in many other words, I have found that taking a wife is not only commanded, but also permitted.

Bishop: Do you think that the sayings have been unknowable to the Holy Fathers, to the Christian congregation of the Roman Churches, to the holy many teachers? We hold you and your priest Doctor Martinum more and better than those who have considered it good that the priests who handle the highest mystery or secret of the masses should live purely and chastely, as is also figured or meant in the Old Testament at the Ark 2c. 2c. Also, the word capere, which means "to grasp", is not understood in Matthew.

Pastor: G. H., I also knew well the usage of the Roman churches, but I preferred and considered better the word of God, commanded to the people, which we call laqueos, that is "rope", according to Paulo. I will therefore provide myself, E. G. will also do so; but that the little word capere, to grasp, would be understood of it in Matthew, is German enough; if E. F. G. would look at the Bible, it would be so, and if Your Grace wants to hear it, I will read it out of my Bible, for Your Grace sees that the little pencil says: Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, that is: "The word grasps nit iederman", is that the apostles say: Domine, si sic est, non expedit nubere, that is: "Lord, if the matter of a man stands with his wife also, it is not good to marry." And so it seems that the little word capere, seize, niendert [nowhere] belongs elsewhere, then where the apostles say in their question: Non expedit nubere, that is, it is not good to become married.

and to the little word eunuch, that is, the circumcised, I think it is German enough.

Cantzler and Magister: It is Latin, not German.

Pfarrherr: So that's what I mean, it's clear and understandable enough.

Bishop: Dear, beware, these sayings are not said to the priests, but to the leyn. There is also a little word before, *duriciam cordis*, which Christ says: "Moses, for the sake of the goodness of their hearts, has left them something, which I would like to put on you, because you are such a hard, stubborn man."

Pastor: I will prove how much the difference between priests and bishops in the Scriptures has no reason, since we are all priests in Christ, which is also said to priests; then Paul in the epistle to Tito and Timothy says: *Oportet Episcopum unius uxoris virum esse*, that is: "A bishop shall be one wife's man. If Christ and Paul in the foregoing words and sayings do not mean the priests (as you say), then here Paul is against Christ and himself.

Bischoff: O dear priest, *maxime erratis*: Ir jrend euch weyt, wa rechnet ir euwer votum oder Gelübd hin?

Cantzler and the Magister: Jha, jha, you should have considered this before, when you named your ordines or weyhe, and before then you vowed *Celibatum*, *Keyschheit*; you have had your age; why did you not consider it before, before then you juried and swore?

Priest: I confess that I have taken a *vow* and an oath, but I do not confess that I have taken a vow and an oath well and truly; I have taken a vow that I am not able to keep and that I cannot keep without a foundation. Item: Out of ignorance I have been convicted by the bishop, why should I not refrain from an evil law or vow, and not stop sinning (Here I have not been allowed to speak enough, as is the case with many others). I can also remember that my vow was made with the addition: *Quantum humana fragilitas permiserit*, that is: as much human stupidity as may be experienced. E. G. reminds you of what is at stake and what is undoubtedly sinful even here in E. G.'s grace. The priests have done this with so many lewd vows, which are received here in Merßburg, and are allowed to sin publicly, all of which arises from the evil vow of chastity.

Bischoff: Hey dear, haven't you read it too? *Alter alterius onera portate*, that is, one bears another's burden. How should one do to him, it should one

It is more likely that a priest, out of infirmity and weakness, falls into sin with a poor woman, then that he takes a wife, again doing the law and again the use of the churches. The result is twofold, joy and strife, so that the ley says: "The priest is special, and takes a wife, who must all be unjust, he alone is wise and pious. Rather, let your blindness and foolishness go, and let my valid and gracious judgment take place among you.

Priest: No, my lord, I will teach better than has been done so far.

Bischoff: Wolan, it is leyd to me, GOtt helf euch.

The bishop then turned and addressed the other priest of Buch, saying:

Father of Buch, do you confess that you have a wife?

Pfarrherr: G.H., yes, I confess.

Bischoff: What is euwr answer?

Parson: G. H. Although I refer entirely to the answer of the parson of Schönbach and the letter he has submitted, I also say, and put my answer on three grounds.

I. First, that I have not found in myself the gift of *reynigkeyt*.

II. secondly, that the Scriptures are in no place contradicted, nor are there many holy teachers against it.

III. to the iij, that I prevent the remorse, which Christ so often and highly denounces, also Paul, when he says: *Episcopus sit vir irreprehensibilis &c.*, that is: "A bishop should be impracticable" 2c., so that in no other way I would be ignored, because I am unworthy, as a pastor to preach God's word, then that I nemme a weyb 2c. Bishop: Almighty God, how stubborn blind people are! I am surprised what [you] always think of. I suppose that it would be right that you both, on reason alone, and for good cause, so strongly oppose such an appropriate custom of the churches, might have persevered until the common church had allowed and approved it, and had not burst thus.

Pastor: E. G., we were afraid it would be too long, we would like to, but we do not want to wait so long.

Bischoff: Believe it, wolt auch wol eyns genommen haben.

Priest: Why doesn't your grace do it?

1) "you" inserted by us. - "to draw out"-to take out. So it is also written soon after in the chancellor's speech.

[Bishop] Makes a creed for himself. God is for, God is for, I trust you both more than I have felt, but it is all on fruit and considered nothing, well then, I have done that.

Hereupon the bishop again turns to the priest of Schönbach and says:

Pastor of Schönbach, I have more to talk to you about. It has come about that we forbid our priests to fast, that they eat meat and whatever they want.

Pastor: I have not forbidden fasting, but I have preached that fasting, that is, eating and drinking moderation, is not bound to any time, day or hour of eating, to kill the flesh.

Bishop: "You will not overthrow the fasting of one day, which Christ has formed us to follow.

Pastor: There are two works of Christ: first of all, they are based on faith and charity, as he says: *Discite a me, qui mitis sum, et humilis corde*, that is: "learn from me, for I am gentle and humble of heart. And so many of these things are commanded to follow us, and we are to follow them. Secondly, his miraculous work of raising the dead, healing the sick, feeding so many thousands of people with so little bread and fish, xl. 2c., which are a confirmation of the divinity of Christ, and thus have a spiritual mind and doctrine, which we should not follow, nor is it necessary.

Bishop: I will not let the eleventh day fast be anything other than a work of persecution, say what you will.

Parish priest: If Your Grace does not want it any other way, then Your Grace will go out into the deserts and eat a bite in xl. days and nights.

Bishop: *Jr dörrft mich nicht heißen, was ich thun soll, ihr seydt noch zu gäl um den Schnabel, und zu wenig mich zu hessen; auß, auß! was höre ich.*

Bishop: What then do you say to the mass which we celebrate in our own clothes, and not as the holy fathers have ordered? Give the sacrament to the people in both forms. But I do not think much of you, I do not hear any improvement.

Pastor: Sir, I will briefly answer that I take for myself the three evangelists and Paul, as your grace itself well knows.

Bishop: Oh, you do not understand, you are following the Greeks, on whom you may have referred to yourselves, these are wicked, disobedient people who have become

They were wise enough to be ruled by the Romans, and they have lived in their own heads all their lives.

Cantzler: I have also been in Grecia and seen their ways 1) to celebrate, but then not in their ordained ways and uses, also ordained by men 2c., what you see should amaze you even more than me.

Pastor: I am not attracted to the Greeks, I am surprised how you think I am. In that case, I give just as much to the Greeks as to the Romans; I stand on the Word of God, and want to be caught up with key doctrine, then I have the Scriptures. If the words of Christ, in which the mass is written, do not contain any of the things we have been saying before, they shall be arbitrary and free to me.

Bischoff: That is so much said, we are all wise, and all fathers of the churches are fools, know nothing. My dear friend, D. Martin does not yet know everything, would not persuade me to think more of him than of the four holy teachers, I am the least of them, would still like to tell D. Martin many things, since he has not thought about them. Martin in many words, since he has not thought about it.

Pastor: Shall I tell him about E. G.? The Christian, pious father Martinus has offered to teach, even about a child born of E. G.

Bishop: I don't say that I want to argue with him, I don't need to, because he is not in my area, which I thank God for, there is too much for both of you. But I will, if God wills, still bring you to follow me; I say it all because you have proven all things with Bible and Gospel, and so despise these holy fathers and doctors. I would like to know from you how you will prove all articles of faith with the gospel, and thus give nothing at all to the teachers.

Pastor: What article is not in the Gospel?

Bischoff: *Descendit ad infernum*, that is: Descended to the bright ones.

Pastor: Help God, he is in the stories of the apostles and in Paul.

Bischoff: Yes Paul, is that in the Gospel?

Pastor: Of course, in the Gospel, if G. Paullum does not want to let the Gospel be, we have a lot to do with G. Paullum.

Cantzler: *Paulus enim habet alia uerba, quam Euangelium, si alia uerba, non est idem cum Euangelio*, that is, Paulus has other word, then the gospel, because he then has other word, so he is ye nit a thing with the gospel.

1) "weyhe" should probably be "weyse".

Priest: There, there, *nego consequentiam*, that is, the folg schleußt nothing.

Cantzler: Yes, one may say: *Licet non sit idem cum Euangelio explicite, tamen implicite*, that is, Although Paul is not one with the Gospel explicitly, he is nevertheless verborgentlich.

Bishop: Wolan, let it be, we don't want to get into a dispute with him. But I must say one thing, I am surprised that you do not want to let the vestments and the white of the masses be anything, if you cannot deny that one should consider the body of Christ in the reverend sacrament.

Parish priest: Christ wanted to have *memoriam sui*, that is, his memory, with us, he did not leave us his body and blood, he also used clothes and characters, and said: *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem &c.*, that is, diß thut zu meiner Gedächtnüß 2c. When one profits from the word of God, 1) or preaches, as St. Paul says, it freely creates more remembrance of God than mirror-image fencing.

Bishop: You are a fool, I can hear that well, a real fool.

Pfarrherr: Danck euweren G., wills also gerns von E. G. annehmen.

Bishop: It was true, you do it yourselves with your own words, you mirror the most holy office; you are like poor people, you want to emend and improve yourselves, and you are not special, do as pious priests should, according to the conscience of the Christian churches, take nothing new for leyb, let Martinum Martinum remain. I have known Martinum before, then you, one knows well, what life Martinus is, it is well told to us.

Cantzler: Tell me Pfarrherr, what kleydts is he wearing now?

Pfarrherr: Sein schwartze kappen; und was ists dann, was liegt am kleydt?

Cantzler: One knows well otherwise, my G. H. is also well under-guided, as he lies in all quassen, wild and lewd in words and gestures, is still far from being a god.

Parish priest: As I now have to say, that our Christian pious father Martinus is of a Christian pious life, and say, that E. G. reports to Milt 2), but as to all this, so E. G. has shown us better in no point, therefore we know ourselves in no point of the

If, however, the court is not satisfied with our prompt reply, we wish to send it to the court once again in writing, and reply to the court to the best of our ability. G.'s reply to the best of our ability, 3) with the hope that E. G. will be content to leave us undamaged for the time being.

Bishop: I will neither write nor reply, but I will give you four weeks to consider, if you will not improve in that time and recognize me as your Lord, and if you will not keep my submission and gracious promise, I will have to do so, as much as I feel.

Parson: G. H., we ask in all underthänigkeyt, E. G. wölle uns keynen Gewalt thun.

Bischoff: Neyn I, whether God wills.

Pastor: Then the Lord does us violence, if the Lord wants to force us to the habit of the churches against the word of God.

Bishop: I do not want to take anything unjustified, nor shall I be told anything unequal, all that I have felt, and out of obedience I may not fail to do. You have yourselves a vow, go and mend your ways.

Pastor: G. H., we thank your grace in and thänigkeyt, the gracious verhorens and unterweysens. We ask Your Grace to serve us obediently, in all loyalty, before we are forced to do anything contrary to the Scriptures and God's word.

B. About the visitation of the Bishop of Meissen, Joh. von Schleinitz.

757: Prince Frederick of Saxony's letter to this bishop concerning the three parish priests of Lochau, Schmiedeberg and Düben, whom the bishop wanted to have delivered into his custody, but which the prince refuses, and in addition makes several very edifying remarks concerning what the bishop said about his intention of the visitation: that he would like to see the bishop, in accordance with his office, abolish the concubines and other abuses that have become fashionable among the clergy. 1522.

1) "profits" (proLtk-ur), that is, publicly teaches.

2) "milt" - mild, that is inept, bad.

This letter is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 142; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 93; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 132; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 287.

3) "Fürlegen" here will probably be as much as embarrass, refute.

1st Venerable in God, dear friend! Your letter dated N. and received by us on the day N. at N., we have informed you in writing with your messenger that we wanted to give you an answer with our own message.

2. Accordingly, and as you have indicated in this letter, as the Highborn Princes, Mr. Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Roman Imperial Governor, Electors and Princes, and other decreed regimental councils in the realm, now assembled at Nuremberg, have written to you, and without such reminder, recognize yourselves guilty by reason of your episcopal office of 1) resisting those who belong to you out of ecclesiastical judicial compulsion, who have undertaken to set up such trades, contrary to the holy Christian church and for the special seduction of the common simple-minded people; and especially three parish priests, named as to Lochau, Schmiedeberg, 2) and thieves; also what therefore on the indicated time of the holy fast, and otherwise, will to do.

3. With request, we want to provide in our principalities, because there is now much rebellion, disgust, anger and damage against the clergy, by our gracious assistance, that these preachers and your skilful ones, and your persons, as you intend to do so, may carry out such kind and divine work unhindered and unashamedly, and that we will graciously assist, help and advise you against the disobedient, especially against the above-mentioned three pastors; Who, if they remain outside as disobedient, may then, by our gracious command, be answered to you in your obedience.

4 We do not wish to mislead Your Lordship by saying that it is not unpleasant for us to hear that you intend to use your office and that you intend to do so. For although all kinds of disagreements are now taking place, of which our oaths and friends, and especially Imperial Majesty's governors, electors, princes and other councillors of the realm, have reported in their letter, it is still not our place, as a secular prince, to judge these matters, as you know, since they are to be spiritual matters, nor is it our place to deal with them.

should. We would have liked to have seen and suffered that the harmful abuses against divine commandment, and especially with unseemly swearing and blasphemies, had noticeably increased everywhere, and that the clergy, contrary to the same divine and other statutes, had been allowed to have wives and concubines with them, had been met with seriousness by those who had jurisdiction over them. Up to now, however, little has been done about it, but sometimes it has been granted for the sake of money.

5. Therefore we are pleased that you use your office against the above-mentioned and other unseemly abuses, which are contrary to the divine commandments and sinful, and that you do so by yourselves, as you are entitled to do and have been entitled to do for a long time, also youthful (capable) preachers in your church, which understands our and other principalities, and the same abuses, blasphemies and other curses are practiced, preach the word of God along with other Christian statutes, and admonish the people to abstain from unchristian abuses. And although, to our understanding, your forefathers and your foundation, also the same clergy, have not received much nor any harm from us or from our principality before: but nevertheless we want to order and provide with ours, so that you and the same preachers, the good and godly works, which you intend, may now also practice unhindered and without fear.

But because it was not enough that someone was found who would not let himself be rejected by divine admonition and preaching of error, even against the three parish priests of E. L. legal proceedings were not yet taken, or that which was to be done to you in the case that they were found in unjust disobedience, was done or issued. For although we know to remember that we wrote to you before about some complaint that the priest of Schmiedeberg made against us about your official in Stolpen, it turned out that he shortened him with the citation.

Therefore, it would have been unnecessary to ask us at this time for help, assistance, advice, or for an order to respond to you, the same three parish priests, in your obedience, in the case indicated. For in the same case, and if due order is kept, we will, upon request, know how to show ourselves to the duty and fairness without reproach. For as much as God grants us mercy, we do not like to do otherwise than

1) Wittenberg and Jena: "theten", for which Walch, as it seems to us, correctly put: "thätet".

2) In the Wittenberg and in the Jena: "Sondeberg", we have retained Schmiedeberg from Walch.

3) In the Jenaer: "ereugen"; Wittenberger: erregen. Walch has here, as in the old edition, vol. VII, 2130, resolved the word "eräugen" by "ereignen". It is: to show oneself.

as a Christian prince is entitled to do. And since you have also indicated this in your letter from us and cannot do otherwise, for the glory of our hope, you should, according to the relationship, have indicated this to the deputies of the regiment on their letter from us. We did not want to restrain you from answering. imo Domini 1522.

758 Bishop John of Meissen's mandate to his parish priests and clergy concerning religion. May 6, 1522.

This writing is found in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 141d; in the Jena edition (1585), vol. II, p. 93; in the Altenburg edition, vol. II, p. 132; and in the Leipzig edition, vol. XVIII, p. 286.

John, by the grace of God, Bishop of Meissen.

Worthy, dear devotees! After we found that through the ambiguous doctrine disruption is being introduced into our churches and much evil, we have had a correct Christian doctrine established, which, God willing, will bring about a noticeable improvement among the people in these areas, so that we intend to provide for you in the most beneficial way.

2. we have also taken into consideration all kinds of things that may serve Christian discipline and unity, so that we may not be accused of neglecting our episcopal office.

(3) But that all these things, which we have purposed for the good of our commanded people, may be the more abundantly and fruitfully accomplished and put to work, we, commanders, together with your people, desire to call upon God our Lord, that he may bestow the grace of his Spirit.

4 And if someone from the secular authorities wants to urge you to introduce something new, ask them diligently for it, and do not let them move you to do so, with the indication that we are all ready in work to promote what may be good for them and the people and the salvation of the souls, without doubt, they will like our faithful intention, and will do our pleasing opinion on all of this. Date under our Secret printed below, at Meissen, on the day of John ante Portam lati- nam [May 6], Anno 1522.

759 Des D. Andr. Carlstadt, Phil. Melanchthon and Joh. Agricola use Lei Joh. Schleinitz, Bishop of Meissen, for Jakob Seidler, a priest imprisoned for marriage and Luther's teachings. July 18, 1521.

This writing is found in Latin in the "fortgesetzten Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen," 1723, p. 195, and somewhat more precisely in Kapp's "Nachlese," p. 463.

Translated from the Latin by Joh. Frick.

To the Reverend Father and Lord, Lord John, Bishop of Meissen, their well-deserved patron.

Hail in Christ! E. E. V. will not be surprised that we are writing to your venerable fatherhood more freely than is usual at this time, when you read the reasons for our undertaking. For we are driven to it by the danger of our dear confrere, Jakob Seydler, a preacher, and as far as we know, an honest man, whom E. E. V. has had imprisoned. Some articles have been written here, of which he has been accused as a not too pious man. Since it is uncertain which of these he accepts, and it is said that E. E. V. does not want to allow his answer to be published, we take upon ourselves the task of defending all of his articles that we have seen and which are perhaps falsely attributed to him by false scribes and others who are hostile to him.

2. it is said that he was imprisoned mainly for two reasons, namely because he, as a clergyman, took a wife, and because he was accepted and approved by Luther, I do not know what. But we remind them, out of Christian duty and obligation, as a Christian bishop, that they should not deal with a Christian in any other way than the Word of God commands, that is, that they should not overthrow his marriage and first show how the Lutheran doctrine is to be condemned, than that they should corrupt the soul of this man. What the papal canons set is none of the Christians' business, though they are not as strict as you are. For as far as marriage is concerned, neither the merely invented vow nor its canons can annul the permission to marry. For on the one hand those do not make vows of whom this is demanded; on the other hand they make vows according to the custom of their church, namely, that they will practice chastity as much as human weakness will permit. I think that, according to these words, the holy

The church was not allowed to have a council if those who had introduced this oath, which was common in their church, did not think that it was better to commit fornication than to take a wife. After that, neither the assemblies nor the bishops were allowed to burden the church with such human statutes, thereby endangering spiritual and physical happiness. For the bishops are only given the power to build, not to tear down. Moreover, it is also known that Germany adopted the constitution of the celibate state very late, and in fact quite forcedly, as the histories of the bishoprics of Cologne and Constance testify. As far as Luther's teachings are concerned, they will not do well if they would rather corrupt their prisoner than teach him what and why he should believe this and that. It is an important and precious thing about a Christian soul; it is bought at a high price, as the apostle says: "See that you do not offend him who bought our souls with his precious blood. Receive this man,

and set him free again, if not for another reason, but at least for this reason, because he is a Christian. For he has not ceased to be a Christian when he has acted contrary to the ordinances of men.

3. E. E. V. will excuse our boldness in the best possible way, as they had no other intention than to entrust the welfare of our confrere to them in the best possible way. If they are cared for, they will do the office of a Christian bishop; in the contrary case, however, they will one day have to give an account to God of what they have done, not only to the judge of all flesh, but to Christ, the judge and avenger of souls. May the Lord keep them and give them his spirit. Wittenberg, July 18, 1521.

Your Honor

most devoted

Andr. Carlstadt.

Joh. Agricola.

Phil. Melanchthon.

Appendix of Luther's letters,

which are listed in this fifteenth part of his complete writings and have now all been newly translated into German from the Erlangen "Briefwechsel Luthers".

No. 1.

(Wittenberg.)

(End of March 1518.) 1)

Luther to Spalatin.

After a remark about the fact that Spalatin was given the authority to absolve from reserved cases and to remit their penalties, Luther reports that the Bishop of Brandenburg had sent the Abbot of Lehnin to him to ask him to postpone the publication of his "Explanations" on the Theses on Indulgences and to stop issuing the "Sermon on Indulgences," and that he had promised to do so.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 39b; in Löscher's Reformation Acts, Vol. I, p. 839; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 70 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 177.

His Spalatin in the castle at Wittenberg.

Jesus.

Hail! That you have received the authority to remit all cases and to absolve from them, with the exception of a few, be grateful to the one who gave it to you. Well, the authority over the cases pleases me quite well; but how highly I value the remission of punishments, that is, the indulgence, you know, even though I do not firmly affirm anything about it.

1) Aurifaber has set this letter in the year 1517, and after him the other editors of Luther's letters except for the "Erlanger Briefwechsel", which sets it "at the end of March or beginning of April". We believe that it was written in March (according to Kolde, "Martin Luther", Vol. I, p. 150, it should have been written at the beginning of March), because Luther reported to Spalatin on April 3, 1518 (Erl. Briefw., I, 180) that the Bishop of Brandenburg had released him from his promise not to publish the "Explanations on the Power of Indulgences" (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 100). About the timing of this letter, see what is said in the 18th volume of our edition, Introduction, p. 14 f., likewise the introductory remarks to No. 128 in this volume.

Head. I have had a similar judgment about the stations of the city of Rome 2) since they are nothing other than indulgences. For I think that the prayers or works that are put up to obtain it are better than the obtained indulgence itself. The rest I do not understand what you write about the patron spirits of the churches.

Yesterday the Abbot of Lehnin 3) came to see me in the name and place of the venerable Lord of Brandenburg, from whom he also brought me a letter, and reported to me on behalf of the same Lord, our Bishop, that he wished and asked that I delay the publication of my "Explanations" and any explanations about indulgences, if I had any; then he would have liked very much that the German Sermon [on indulgences] had not been published, and asked that it henceforth be neither issued nor sold.

But I am quite ashamed that he sent so great an abbot, then also that so great a bishop sent to me so humbly, and for this cause alone I have said, I am well content; I would rather obey than perform miracles, even if I could, and other things that might excuse my presumption. For though he held that in these things there was no error, but that all was orthodox, and though he himself reprobated those immoderate (so-called) proclamations of indulgences, ur-

2) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 183.

3) Valentin; his family name is not known. He died in 1542 as the last abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Lehnin, 2 miles from Brandenburg and 7-8 miles from Wittenberg. Sent by the Elector Joachim I, he was present at the disputation in Leipzig.

he nevertheless told them that for the sake of the offense, they should remain silent for a little while longer and be forgiven. Fare well in the Lord 2c.

Brother Martin Luther (Eluther.), 1)
Augustinian.

No. 2.

Wittenberg.

July 10, 1518.²)

Luther to Wenceslaus Link at Nuremberg.

Luther would send him the "Explanations," but they find not yet completed in print. He is warned not to travel to Augsburg because assassins are lurking about him, but he is confident. From his sermon on the ban and a fierce letter from Trutfetter to him.

This letter is printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 74; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 619; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 129 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 210.

To the venerable Father Wenceslaus Link,
theologian and ecclesiast of the Monastery of
the Nuremberg Hermits 2c., his Superior in
Christo.

JEsus.

1. Hail. Venerable Father! I would have sent the proofs of my theses, but our printer 3) is so slow that I am also tormented by this delay. There are almost eighteen theses completed which I have undertaken to send you. The trifles, 4) which I had published against my Timon 5) in an exceedingly scanty manner (*nudius*), are being spread again, far and wide, which I would rather not see, since in this I have yielded too much to the urging of my friends, although I have not done enough for their wishes either. Others write this

1) Around this time Luther very often signed himself Lsuttwrius, as can be seen from several letters that follow.

2) In the editions (except for the Erlangen correspondence), this letter is dated: äis XII k'rtrum, which is September 1. According to the content, however, the letter must be earlier, because the "Erläuterungen" were not yet ready for printing when it was written, but went out after mid-August. Therefore, instead of XII, it will read VII; that is July 10.

3) Johann Grünenberg in Wittenberg.

4) "Luther's Defense of his Sermon on Indulgences and Grace against Tetzel." St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 296; see the note there on the many editions of this writing.

5) This refers to Tetzel.

to my vehemence (*impatientiae*), while I rather played in it than was angry. If you want to know something about us besides, these your [two] Conrade 6) will tell enough.

Our vicar, Johann Lang, who is here today, says that he was warned by letter by Count Albrecht of Mansfeld that he should not suffer in any way that I leave Wittenberg. For it had been decreed by I don't know what kind of great men that I should be deceitfully put to death either by strangulation or by drowning. 7) I am clearly with Jeremiah [Cap. 15, 10.] the man against whom everyone quarrels and wrangles, because I daily provoke the Pharisees with new teachings (as they call it). But I, as I am aware that I teach nothing but the purest theology, have known for a long time that it would happen that I would preach an annoyance to the exceedingly holy Jews and a foolishness to the exceedingly wise Greeks.

(3) But I hope to be a debtor to Jesus Christ, who may also say to me (Acts 9:16), "I will show him how much he must suffer for my name's sake. 9, 16.): "I will show him how much he must suffer for my name's sake." For if he does not say this, why did he put me in the quite insurmountable office of this word? or why did he not teach other things that I should speak? It has been his holy will. The more they threaten, the more confident I am: my wife and my children are provided for; the fields, the houses and all property are ordered; now my honor and my name will be destroyed. Only one thing is left, the weak and broken wretched body: if they take it away, they will make me poorer by two or by one hour of life, but they will not take the soul. I sing with Johannes Reuchlin: 8) He who is poor fears nothing, he can lose nothing, but he sits joyfully in good hope, for he hopes to gain.

4. I know that the word of Christ comes from An-

6) Perhaps Conrad Kleies from the monastery of the hermit brothers in Nuremberg and Conrad Volckamer (Wittenberger p. 64 and p. 70) are meant. (Erl. Briefw.)

7) In Latin: *vsl* baptiser morteru - or to be baptized unto death.

8) Compare No. 132 a. E. in this volume.

The word of Christ, which began in the world, is of such a nature that the one who wants to lead it in the world must necessarily leave everything with the apostles and renounce everything, expecting death at every hour. If this were not so, it would not be the word of Christ; with death it was purchased, with many deaths it was spread, with many deaths it was resounded; with many deaths it must also be resounded or brought again. For thus our bridegroom is a blood bridegroom to us [Ex. 4:25 ff]. Therefore, pray that the Lord Jesus may multiply and raise the spirit of his believing sinner.

The other day I delivered a sermon to the people on the power of the ban, in which I casually punished the tyranny and ignorance of the dirty rabble of the officials, the commissioners and the vrcare. They are all surprised that they have never heard such a thing. After that, we are all waiting to see what evil will befall me in the future; I have lit a new fire. But so does the word of truth, the sign that is contradicted. I had wanted to publicly discuss (disputare) the same thing, but behold, the rumor of it came out beforehand and moved many great people so much that my bishop of Brandenburg sent a noble messenger to me and demanded that I should postpone this discussion, which I also did and still do, especially since my friends also advise me to do so. See what a monstrous man I must be, whose intention is also unpleasant.

The Doctor of Eisenach 2) has sent me a letter that is completely full of great zeal (for that is what one must call this man's exceedingly passionate outpourings [passio- nissimas passionēs] with an honorable name), far more bitter than the one you heard in the chapter with ears (CORAM); he said the same thing to my face at Erfurt. These people are tormented to madness by the fact that they are to become fools in Christ, and that it is judged that the honorable Magistri nostri have been completely wrong (*toto orbe*) for such a long time. I do not care about all the fools and blamers, if only Christ will give me a

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 874. Compare also the introduction there, p. 39d.

2) Jodocus Truttfetter at Erfurt.

gracious God, to whom I am willing to give up the office of the word. I have written this in so many words because I enjoyed chatting with you. Farewell. Wittenberg, on the day of the seven brothers [July 10] 1518. Brother Martin Luther.

No. 3.

Wittenberg.

March 21, 1518.

Luther to Johann Lang.

Luther sends a part of Carlstadt's interpretations of the book de Spiritu et litera, reports on the raging of the preachers of indulgences against him, and that he is advised not to go to Heidelberg because of the danger, but that he will do so anyway. About the burning of Tetzels counter-theses by the students.

Handwritten is this letter in the Ooä. Ootkan. 399, koi. 125. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 53 d; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 606; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 97 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 169.

To his venerable father Johann Lang, licentiate of sacred theology, prior of the Augustinian hermits in Erfurt, his superior in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I had sent to you, most venerable father, some of Carlstadt's interpretations of the book "Of the Spirit and the Letter", as well as 3) to some others; but my memory has left me, and I do not know how many and to whom I delivered them. Now, if you have received all of them, you must have nine, namely A. B, Cc. Ccc. d. 1. e. f.; but if not, write again and I will refund them. For so far we have printed them. For Doctor Carlstadt was down with fever and is still lying down; so the work is at a standstill and remains at a standstill.

2) The indulgence talkers thunder extraordinarily against me from the pulpit, so that they finally 4) do not have enough horrible names with which they can call me. They add threats in which they promise the people, one, that within a fortnight, the other, that within a month I will most certainly be

3) Here the Erl. Briefw. has adopted the reading of the 6oä. 6otk.: orr-n nonnullis sliis, from which we cannot extract a suitable sense.

4) With the other editions, we have against the Erl. Briefw. adopted tanäsm instead of tantum.

should be burned. They also issue counter-theses, so that I fear that they will burst from the quantity and magnitude of their anger. Yes, I am advised by all that I should not go to Heidelberg 1) so that they do not accomplish by trickery against me what they cannot do by force. But I will comply with obedience and go there on foot, also (God willing) come through Erfurt; but do not expect me, because I will hardly leave on Tuesday after Quasimodogeniti [April 13] 2). Our prince, who is extraordinarily inclined towards these well-founded studies of theology, eagerly protects me and Carlstadt without being asked to do so, and will in no way suffer that they drag me to Rome, which they know very well and are sufficiently annoyed about.

3. But so that you may be warned, if the rumor of the burning of Tetzel's theses comes to you, that someone may not add something (as it tends to happen) about what really happened, this is the incident: The students - as they are extremely weary of the old sophistical nature, but have a great desire for the Holy Bible, perhaps also in an effort to show me favor - having learned that a man had arrived from Halle who was sent by Tetzel, the author of the theses, they immediately set about it, frightening the man that he might dare to bring such things here. Some of them took some, but others snatched them from him, and all the rest, about eight hundred [copies] (after the announcement and convocation had been made beforehand: if anyone wanted to be present at the burning and the funeral of Tetzel's theses, he should come to the marketplace at two o'clock), they burned, and that without the knowledge of the prince, the council, the rector and all of us. Certainly, I and everyone dislike this grave injustice done to man by our people. I am not to blame, but I fear that the whole thing will be too much for me.

1) See the introduction to the 18th volume of the St. Louis edition, pp. 3b f.

2) But Luther left Wittenberg already on April 9. See I. o. p. 4 a.

will be counted. There is a lot of talk about this matter everywhere, but there is even more indignation among those, which is not entirely unjust. I do not know what will happen, only that my danger will become even more dangerous.

4 Doctor Conrad Wimpina is called by all as the author of these theses, 3) and I consider it certain that it is so. Therefore, I am sending you a copy that has escaped the fire, so that you may see how they rage against me. Our school thrives on the hope that we expect to have lessons on two, yes, three languages, on Pliny, mathematics, Quintilian, and several other very good ones, leaving aside the unrhymed lessons on Peter Hispanus, 4) Tartaretus, and Aristotle. And this pleases the prince and has already been taken into consultation, and it is being negotiated. Commend me to the fathers and brothers. I greet the father M. Usingen and the father M. Johannes Nathin in the same way. Wittenberg, on the day of St. Benedict [March 21] 1518. Brother Martin Eleutherius.

No. 4.

Wittenberg.

February 15, 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

On the attitude in which one must perform good works; on the value of indulgences, and that alms are better without proof. Luther regrets that it is claimed that he was inspired by the Elector to argue about indulgences.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 49b; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 602; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 90 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 153.

His Georg Spalatin, his best friend among his friends.

JEsus.

1st Hail! As you write, yes, prescribe that I should do, so I do, dearest Spa-.

3) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 12 b.

4) In the thirteenth century, Petrus Hispanus wrote a textbook on logic, *Lummlas loZioales*. - Petrus Tartaretus, towards the end of the fifteenth century, a Scotist and commentator on Petrus Hispanus, was on the commission chosen by the University of Paris to examine Reuchlin's "Augenspiegel".

Latin, that through you I thank the most noble prince for the excellent and truly princely gift of game, which is given to our young (*novellis*, as they are called) magisters, and I have told everyone that it was given by the prince. But I was extraordinarily and even more pleased by the Prince's disposition, who (as you write) is exceedingly gracious and willing to give, since even a man loves a cheerful giver.

You again add two small questions. One, what kind of mind (*intentio*) he must have who wants to sacrifice or do other godly works. I answer briefly: One must always have the attitude of despair and confidence in every work; namely, despair because of you and your work, but confidence because of God and His mercy. For thus saith the Spirit [Ps. 147:11], "The LORD hath pleasure in them that fear him, that hope in his goodness." For fear is a kind of beginning of despair. And to speak plainly: as often as you want to sacrifice or do works, you must know and firmly believe without any doubt that such your work cannot please God at all, no matter how good, great and laborious it may be, but is worthy of rejection. Therefore, first be your judge, and accuse yourself together with your work as such a person and confess it before God. This confession and accusation (for it comes from the fear of the divine judgment, before which no work can stand) will cause it to be pleasing; indeed, both the work and its accusation are pleasing to God, so that God has commanded us good works more to be a cause for such our accusation and fear of Him than that He should seek to be served by them. Thus saith the Psalm [Ps. 143:2], "Go not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight no living man is righteous." And in another place it is said [Proverbs 18:17, Vulg.], "The righteous first accuses himself." O, a description of justice unheard of for a long time! What is justice? It is an indictment of oneself. What is a righteous man? One who accuses himself. Why? Because he preempts the judgment of God, and condemns the very thing that God condemns, namely himself. Therefore

he is of one mind with God in all things, makes the same judgment, has the same will with God, and for this reason is true, just 2c. Thus says St. Augustine in the 9th book [Cap. 13] of his Confessions: Woe to the life of man, however praiseworthy it may be, if it is judged without mercy; and St. Jerome, acting on the word Ps. 32, 6.: "For this shall all the saints beseech thee in due time," in the Dialogue against Pelagius [Book 2, Cap. 4], says: 1) How is he holy, if he beseeches for ungodliness? or how is he ungodly, if he is holy? 2c. Thus St. Augustine will teach thee throughout that all saints are sinners. Therefore, if you have thus despaired of yourself and humbly confess this to the Lord, then you can take comfort in His mercy without any doubt.

For he who doubts his mercy sins no less than he who trusts in his own works. He wants us to rely firmly on him, so that we may completely despair of ourselves. Thus 2) he formerly modeled it in the Law of Moses [5th book, chap. 24, 6.], where he commands that one should not take the lowest and the highest millstone from the debtor, that is, that one should not take away from the sinner either hope or fear, but grind and grind him between the two. Thus St. Job [Cap. 9, 28. Vulg.] feared because of all his works, and in Proverbs 3) (Cap. 28, 14.) it is said, "Blessed is he that feareth all things." Therefore, you will only do so much in the right way of good works as much as you are comforted by the mercy of God and despair of your works. For then you are no longer working for your own glory, but God is working in you for His glory, because nothing is sought here but that His mercy be glorified in us, not that we blow ourselves out with our works against God. And this is the best, only and final intention (*intentio*) of all [works].

4. secondly [you ask] about the power of the

1) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 233.

2) In the Erlanger si instead of sie; probably a printing error.

3) In Aurifaber and De Wette it says: Loel. o. IX, which is Loeliasstas sPrediger Salomo; in the Erlanger Briefwechsel: Lookkissstieus (Sirach). Both are incorrect. In one note the Erlanger has given the correct place.

indulgence, how much he is able to do. This matter still hangs in doubt, and my disputation wavers back and forth among blasphemies. But I will say two things; the first to you alone and to our friends, until the matter is published: namely, that nowadays indulgences seem to me to be nothing but a distraction of souls, and that they are of no use at all, except for those who snore and are lazy in the way of Christ. Although our Carlstadt does not hold this opinion, it is nevertheless certain to me that he regards him as nothing. For in order to get rid of this disruption, I have, out of love for the truth, entered the dangerous labyrinth of disputation and aroused innumerable minotaurs, yes, rhadamanthotaur and aeacdaurs 1) against me.

The second thing, in which there is no doubt, which even my adversaries are forced to confess, and the whole church, is this: that almsgiving and the support of one's neighbor is incomparably better than indulgences. Therefore, you are advised not to buy indulgences as long as you can find poor and needy neighbors to whom you give what you would have given for indulgences. If you do otherwise, I am excused, you may see. I do not doubt that he deserves wrath who abandons the poor and buys indulgences. But you will see more, God willing, when I have published the proofs of our theses. For I am forced to do so by those people who are cruder than crudeness itself, who proclaim me a heretic in all their sermons, and even go so far in their host that they seek to make the Wittenberg University infamous and heretical for my sake. I am much more concerned with how to keep myself in check, so that I do not despise them and sin against Christ, than how to triumph over them. For they are so completely devoid of all human and divine learning that it would be an exceedingly great shame to argue with them, and yet this very ignorance produces in them an incredible insolence and a more than brazen forehead. But they are hearty alone

1) Minos, Rhadamanthus and Aeacus were the judges of the underworld, here transformed into monsters, like the Minotaur, the guardian of the labyrinth.

by the shadows of their larvae and night ghosts, of which they are so full, and that I, too, murmur after their manner, *inessentiali*, that one must completely despair of their improvement. There is one thing I would like to let you know that I am very sorry about, namely that these tongue-thrashers and many others with them have armed themselves with a new artifice, and gossip that everything I do comes from our most noble prince, as if I were incited by him to spite the archbishop of Magdeburg. Please, advise what one should do here; whether one should not make this known to the prince. I regret very much that the prince should come under suspicion for my sake; and that I should be the cause of disagreement between such great princes, that I detest and fear very much.

(6) I can suffer the prince to offer me to any disputation or judgment (if only I am given safe conduct), only so that they do not also involve the innocent prince in my hatred. See, what a horrible kind of people they are, and a people of darkness, hostile to the light. They have found Johannes Reuchlin over three countries away and brought him here against his will; they despise me, who invite and ask at the door, and gossip in the corners, because they see that they cannot defend themselves. But now take care and forgive me that I have written so long and made so many words. For I have been talking to a friend. From our monastery, February 15, 1518.

Brother Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian.

No. 5.

January 14, 1519. 2)

(Wittenberg.)

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther tells of an argument he had about Thomas and Aristotle at a banquet to which Emser had invited him in Dresden, and corrects the reports that had been spread about it; the sermon he had given in Dresden at that time had also been distorted. Furthermore, he comments on the good works of a friend for the benefit of a deceased person. In the postscript, he says that he will not answer Silvester's writing.

2) In the original, by Luther's oversight, the year is 1518 and so in all previous editions except the Erlanger Briefwechsel. Decisive for the year 1519 is the mention of Silvester's counter-writing (the "replica"),

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 44 b; in Löschner's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 597; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 83 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 350.

¹⁾ JEsus.

1st Hail! You need not be surprised, my dear Spalatin, that some claim that I was overcome at a banquet in Dresden; they have long since said other things as well, whatever they liked. Of course, I am almost more forced than invited by Hieronymus Emser together with our Johann Lang 2) and our prior in Dresden to an evening get-together. Since I thought I was among friends here, I soon realized that I had fallen in the midst of Laurer. There was a little Leipzig Magister, 3) a bad Thomist, who imagined that he knew everything extraordinarily well. As he was full of hatred towards me, he first received me in a friendly manner, but finally, after a disputation had arisen, he attacked me violently and with shouting. In the meantime, without my knowing it, a mendicant monk from the Order of Preachers was standing outside, eavesdropping on everything, who (I heard later) boastfully said that he had been extraordinarily irritated, and had hardly been able to control himself that he had not stepped out, spat in my face and called me all kinds of names. It had tormented this person so much that I had refuted Thomas to that little magister. This is the man who boasts everywhere to this day that I had been so completely convicted that I could not have answered either a Latin or a German word. Because we argued (as it is wont to happen) with the German language mixed in, he claimed quite confidently that I did not understand a word of Latin.

By the way, the disputation was about the trivial things of Aristotle and Thomas. I showed that neither Thomas nor all Thomists together had understood even one chapter in Aristotle. Finally, since the latter was glorious, I asked him to describe to me, with all the powers of Thomistic scholarship, what it means to fulfill God's commandments. I know, I said, that there is no Thomist who knows that. Here the plebeian man, still conscious of his ignorance, exclaimed: Give teaching money (for so [pastum] is the name given to the money paid to schoolmasters); for what else could he answer, since he did not know anything else? Laughing at this insipid answer, we parted. Later, the prior of Dresden wrote to me how they had bragged and made me shameful even at the court of the prince as an unlearned, arrogant person and I don't know with how many other names; likewise, that they had twisted the sermon I had held at the castle (against the truth) in every possible way. I had put on a quite theological history of certain three virgins, of which they afterwards gossiped that these three had been called by me at the court of the prince. In short, I have had to suffer viper-breeds [Luc. 3, 7.], who wanted everything and could do nothing, thinking that it would take away from their honor if they left something unblamed about me. I despised these larvae and wrote to him again that he should be quiet and also let my Cain and Judas live. But Hieronymus Emser has eagerly apologized for it, has also sworn, since he recently 4) came to me in Leipzig, that he had not laid an ambush against me. I said, as I still say today, that I despised such a trivial rage. If they are so learned, there are letters and paper; they may publish something and show the honor of their splendid learning. The sermon was about St. Jacob the Greater, whose feast day was then [July 25] 5), about the Gospel [Matth.

4) On January 7, 1519 or the following days. (Erl. Briefw.)

5) This sermon was preached in 1518, not, as one has concluded from the incorrect year of this letter, in 1517.

St. Louiser Ausg., Bd. XVIII, 412), which was published in Rome in November 1518 and probably reached Luther's hands in December, and the information that Luther was busy with a "Weise wie man beichten soll" (Walch, St. Louiser Ausg., Bd. X, 2158), which was published in 1519, as well as some other things, which are mentioned further down in the letter.

1) The original is missing the address.

2) The same was present as district vicar at an Augustinian convention held in Dresden at that time. - The prior in Dresden was Melchior Mirisch.

3) According to Linässl Colloquia, tom. I, p. 152 it was called Weißestadt. - The Dominicaner is called there "a gray monk".

20,20-23]: "You do not know what you ask", where I have punished the foolish desires of people who pray to God, and taught what a Christian should ask.

What happened to the bishop of Meissen, I am very surprised about, unless he lets the word of the wise man 1) be true in itself: The positions of honor change the customs, with the usual addition: but rarely for the better. I have never seen the man, I only know that he was very friendly with our Vicarius before. But you need not be surprised, my dear Spalatin, that evil is said about me. That is what I like to hear; if I were not reviled, I would not believe that what I do is from God. Christ must be made a sign to be contradicted, and a case for many, not of the Gentiles, but of Israel and the elect, and of excellent men, as the 78th Psalm, v. 31, says: "And he slew their fat ones (that is, the great ones, the most distinguished), and struck down the best of Israel." These, I say, are the works of GOD, to slay and to strike down, not the yeast of Israel (as He says through the prophet [Is. 49, 6.]), but to bruise the chiefs, and the kings and men like Pharaoh, to prove His power.

(3) I confidently despise that very questionable man (scrupulo8iolum) who thinks that I have fallen under the spell. For I do not fear these decrees at all, these statutes of men (which those people alone fear, but which God despises without end), so that I have the confidence to wage war against them one day. The wrath of the decrees does not bind, nor does it harm, if the mercy of Christ protects. If only God wanted that for the one who wants to lead God's cause, this would be the highest and only cause for fear.

I am surprised that Silvester's antics have not been handed over to you by the prior at Grimma, since my letter, which left at the same time as those, has arrived. I have also enclosed Lucian's conversation, which is

1) Loolesiastioi - Sirachs. Perhaps Lcolssiast68, Serm. Sal. 10,6. is meant. - The bishop of Meissen is Johann Schleinitz, who attained this dignity on 16 October 1518 as John VII.

Mosellanus has recently translated it into Latin, 2) so that, when it has been read, I will get it back together with the antics. There were also some packets of letters added, which were brought from elsewhere and addressed to you. You can ask in Grimma if you have not received them yet. From our Hebrews 3) another time.

(4) The good work done for the soul of a deceased person who is already blessed, my dear, that friend should not think too highly of it, nor should he argue about whom it benefits. It is certain that every good work first benefits the one who does it, and all the more so the more it is done to others. For spiritual goods are not given in the same way as bodily goods. With the latter, the giver becomes poorer, but with the latter, richer. The more the spirit is given, the more it increases; the more the flesh is given, the more it decreases. And for this reason the work is not done in vain, even if the soul does not need it. For here everything is common, and there is no good work that does not first include the common benefit and the will of God, that is, that such a work is to be done for this or that soul, if God wants it to benefit it. But if it is for the benefit of another, it is first and foremost for the benefit of the community of the whole Church. But this attitude of the spirit is corrupted by the inclination of the flesh, according to which one is accustomed to do works only for one soul, to the exclusion, as it were, of the others. It is up to us to do works, it is up to God to turn to them and to listen to them. About the rest at another time.

I also send you the letter of Mr. Sigisnund of Clumma, 4) so that you can go to un-

2) IEiani äialoZi äuo Okaron stla-tin6,?. Mosellano. HxAae 1518. The preface addressed to Prince Frederick, son of Duke George, is dated March 7, 1518.

3) Böschenstein, as the first professor of Hebrew in Wittenberg, arrived there at the beginning of November 1518.

4) According to the Pirna monk in Menke, II, 1498 "a free gentleman sat with Löbrasse in Lausnicz". - This matter also proves that our letter belongs to the year 1519, because a few days later, on January 24, 1519, Luther again urges Spalatin to answer him what he should write.

I want you to answer what I am to tell him by agreement. Be well. I am dealing with a "way to confess" 1). January 14, 1519. 2) Martin Eleutherius.

Our people think that one should not answer to Silvester, yes, we agree that it is a fictitious Silvester from the dark ones, 3) who has put such inconsistencies to man for mockery in order to challenge me against him. Farewell.

No. 6.

(Wittenberg.)

February 12, 1519.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends the interpretation of the passage Joh. 6.37. ff. requested by the Elector through Spalatin. (St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 258).⁴) reports the upcoming disputation with Eck and the new edition of the German Lord's Prayer, and speaks compassionately about Tetzel. In the postscript, he reports on a conversation with the bishop of Brandenburg.

Our letter is found handwritten in 6o6. Ien. u. col. 268. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 146; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 963; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 223 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 412.

To his extremely dear Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, canon of Altenburg.

JEsus.

1st Hail! I thank you, dear Spalatin, for your service and the acceleration [of this matter]. 5) I send what you have requested in the name of the most Serene Prince, about the Gospel of John, but from the Steg-.

1) "A Brief Instruction on How to Confess," Walch, St. Louis ed. vol. X, 2158, published in 1519.

2) In the original incorrect: 1518.

3) That is, as they occur in the epistolis obscuriorum virorum.

4) In the collections of letters, the same has the form of a letter by the heading: "JEsus", by the salutation: "Grace and peace in Christ, my dear Spalatin!" and the signature: "Brother Martin Luther, v." So in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 142 b; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 959; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 224 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 414. Otherwise, everything is as we have reported it in the eighth volume I. above. The Erlangen edition notes that this interpretation is probably only an appendix to our letter, and has dated it accordingly.

5) This will probably refer to the change of the study plan requested by Luther on February 7 and the salary increase of Melancthon. De Wette, Vol. I, p. 221.

ripe. I did look up Chrysostom, but he treats this passage more coldly than I would like. Augustine comes closer, but somewhat darkly; indeed, in other words, I have followed his opinion. If I have missed anything, do not be surprised, both because I am a man, and because it is not the Gospel of Matthaei, but of John, in which, we find, few have labored. Of course, this would be a study to which I would be very willing to devote myself, if only I were free to do so.

Eck and I will fight with each other after Easter in Leipzig, as you can see here. I have the German Vater-Unser under my hands to publish it anew. 6) I will write to Johann Wacker shortly. I regret that Tetzel and his life (*salutem*) have come into such distress, and that his things are being exposed; 7) I would much rather, if it could be, that he be preserved with honors after he has improved to some extent. Through his disgrace nothing falls to me, as through his honor nothing has fallen from me. I cannot wonder enough that he has dared to extract so much money from the very poor people, from which even a bishop could live, yes, an apostle. Farewell and pray for me. February 12, 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

I have been in Wittenberg with the venerable Lord Bishop of Brandenburg, and he has taken me to task with many words, but kindly, that I subject myself to such great things. I realize that the bishops are now finally becoming wise, namely that it would have been their office, which they see in me above all things, 8) and are therefore somewhat ashamed. They call me proud and bold, but neither of them I have denied; but they are not the people who know what both God and we ourselves are.

6) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. VII, 752.

7) Compare Miltizen's letter to Pfeffinger of Jan. 22, 1519, No. 290 in this volume.

8) It seems to us the reading, which the editions offer: quock in IL6 vickent prs686rtirn, somewhat questionable; also the old translator went around it and offers: "was ich nun thue". It would probably be read: quoa "rv6 villkut praestiturn "what I, as you see, have carried out".

No. 7.

Wittenberg.

May 18, 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther informs Spalatin that he has returned from the Heidelberg chapter, describes the reception he received there, the disputation that took place, and his conversations with Trutfetter and Usingen at Erfurt.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltischeu Gesamt- Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 62; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 614; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. IIO and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 191.

His Spalatin, his very learned and loving friend.

JEsus.

Hail! I have finally returned, my dear Spalatin, to our home, by Christ's grace, and came to Wittenberg on the Saturday after Ascension Day [May 15]. However, I returned by wagon, while I had left on foot, since I was forced by the superiors to travel with the Nurembergers as far as near Würzburg, and from there with the Erfurters, but from Erfurt with the Eislebeners, who finally brought me to Wittenberg at their expense and with their horses. I was completely comfortable on the whole way and food and trailik suited me extraordinarily well, so that some think that I have become stouter and more corpulent.

The most illustrious prince, Count Palatine Wolfgang, received me very well, as did the Magister Jakob Simler, 1) and also the Hofmeister Hase [Hazijs]. For he invited me, that is, Father Vicarin Staupitz and our Lang, who is now Provincial Vicar, and we enjoyed with each other a lovely and pleasant conversation, ate and drank and looked at all the jewels 2) in the court chapel, then the armory, indeed everything that the truly royal and high princely castle has in ornaments. Magister Jakob was able to read the letter written on my account by our

1) He had been the tutor of Prince Wolfgang of the Palatinate and had accompanied him to the University of Wittenberg in 1515, and was therefore already acquainted with Luther.

2) The jewels in the Church of the Holy Spirit, which among other things also had a piece of Christ's cross and a piece of his skirt, both set in crystal. (Erl. Briefw.)

Princes not enough praise, saying in his Neckar language, "You have by GOD a kystlichen Credenz." Nothing was lacking that could have served only to give a friendly reception.

Furthermore, the doctors willingly admitted my disputation 3) and argued with me with such modesty that they are very valuable to me for that reason. For although the theology seemed foreign to them, they nevertheless fought against it shrewdly and beautifully, with the exception of the one who was the fifth and youngest doctor 4) who made the whole audience laugh, because he said: "If the peasants heard this, they would certainly stone you and kill you. To the people of Erfurt, my theology is deadly food, 5) and especially the Doctor of Eisenach has put a black theta 6) in front of all my sentences, and has written a letter to me, with which he would like to punish even someone ignorant in dialectics, let alone in theology.

I would also have disputed with them, if the time of the petitions 7) had not prevented it, but I have verbally negotiated with the Doctor of Eisenach, and at least managed that he realized that he could neither prove his own, nor refute mine, yes, that rather their opinions are the animal of which it is said that it has eaten itself. But in vain one tells a story to a deaf person; they stubbornly hold on to their vain distinctions, even though they must confess that they are built on no other foundation than on the *dictamine* (as they call it) of natural reason, which with us is nothing else than the chaos of darkness, which we have no other reason for.

3) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XVIII, 36 and Introduction, p. 4.

4) This was Georg Niger from Löwenstein. The other four doctors of theology in Heidelberg at that time were Marcus Steiß, Loren; Wolf from Speier, Johann Hosser and Peter Scheibenhard from Deidesheim.

5) To words orumde, a proverbial way of speaking: Reheated cabbage brings death. - "The Doctor of Eisenach" is Jodocus Trutfetter.

6) On the tuning tables of the ancients, theta meant i-ävaT-oc, the verdict of damnation.

7) kies litaniarum is the time of supplications, which were made in the so-called cross week, after the Sunday Rogate.

Preach light as Christ JESum, the true and only light.

5. with Doctor Usingen I acted more than with anyone else to persuade him (for he was my traveling companion on the wagon), but I don't know if I accomplished anything; I left him pensive and full of wonder. It is something so great when one is hardened in evil opinions. By the way, the minds of the young and the whole younger generation differ immensely 1) from those in their opinions, and I have extraordinarily good hope that just as Christ went to the Gentiles when he was rejected by the Jews, so also now his true theology, which those delusional old men reject, will go to the youth.

6 So much from me. Finally, I hope and pray that you will not be unmindful of our school, that is, that you will take care of the introduction of the Greek and Hebrew languages. 2) I believe that you have seen the study plan (indicem) of the Leipzig University, which imitates us, as always. In it, they boast of many lectures that I do not believe will be held.

The letter to the most illustrious prince, the bishop of Naumburg, I could not have arranged more appropriately than through you. Therefore, you will do what, as you see, your best friends ask of you. Fare well in the Lord. From our monastery, May 18, 1518.

Brother Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian.

No. 8.

(Wittenberg.)

1. September 1518.

Luther to Johann Staupitz.

Luther declares that he will confidently continue in the assertion of truth and will answer the Prierias even more sharply if the latter does not desist; then he reports on matters of the Wittenberg University and finally on the reasons that led him to publish the Sermon on the Ban.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 78d; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 624; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 137 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 223.

To the venerable and dear father, Johann Staupitz, 3) Vicar of the Hermits of St. Augustine, his patron and superior to be highly venerated in Christ.

JESus.

Hail! Do not doubt, my venerable father, that I will be free in investigating and treating the Word of God. For I am not in the least moved by that citation 4) nor by the threats that have been issued. I suffer, as you know, incomparably worse things, which require me to consider these temporal and momentary flashes as quite light, except that I sincerely want to honor the ecclesiastical power. If I am now banished by a man, I fear only to give offense to you, to whom, as I confidently believe, God has given a right and reliable judgment in things.

You will see that the explanations 5) and my answers are freer in some places than perhaps you could approve of, also that they are intolerable to the Roman flatterers; but the explanations were out, otherwise I would have moderated them. But if this Silvester and uncouth (sylvestreus) sophist should begin to continue and challenge me with other posts, then I will not play again, but let my head and my pen shoot the reins, and show him that also in Germany there are people who understand their and the Roman tricks, and wish that this should happen the sooner the better. For a long time and all too much 6) the Romans have been mocking us as their fools and dolts by their endless intrigues and twists and tricks, and do not deceive us both by trickery and by

3) Staupitz was in Rappoltswiller in Alsace on August 28.

4) Luther's citation to Rome arrived on August 7.

5) The "Explanations" on the Theses on Indulgences are found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 100; Luther's "Reply to the Dialogue >of the Prierias," idia. col. 344.

6) Aurifaber: Minis, probably a printing error instead of: nimis.

1) per öik 6tä Traaül- == through two octaves.

2) Already on April 25, the Elector had written to Reuchlin about the appointment of a Greek and Hebrew teacher, Seckendorf, Hist. LutU., lid I, A34, aa6.2. Reuchlin's answer of May 7 in Oorp. Lek., I, x, 27, no. 14.

they lead us openly and unashamedly on a fool's rope.

3. for their thoughts and aspirations, as I see, are that the kingdom of truth, which is Christ's, should not be the kingdom of truth, since they pursue with unanimous rage that the truth should not be heard and acted upon in their own kingdom. I wish to be a part of this kingdom, if not with a true life, then certainly with a true tongue and heart, which at least confesses in truth that which is in any case improved. And I learn that the people are groaning for the voice of their shepherd Christ and that even the young people are glowing with an extraordinary desire for the holy Scriptures. The Greek lecture has been started among us, and we are all doing Greek for the sake of understanding the Bible. We are also expecting a Hebrew 1) and the prince is taking care of it.

I preached a sermon at Wittenberg on the ban, which was very necessary for the people because of the harsh tortures of the officials against our people. Although all our jurists and theologians approve of it, it is nevertheless astonishing how great a conflagration the all-grateful laureates have endeavored to arouse from it, which they have caught from my mouth and then put into extremely spiteful articles 2) and have spread everywhere and are still spreading, to the great persecution of my name. Yes, at Augsburg it is going around among the great and embittering many. In Dresden, my sermon has been reproached to my face, 3) by citing some of its articles. Behold how hatefully I am sought, and how I am fenced in on every side with thorns; but Christ lives and reigns yesterday and today and forever. My conscience testifies to me that I have taught the truth, and if I speak the truth, I shall be judged for the sake of it.

1) Johann Böschenstein.

2) Some points from this sermon were put into thesis form and spread everywhere, also, provided with a very bitter epigram about the Roman Gerz, came to Augsburg to the Imperial Diet and to Dresden and reached the hands of the two Roman legates, as Spalatin wrote to Luther on September 5 (Burkhardt, p. 11).

3) From Emser, when Luther was in Dresden on July 25.

hated all the more for its sake. 4) It is the body of Rebecca: the children must bump into each other in it, so that the mother is also in danger.

Behold, this was the cause that I issued this sermon 5) in order that I might counter those poisonous articles, or give light to what had not been rightly understood. You pray for me that I may not be too cheerful and confident in this challenge. I pray that God may not impute it to those. They also have zeal for God, as I also testify to them, but a completely unlearned zeal, until Jesus Christ also enlightens them with the same light of ours. May He keep you in His honor and His Church for salvation, Amen. On the day of Aegidius [Sept. 1] 1518.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 9.

Wittenberg.

September 2, 1518.

Luther to Spalatin in Augsburg.

Luther wants the Elector to have no inconvenience from his dealings and to leave everything up to him. A proposal to change the curriculum at the university. An expression of displeasure at the Roman greed. A recommendation by Melancthon.

The original of this letter can be found in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 80; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 626; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 139 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 226.

To his very learned Georg. Spalatin, Christ's priest, the Elector of Saxony's loyal librarian.

Jesus.

1st Hail! You write, my dear Spalatin, that there are some people who seek to make our most noble prince hateful to heaven and earth. I beg you, what an absurdity this is! I wish with all my heart that it will not happen for my sake. As I have said, I still say: I do not want our quite innocent prince to do anything in this matter that could defend my theses, but that I should be offered and reproached to all who act against me.

4) Instead of οἶσοςLM we have assumed οἶο sum.

5) "Luther's Sermon on the Power of the Ban," St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 874.

or write, as I hope he will do, unless he can manage without inconvenience that no violence is done to me. If he cannot do this, then I also want the entire danger to be mine. I hope that I will defend what I have taken upon myself to defend, against the will (as I can boast under Christ's guidance) of all the opinions of the Thomists. But one will have to give way to violence, but without prejudice to the truth.

2 I believe that my explanations (which are printed, very incorrectly) 1) together with the refutation of Silvester's dialogue have reached you.

So I ask you to tell everyone you can that Martinus is the man who disputed this; if anyone wants to oppose it, or hopes to do better, they will find me willing to be instructed or taught. Therefore they may deal with me. Why do they bother the prince and other people in vain in these matters? But enough of this.

(3) A question has arisen among our good young men, which, from the advice of friends, has seemed good to me to write to you, or to report it to our princes through you. But it is this: that, since by God's grace the best lessons are now going on, and they are extraordinarily ardent for the Holy Scriptures and the lantern theology, it seems hard to them that because of so many lessons, which they have to hear for the sake of obtaining the honorary degrees, they have to put the best ones behind, or at least are too much burdened by both. They therefore ask, because it would be possible, that the lecture on ethics 2) (since it behaves against theology just like the Wols against the lamb) be left free, namely to all those who wished to hear it, and nevertheless the organization of the doctorate would not be impaired.

There is also the other question of what kind of examination should be followed by those who want to become baccalaureates or masters, in accordance with the new lessons; but we will see for ourselves,

1) Because of Luther's absence in Heidelberg. Cf. Letter No. 148 in this volume.

2) namely of Aristotle.

unless you also have better advice on the matter mentioned.

4) There is with us a letter from the city of Rome, written with great insight, 3) which is quite harsh against the Roman trickery regarding the collection of new tithes for the war against the Turks, of which one obviously recognizes that they are devised by the Florentines, the most avaricious people under heaven. For they make use of the goodwill of the pope to fill their gullet as they please. But I believe that this writing has already been with you; otherwise write and I will send it. For that the cardinals are legates of avarice (perhaps without their knowledge) is certain, if what he writes is true.

5 Be at ease in the Lord, and let Philip, the best of the Greeks, the most learned and loving of men, be well commended to you. He has the lecture hall full of listeners, especially he makes all the theologians, the highest together with the middle and the lowest, to be versed in the Greek language. Wittenberg, September 2, 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 10.

Wittenberg.

February 22, 4) 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther repeatedly defends the Elector against being the author of the indulgence controversy (cf. No. 4 of this appendix), denies the usefulness of dialectics in theology, and reports on a letter written to Trutfetter on this matter.

The original of this letter can be found in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 72 d; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 617; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 126 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 160.

3) This refers to the Lxportutio viri eujusckum kcoetiskimi ack Principes, ne in deciinne pruestationsm oonksntiunt of the Würzburg canon Friedrich Fischer (about him compare St. Louis edition, vol. XI V, 258, note), who, recently returned from Italy, perhaps sat as Würzburg envoy in the Estates Committee and in sharp words revoked the approval of the demanded Turkish tithe. This writing then circulated in the somewhat modified form of a letter from Rome.

4) The time determination at the end of this letter: *the S. Petro sacro* has been resolved differently. Löscher and De Wette take the day of Petri and Pauli, the 29. Junius *); Burkhardt, p. 10, Petri Kettenfeier, den

*) with eraser is pressure error instead of: Jun.

His Spalatin Georg, Christ's servant and ducal secretary.

Jesus.

1st Hail! I am not afraid, dearest Spalatin, that they speak of me in the worst way, or gossip that our prince is the author of my theses; I only fear that an enmity might arise from this occasion between such great princes, if, for example, the prince of Brandenburg 1) would let something similar happen out of revenge, as one recently heard about the one who is called "the tavern" 2).

By the way, you ask how far I consider dialectics useful for a theologian. I truly do not see how dialectics should not rather be harmful to a true theologian. It may be that it is perhaps a useful game or exercise for the intellect of young people, but in the holy Scriptures, where only pure faith and enlightenment from above are necessary, every reason must be left outside, not unlike Abraham, when he wanted to sacrifice, left the servants behind with the donkeys. This is also sufficiently testified by Johann Reuchlin in the second book of his *Kabbalah*: 3) If any dialectic is necessary, then the natural, innate one is sufficient, by which man is able to compare what is believed with what is believed and thus to conclude the truth. I have often examined with friends what benefit might have accrued to us from such arduous studies of philosophy and dialectics, and, indeed, we have unanimously wondered, indeed, lamented the fate of our power of understanding: we have

found nothing of use, but a whole sea of harmfulness.

I have finally written to the Doctor of Eisenach 4) about the same matter, who (as it seems) is the prince of the dialecticians in our time, and have mainly stated what cannot be denied, namely, that dialectics cannot be of use to theology for its own sake, but does more harm, because theology uses the same grammatical words far differently than dialectics. How, therefore, I say, can dialectics be of use, since, when I go to theology, I must discard the word which had such [or other] meaning in dialectics, and take another meaning of it? And in order not to make mere words, I have added examples, namely: *corpus* (body, Leib) means in the tree of Porphyrius 5) a thing consisting of matter and form. But such a body (*corpus*) cannot be given to man, since in Scripture our body alone signifies matter, not also form, as in the passage [Matth. 10, 28.]: "Fear not them which kill the body, but may not kill the soul." Then I have stated that it is said inconsistently that an angel is neither rational nor unreasonable; likewise that it is of no use for Scripture that man is called endowed with senses, with reason, with body and with soul (*sensitivum, rationalem, corporeum, animatum*), and in short: I have said and still say that that whole bundle of the Porphyric tree is less than a fiction of old women or a dream of sick people, and that it was rightly called Porphyrius (that is a bloody one), namely because of the Christian souls that were to be killed by it. Then I have also destroyed the categories and some other things of philosophy and also of theology.

This displeased the man very much, and he claimed that my reasons were not insurmountable, nor should I myself be considered so. But it is those

4) Trutfetter in Erfurt.

5) The "Tree of Porphyrius" is a table of logical categories. See St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1387, note.

August 1; Knaake Petri Stuhlfeier, den 22. Februar, which we assumed with the Erlangen correspondence, and De Wette had described as possible in a note. The latter is undoubtedly correct, as is evident from a comparison of our letter with a letter addressed to Spalatin by Carlstadt on February 5 (Erl. Briefw. I, 144). Cf. Jäger, Carlstadt, p. 8 f.

1) Elector Joachim I.

2) The Pirna monk at Mencke, II, 1498 says: Siegmund Schenck, also a free gentleman, led a loosely rapacious life at the Bohemian mountains at Betscha, Oelsnitz 2c., was captured at Eisenberg in Thuringia, and beheaded at Torgau on the Elbe.

3) The following is a citation from Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabalistica Libri tres*, published in March 1517 by Thomas Anselm in Hagenau.

People are prisoners of Aristotle and Porphyry, and do not pay attention to what they say, but because they say it. Hence it comes that they also cannot understand one chapter of the Scriptures correctly, much less teach them.

If you therefore believe my judgment, then dialectics may be of use to you wherever it can, but in the holy Scriptures it will even do harm. I have held the teachings and rules of scholastic theology in high esteem and wanted to act the holy scriptures according to them with all diligence, and have had an abhorrence of the church fathers (God punish me if I lie), more than of the confusion of hell: there I have seen what use such studies were. But with you I will try the same once, when you are present, and teach you by experience what you are hearing now. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the day dedicated to St. Peter, [February 22] 1518.

Brother Martin Eleutherius, Augustinian.

No. 11.

Wittenberg. In the first days of November 1517. 1)

Luther to Spalatin.

At Spalatin's request, Luther sends along a dialogue by Erasmus, which he does not wish to be distributed, however, because it jokes about ecclesiastical corruptions that should be deplored; he does not want anyone to believe that his theses were published at the instigation or with the approval of the Elector, and reminds them of the Elector's promise to give him a new dress.

This letter is handwritten in Ooä. len. a, k. 233. Printed in *Lnäclsus, snpplsru. epp. lmttd.* p. 2; in *Löscher's Ref.-Acta*, vol. I, p. 837; in *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 76 (in November 1517) and in *Erlanger Briefwechsel*, vol. I, p. 121 (before November 11, 1517).

1) That this letter, to which no date is attached, is to be set in the first days of November, results from the postscript, in which Luther expresses the wish: he would like to know to whom the Elector had given the order to deliver the promised dress to him. In a letter that has not been preserved, Spalatin must have informed him that Pfeffinger was the commissioner and advised him to contact the Elector himself. Luther did so soon thereafter and complained about Pfeffinger's dithering in a letter to the Elector (Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 2), which is also not dated, but must in any case be placed before November 11, because on that very day Luther thanked the Elector through Spalatin for the gift that had arrived in the meantime (Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 28).

To his in Christ dear and learned Georg Spalatin, ducal protector in the castle.

JEsus.

Hail! I had resolved, my dear Spalatin, never to communicate the Dialogue 2) to anyone. I have no other reason for this than because it is written so sweetly, so learnedly, even so wittily (that is, completely Erasmian) that it makes one laugh and joke about the infirmities and the misery of the Church of Christ, which every Christian should lament with the highest sigh. But because you demand it, see, there you have it, read it and use it, and then give it back to me.

I did not want our theses to come into the hands of our most illustrious prince or anyone at court until those who believed that they would be attacked in them had seen them, so that they would not think that I had published them either by order or with the prince's favor against the bishop of Magdeburg, which, as I now hear, is dreamed of by many of them. But now one can also unhesitatingly swear that they went out without the knowledge of Duke Frederick. Other things at another time, for now I am very overloaded with business. Farewell. From our monastery.

Brother Martin Eleutherius,
Augustinian at Wittenberg.

You wrote that I was promised a dress by the prince. I would like to know to whom he has commissioned this matter.

No. 12.

(Wittenberg.)

April 16, 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

Negotiations with Matthew Adrian concerning his appointment as professor of the Hebrew language. Rumors about the ban Luther had to fear and that a doctor who could make himself invisible intended to kill Luther.

2) It seems likely to us that this is the dialogue of which Scheurl (*Briefbuch*, vol. II, p. 42) writes to Ulrich von Dinstedt, January 5, 1518: "Erasmus is believed to have written the conversation between St. Peter, Pope Julius, and the Schutzgeist, a very funny story."

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 262; in De Wette, Vol. I, p.440 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol.II, p.382.

To his dearest in the Lord, Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, in the castle at Lochau.

Jesus.

1st Hail! We have agreed with Adrian, my dear Spalatin, that he should wait a little. He has promised to stay in Berlin for eight days and to expect letters from us. Now we have to make sure that we get an answer from W[erner] from Bacharach as soon as possible; 1) but he definitely wants a hundred guilders as salary. In this whole matter, we must take care above all that we do not sit in vain between two chairs, if we lose this one, and the other one perhaps goes elsewhere, either appointed by the Mainzer or on his own initiative. Many of our people have strongly urged me to keep Matthew for at least a year, also to prevent the disgrace, as they think, because of that *eclipse* (*eclipsin*), 2) which will perhaps take him out of hatred against us, as the rumor goes. But if you cannot write in such a short time what is to be done, then this must at least be written to him in Berlin, so that he will not be annoyed to postpone the matter further. I assume that he has decided to accept a Hebrew professorship either in Frankfurt 3) or in Leipzig, if it cannot be with us. Answer soon.

It is publicly said about my cause that the most terrible church punishment is in readiness against me, because the provost of the New Work in Halle 4) has warned me and,

1) In the original: ex V. Luttaraede. The V. is not to be resolved by Vito, as was done in the 60ä. The V is not to be dissolved by Vito, but by Vernoer, and instead of LuttaraeMo, which Luther wrote by mistake, LaeMaraeMo is to be read, as already Seidemann correctly assumed in De Wette, vol. VI, p. 653, because Werner was from Bacharach.

2) Mockingly, Leipzig is called so. The accusative Inpsirn (from the nominative Aps) also occurs in Uneins <t6<lolatu8, similarly the expression used here celipsin, eclipse, namely of truth.

3) Frankfurt on the Oder.

4) Nicolaus Demuth.

as they call it. Then some of my enemies also took pity on me and had friends from Halberstadt warn me that a certain doctor of medicine, who, when he has made himself invisible by magic, kills people as he pleases, has orders to kill Luther as well and will arrive on the next Sunday when the relics are shown. This is said to be quite certain. Farewell. On the day after Quasimodogeniti [April 16] 1520.

No. 13.

September 11, 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

Wittenberg.

Luther reports the result of the negotiations with Staupitz and Link, which Miltitz had sent to him to ask him to write a letter to the pope in which he declares that he never wanted to attack his person; Luther is willing to do so. From a letter of Hutten. The Archbishop of Mainz has banned Hutten's books, and covertly Luther's as well. Should the latter attack Luther by name, he said, he would join Hütten. From Agricola's Wedding. Interpretation of a passage of the Gospel.

This letter is handwritten in 60ä. len. a, I. 97. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 282; in De Wette, vol. I, p.485 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol.II, p.477.

The highly learned and honest man, Magister Georg Spalatin, princely court preacher, his superior in the Lord.

Jesus.

1st Hail! I received your letter dated from Altenburg 6) yesterday, dear Spalatin, but I had received the last one from Buttstedt 7) earlier. Nothing has been done about me in Eisleben 8) except that Carl Miltitz requested advice from the fathers and finally obtained that the venerable Father Staupitz

5) On the Monday after Misericordias Domini, the sanctuaries of the collegiate church at Wittenberg were shown (Erl. Briefw.).

6) Spalatin was on the journey to Cologne with the Elector. They left Lochau on August 27, arrived in Cologne on September 25, and returned to Lochau on November 29.

7) Buttstedt is 2H German miles north of Weimar.

8) On August 26, 27 and 28, 1520, a general chapter of the Augustinians took place in Eisleben.

and the new Vicar Wenceslaus should travel to me and ask me to write privately a letter to the Roman Pontiff, in which I testify that I have never done anything against his person, hoping that through this advice the matter will go out well.

2 Although this does not apply to me, nor to the fathers, the man who perhaps wants to advise his cause through this will still be granted. I will therefore write what is also true, that nothing has ever occurred to me that could be held against the person of the pope. For what can I write more easily and with more truth? By the way, I must be careful in writing that I do not treat the apostolic chair itself too harshly; but it will get its salt.

Hutten has addressed a letter to me, glowing with violent anger against the Roman pope, and writes that he is now attacking the priestly tyranny with writings and weapons, moved by the fact that the pope has pursued him with daggers and poison and ordered the bishop of Mainz to send him captured and bound to Rome. O, a nonsense (he says) worthy of the blind pope! You will get to see the document when I have recovered it from Heinrich Stromer 1), because he desired to see it.

(4) To the cause of the evil is added that the bishop of Mainz has commanded by sermons, with explicit mention of Hutten's name, that his books against the Roman pope are neither to be read nor bought, under the penalty of banishment, and at the end it is added that the same judgment also extends to similar books, where he punishes mine in a concealed manner. But should he also treat me in this way by name, I will also join my spirit with Hutten and excuse myself in such a way that it will not please the Bishop of Mainz; perhaps they themselves will hasten the end of their tyranny by this advice.

5. coming back to me. It

1) Heinrich Stromer from Auerbach in the Upper Palatinate, therefore also called D. Auerbach, professor of medicine in Leipzig.

Not six doctors have been with me, but only two, the Vicars Staupitz and Wenceslaus with several brothers. All of them do not dislike my cause, but the Romanists dislike it.

The most illustrious prince beautifully decorated Eisleben's wedding with a donated stag, so thank him very much for us.

(6) That about which you inquire from the Gospel [Matth. 13, 12. 25, 29.]: "To him who has, it is given that he may have the fullness; but to him who does not have, it is given that he has" (or as another evangelist [Luc. 8, 18.] I believe that Augustine treats it correctly, that it is a general summa by which the Lord wants to teach that those who are in grace and use the gifts they have received rightly receive more and more, even in the reception of what should have been distributed to others, while those who misuse them constantly decrease in it. For the gifts of the spirit cannot lie dormant. For they serve either to profit or to harm the one who possesses them, since they are living things, which does not happen in bodily things. Thus it is said in Revelation [Cap. 3, 11.], "Hold that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown."

(7) Thus the kingdom was taken from the Jews, and is daily taken from them; and it is given, and is given to the Gentiles, which bring forth the fruits thereof [Matt. 22:43], as the same Lord hath said. The same thing is always the case between the godly and the godless, and the Hebrews always rob the Egyptians, and one builds the house and the other inhabits it, as he foretold in the Law of Moses [Deut. 28:30].

Take this for the best, and be at ease in the Lord. But see to it that not everyone has free access to our prince everywhere, lest someone attack him with poison. For the Romanists will leave no stone unturned, and Hutten cannot warn me enough; he fears so much for me because of poison. Wittenberg, September 11, 1520, Martin Luther.

No. 14.

Wittenberg.

October 31, 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther indicates to Spalatin his return from Augsburg, and further that he has appealed and will appeal further; that he intends to publish the Augsburg negotiations and the papal breve with remarks. Finally, he asks for the promised doctor's banquet for the Carmelite priest Johann Frosch of Augsburg.

The original of this letter is in the Anhalt Gesamt-Archiv. Printed by Aurifaber, Vol. I, Bl. 99d; in Löschner's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 632; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 165 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 273.

To his highly learned friend Georg Spalatin, the Duke of Saxony's librarian 2c., in Christo.

JEsus.

Hail! Today, dear Spalatin, I have come to Wittenberg by the grace of God, but I do not know how lukewarm I will remain, for my cause is such that I hover between fear and hope. I have appealed from the badly reported pope to the pope who is to be better informed, and have thus departed, leaving behind the brother 1) who was to make the appeal known to the Cardinal with a notary and witnesses. In the meantime, since I have arrived here, I want to make another appeal to a future Concilium 2) and will attach myself to the Parisians in case the Pope, out of the fullness of his power, or rather of his tyranny, should reject the first appeal. I am full of joy and peace, so that I am surprised that this challenge of mine seems to be something great to many and great men.

The benevolence and mercy which the Legate, the Cardinal, promised to show to our most noble Prince 2c. against me, has certainly been great and abundantly shown, but we did not recognize it as such. For he has offered to do everything fatherly, yes, in the most fatherly way.

and would have done so without a doubt if I had only wanted to revoke mine. For at this junction the whole thing came to a standstill; because I did not want this, and he certainly wanted it (and I do not believe that he had any other order than to condemn), I was forced to appeal.

I will prepare my answers to his objections together with the appeal for publication and will add a theological explanation of the apostolic, even diabolical breve 3), which you have often mentioned against me and recently sent me a copy, which, when I returned, was delivered to me in Nuremberg with other letters of instruction. For it is unbelievable that something so monstrous emanates from the pope, especially from Leo the Tenth. Whoever, therefore, may have been the knave who wanted to frighten me with such a decree under the name of Leo X, will recognize that I can also recognize buffoonery, or if it has also in truth come from the Roman court, I will teach them about their quite impudent insolence and immoderate ignorance.

4 The Cardinal-Legate for his person pleases me very much, and as much as I suspect, the Romans begin to fear and trust their things little, therefore they seek excuses with great cunning. Other things I will tell you orally, God willing. Commend me to the prince and assure him that I am grateful and mindful of his kindness.

Finally, for the sake of the prince's honor, you are to see to it that you inform the prince of the arrival of the father licentiate, Carmelite priest in Augsburg, 4) who has entertained us abundantly and kindly. He is worthy in many ways that we, in turn, show ourselves to be pleasing to him. He left Augsburg on the Saturday before Simonis and Jude [October 23], and came to Augsburg.

1) Leonhard Beier. - The appeal is No. 212 in this volume, where notary and witnesses are indicated.

2) See No. 243 in this volume. - The University of Paris had appealed on March 27, 1518, and had published a paper about it.

3) The breve of Leo X of August 23, 1518 is No. 176 in this volume. Luther's gloss on it is No. 177.

4) Johannes Frosch from Bamberg came to Wittenberg in 1514 as a Baccalaureus and attained the degree of Licentiate there in 1516. Now he had come back to Wittenberg to receive the doctorate.

in the hope of the feast (pranäi) promised to him (as he says) by our prince; I too, if the prince has promised it, have come confidently; without doubt everything will happen. See therefore that all that he hopes will be done with honor 2c. Fare well in Christ. On Sunday, the day before All Saints, I hoped that you would be present with the Prince; but I was mistaken and hurried in vain. Wittenberg, 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 15a.

(Wittenberg.)

September 16, 1518.

Luther to Johann Lang.

About the sending of a brother. Luther's edition of Silvester's Dialogue is out of print and will be reprinted. About the erudition of Melanchthon. The Elector seeks to avert the trip to Rome. On religious affairs and the theologians of Erfurt.

This letter is handwritten in 606. dotün. 399, f. 126. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 81 d; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 627; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 141 (the date incorrectly resolved: September 9) and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 236.

To the venerable Father Johann Lang, middle vicar of the Augustinian hermits in Erfurt, his superior in Christ.

JEsus.

1. Hail! Here you have the brother who wants to sacrifice. He could not be sent sooner because there was no traveling companion. 1) I have no other Silvester dialogues than this one. Melchior Lotther prints others, since all copies of the earlier printing are sold. For this is how the Dominican brothers buy them all up and seek to suppress them. We are sending the lector Johannes Jenner 2) to his place, although I cannot learn anything for certain yet, only that I hope he will adopt better manners elsewhere.

The highly learned Philipp Melanchthon, who was fully versed in Greek (graecanicissimus), is our professor of Greek,

1) According to the rule of the Order, an Augustinian was not allowed to travel alone.

2) In the Wittenberg Album, p. 44, entered in the winter semester 1515 as Brother Johannes Gmner of Nuremberg.

a boy and tender youth, if you look at his age, otherwise one of us, if you look at the diversity of knowledge and the knowledge of almost all books; so much he is able not only in both languages, but also in the instruction in both languages; he is also not ignorant of Hebrew.

The Most Serene Prince has written to me that he has acted in my cause, that Cardinal Cajetan has written to Rome to have my cause transferred to Germany (*ad partes*); and in the meantime I would have to wait for that. Therefore I hope that the ban will not come. But I displease many, several, most.

By the way, you would not have had to answer me with such great impatience. For it was given to me, and in the meantime I have not yet looked for anything else, that you want all costs to be paid by us, not just those six Zerbster Groschen. Then our prior 3) was also very displeased and still displeases him that the brother carpenter 4) is delayed so long, namely until winter, when no one can work; but even there you may watch; what is it to me?

4) About the father, the Magister of Mecheln, 5) and the names of the deceased you can learn everything from this brother. Farewell and greet those who think it worthy to be greeted by me. I want your theologians to be astonished at me, but may it be left to me that I follow my theology. For I never want those people's, nowhere, in any way. On the day after the Octave of the Nativity of Mary [September 16] 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

3) Conrad Helt from Nuremberg (Vid. p. 43.).

4) Brother Wilhelm, the carpenter, had been promised by Staupitz to the Wittenbergers, and already on June 4 Luther had asked Lang (Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 595) to send him to Wittenberg to make chairs and benches for the monastery.

5) Johann von Mecheln, inscribed at Wittenberg in 1507, was later, when the governor Margaretha had the lower German Augustinian monasteries separated from the Saxon congregation in order to ward off any Protestant influence, elected vicar by four of them and confirmed in his dignity by Haorian VI in a breve of November 23, 1523 (Erl. Briefw.).

No. 15b.

Salzburg.

September 14, 1518.

Staupitz to Luther.

Staupitz fears for Luther, because he will have few friends in his fight for the truth, because of the fear of the adversaries. He invites Luther to come to Salzburg to live and die with him.

This letter is found in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 82 d; in Löschner's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 445 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 234.

JEsus.

Grasp the soul in patience instead of a greeting! I have so much to write about that it would suffice for a booklet, but I will keep it short. It seems to me that the world is embittered against the truth. In former times Christ was crucified with such great hatred, 1) and I see nothing that can await you today other than the cross. If I am not mistaken, the verdict is near that no one, without consulting the pope, should seek in the Scriptures what, in order to find Him, Christ has badly commanded to be done. You have few patrons, and yet God would not have them hidden for fear of the adversaries. It is my wish that you leave Wittenberg for a while and come to me, so that we may live and die together. The same pleases the prince. 2) With these words I conclude: "It is good that it should happen this way, so that we as forsaken follow the forsaken Christ. Farewell and come in good health. Given at Salzburg, on the day of the Exaltation of the Most Holy Cross [Sept. 14] in the year 1518.

Your brother Johannes Staupitz, D.

No. 16.

Augsburg.

October 10, 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther reports on his arrival in Augsburg on October 7, and that he will now speak with Cajetan only after three days, after he has previously rejected the impositions made on him by his deputy. News about various persons, namely Staupitz, whose arrival he expects.

1) Because it seems to us that kul886t is unstated, we have assumed fuit.

2) Matthäus Lang, Cardinal - Diaconus of the title St. Angeli, Prince of Gurk, Archbishop of Salzburg, Legate de Latere of the Apostolic See in Germany. Cf. above No. 175.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 83; in Löschner's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 628; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 142 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 239.

To his Georg Spalatin, the highly learned and loving priest of Christ, his friend in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! We came to Augsburg, my dear Spalatin, on the day of St. Marci, which is after Franciscus [October 7]. However, we arrived tired, and I almost stayed down on the way, having contracted I don't know what kind of severe stomach sickness, but I got better again. Today is the third day after my arrival and I have not yet seen the Reverend Legate, but on the first day I immediately sent Doctor Wenceslaus and another to report that I was there. In the meantime, I have been given safe conduct or a *salvus conductus* by very good friends among the imperials and the council. Out of consideration for our most noble prince, all are willing and ready to serve me.

For although the Cardinal, the reverend Legate, promises all kindness, my friends do not want me to trust him implicitly, so wisely and carefully do they take up the matter. For they know that he is inwardly extremely bitter against me, however he may outwardly present himself, which I have also recognized not indistinctly from other things.

Today, however, I will go to him in any case and request the first conversation and presentation; what will happen I do not know. To some it seems good for my cause that the Cardinal of Gurk 3) is absent, to others also that the Emperor is also absent, for he is not far from here and is expected back daily, and the Bishop of Augsburg 4) is not in town. I dined yesterday with Conrad Peutinger, the Doctor, who is both a citizen and a man, as you know him best.

3) Matthew Lang mentioned in the previous letter, not, as Seideinann thinks in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 665 8. v. Gurk, Bishop Raimund von Gurk, who died already on October 5, 1505.

4) Christoph von Stadion.

This one takes up my cause most of all with the greatest zeal, and also other councilors not less busy; and I do not know whether the reverend Lord Legate fears me, or whether he intends a Grenelthat.

Yesterday the Orator of Montferrat 1) sent to me that I should not go to the Legate until he had first talked to me. This man came (like all those in favor) at the instigation of the legate and provided by him with instructions, and urged me with many words and (as he said) with the most salutary advice that I should agree with the legate, return to the church, recant the evil spoken, by holding up to me the example of Abbot Joachim of Florist, who in just this way had managed not to be a heretic, even though he had spoken heretical things. Then the lovely man advised me against it, I should not give any reasons: Do you, he said, want to set up a tournament? In short, he is an Italian and remains an Italian. But I said: If I can be taught that anything I say is different from what the Holy Roman Church says, I will be my own judge and recant immediately.

5 Incidentally, here will be the knot: if he [Cajetan] will make the opinions of St. Thomas more obstinate than the decree and the reputation of the Church can suffer, I will not give way to him in this until the Church has revoked its previous decree, on which I base myself.

(6) Ei, ei, he said, do you want to organize a tournament? Then he went on to the most nonsensical proposals, that he publicly confessed that it was permissible to preach lying sentences, if they only brought good profit (*bonam questam*, as he said) and filled the chest; and that he said that one should not deal with the authority of the pope disputation-wise, but that the same must be raised in such a way that he alone, by his wink, could do away with all things, also with that, which challenges the faith.

especially in this matter, and several other things that you will hear orally.

But I have rejected this Sinon, who had been instructed not at all thoughtfully in the Pelasgian art 3), and he has gone away. Thus I hover between hope and fear, for this clumsy mediator has instilled in me not a little confidence.

I did not find Doctor Christoph Scheurl in Nuremberg, so I asked Philipp Feilitzsch to give six florins to Johann Böschenstein in the name of the prince, and he borrowed another four florins from D. Scheurl or the prior of our monastery in Nuremberg. 4) For he said that he could not accomplish such a great journey with so little means. He will now come as soon as possible.

Our reverend father Vicarius, Doctor Johann Staupitz, writes that he will definitely and certainly come if it is beyond doubt to him that I have arrived. Therefore, on the day I arrived, I immediately sent Brother Leonhard to announce my arrival, and I expect that he will come today.

The Frankish envoy had left shortly before I came to his country, and left behind an excellent verdict on me, in which he testifies to his favor towards me.

If you will share this letter with my Wittenbergers, or at least what you want them to know, you will do me a favor (at another time I will write more extensively and more, now I could not because of business and lack of time). Greet them all in my name, and may they be well, whether I come back or not. For it is certain that I will appeal to a future concilium, if the venerable Lord Legate will want to act more by force than by right.

(11) We know that the rose has been sent to our most noble prince by the pope (which they are accustomed to bestow on the great with great hope), and that all favors have been promised to him in the most benevolent manner. Summa Summarum: the Roman Church

3) See ViLL. IIb. II, V. 79. 106. 152.

4) Böschenstein received these four florins from Scheurl (Scheurl, Briefbuch II, p. 53).

1) Urban of Serralonga, who had been at the Electoral Court as the envoy of Count William IX of Montferrat in 1517. After the count's death, he stayed with Cajetan (Löscher, Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 453).

2) The abbot Joachim of Floris (near Cosenza in Calabria, Kingdom of the Two Sicilies) died in 1202.

(if one may speak so) has an insatiable thirst for gold, and by devouring it she increases the thirst again and again. Farewell in eternity and say the best thanks to the most noble prince in my place and commend me to him. Augsburg, Sunday after Dionysii [Oct. 10], very early, 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 17.

Augsburg.

14.¹) October 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther reports on his conversations with Cajetan.

The original of this letter is in the an Haltisches GesamtArchiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 85d; in Löscher's Ref. Acta, vol. II, p. 631; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 147 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 246. German in the Wittenberger (1569), vol. IX, p. 59; in the Jenaer (1579), vol. I, p. 118 b; in the Leipziger, vol. XVII, p. 184 and in Walch.

To his highly learned Georg Spalatin, priest of Christ, librarian of the Elector of Saxony 2c., to his lord who is to be highly honored in Christ.

To the Magister Georg Spalatin "zu Handen".

1st Hail! I do not like to write to the most illustrious prince, my dear Spalatin, therefore you, who are his *familiaris*, receive my letter and see to it that it is reported to the most illustrious prince.

The legate is now already acting with me on the fourth day, rather against me, in that he promises quite nicely that he wants to arrange everything gently and paternally out of consideration for the most noble prince, but he carries out everything alone with pure unbending force. He did not want me to answer in public disputation, nor did he want to dispute with me privately. It was only one thing that he answered me again and again: Recant, recognize your error,

This is the way the pope wants it and not otherwise, you may want it or not, and other such things.

3. but especially he urged me with a certain extravagant Clement the Sixth, which begins: Unigenitus. 2) Here, here, he said, you see that the pope states that the merits of Christ are the treasure of indulgences. Do you believe this, or do you not believe it? And he allowed no explanation or answer, but acted with the force of words 3) and cried out.

Finally, through the intercession of many, he could hardly be requested that I submit my responsibility in writing. I did so today in the presence of Philipp von Feilitzsch, whom I had taken with me for this reason, and who, in the name of and instead of the prince, pointed out the prince's request anew. At last he rejected and scorned the notes, and cried anew that I should recant, saying that he had overcome and silenced me by a lukewarm and broad speech which he had drawn from the fables of St. Thomas. Almost ten times I started to speak; just as often he thundered again and ruled alone.

At last I too began to cry out, saying: If it can be shown that those extravagant ones teach that the merits of Christ are the treasure of indulgences, then I will recant, as you will. Dear God! How tremendous gestures and mocking laughter there were! Suddenly he seized the book, read heatedly and puffing, until he came to where it is written that Christ acquired a treasure through his suffering 2c.

6 Here I said: Listen, most reverend father, consider this word: "he has acquired". If Christ acquired the treasure through his merits, then the merits are not the treasure, but what the merits have earned, that is, the keys of the Church. So my thesis 4) is true. Here he suddenly became confused, and since he did not ver-

2) Dextrav. IM. 5. tit. 9. 6. 2, not the Bull Vniuersalis given by Clement XI (Erl. Briefw.).

3) vi vorstorum, that is, as we see from No. 238, Col. 641: because the pope had spoken the words, Luther had to accept them.

4) The 58th indulgence thesis, Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 77.

1) Because of De Wette's concern about the correctness of this date, see the note in No. 238, Col. 646; likewise Köstlin, "M. Luther", Vol. I, p. 227. - The Erlangen correspondence has for this letter the inaccurate description of the content: "Report about his first and second conversation with Cajetan", because it is mainly talked about the third and last audience. Cf. Document No. 202.

When I wanted to appear confused, he jumped forcibly to other things and wisely wanted this to be forgotten. But I was (certainly quite disrespectfully) heated, and broke out into these words: Most reverend father, you may not believe that the Germans also lack grammar; it is something different "to be a treasure" and "to acquire a treasure."

007 And so his confidence was broken, though he yet cried out that I should recant. I left when he said, "Go, and do not return to me unless you want to recant."

And behold, soon after the end of the midday meal he summoned the reverend father Vicarius D. Staupitz, and with many flattering speeches he persuaded me to recant, also claiming (while I was absent) that I could not easily have a better friend than him. And since the latter had answered that he had persuaded me and was still persuading me today that I should humbly submit to the church, as I had also offered myself before all, he nevertheless said that he was no match for me (namely, in his opinion) in the Holy Scriptures and in spiritual gifts; furthermore, he [Cajetan] was in the place of the pope and in this position the superior of all of us, so that he himself should persuade. Finally, it came about that he should indicate the articles in which I should recant, also what I should hold.

9 And so the matter is so far in limbo. But I have neither hope nor confidence in him. But daily I work on the appeal, and will not revoke a syllable; but I will put out the answer I have given him, that it may be spread throughout the world, if he should continue by force as he began. Farewell. In haste. At Augsburg, on St. Calixtus' Day [14 October] 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 18.

Wittenberg.

November 19, 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther tells Spalatin to make sure that the Elector reads the letter he writes to him in response to the Cardinal's letter to the Elector, and expresses his displeasure with the Cardinal's theology.

nal, the Prieria and the Dominicans in general. He asks whether the Elector will not write to the Pope that his matter be negotiated in Germany; he is not concerned about himself, but about the welfare of the university.

This letter is handwritten in Ooä. a, t. 285. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 103; in Löscher's Ref.Acta, vol. II, p. 636; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 172 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 281.

To his Georg Spalatin, the priest of Christ, his extremely honest friend.

JEsus.

Hail! In this letter, 1) I write to our most noble prince, my dear Spalatin, more extensively and clearly the content and the events of my tragedy than I had written to you the other day. 2) For the messenger was pressing, and I had hardly entered the house. But I did not want to let him leave without a letter, even if it was written in the greatest haste and quite inadequately. It shall now be your task that the most noble prince either reads or hears this letter.

You can see from the second objection 3), to which I replied, how the Reverend Legate is versed in the Holy Scriptures. In addition, I have heard from his mouth quite untheological sentences, namely those which, if another had said them, I would have declared them to be the greatest heresies. I see that all those who belong to the Order of Preachers are of the same mind, that is, that none of them is righteously Christian, since this Cardinal is praised by the preaching monks themselves as the most princely prince (princeps principissimus) of their doctrine, but Silvester as the second after him. Consider thou (for thou knowest Silvester) what the tenth or the hundredth may be, if the second is such, and such also the first. My heart would almost be puffed up if I did not feel sorry for the people that they have so shamefully wasted their time and lost their studies and have learned nothing but the most miserable ignorance. Christ, the true light of men, has been banished, and Aristotle, the darkness of the world, has been banished.

1) Document No. 238 in this volume.

2) No. 14 in this appendix.

3) Document No. 237 in this volume, U 3 and 4.

Men, and the most abominable, have reigned. So now I have seen two lions of Moab, as the Scripture says [2 Sam. 23:20], can I fear the hares of Moab? Long live, long live, long live Christ! Amen.

Now I ask you to find out for me whether it would not be possible for the prince to write to the pope on my behalf so that my cause would be transferred to Germany. Not because I am very concerned for myself, since I am sorry that I am not worthy of suffering a particularly great evil for the truth, although I have sought dangers and hardships through this journey to Augsburg almost to the temptation of God, but because our university is dear to me, and I would not like to see the students of the best young men, who have an extraordinary zeal for the Holy Scriptures, who are still in infancy (in lacte), sacrificed. For it is written [Ex. 23:19], "Thou shalt not sacrifice the kid while it is at its mother's milk." But since I am suppressed by force, the door is already open against Andreas Carlstadt and everything that is called theologian, and I fear that our university, which has just arisen, will suddenly be destroyed, not unlike Pharaoh's order that the children of Israel should be killed and drowned from their mother's womb.

There are many Pharaohs among the preaching monks and especially since this pope holds the papal dignity, from whom they have obtained that the Council of Basel was condemned, of which the Cardinal himself boasted against me. Therefore they will presume to subject themselves to all things. But may God resist them, amen. Fare well in the Lord. Orally, perhaps, another and a more. Wittenberg, November 19, 1518, Brother Martin Luther.

No. 19.

Wittenberg.

November 12, 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

About the banquet to be held in honor of Johann Frosch; about the publication of the Augsburg Negotiations and the announcement of the appeal in Augsburg; complaint about the professor of the Hebrew language Böschenstein.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 102; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 634 (wrong: Nov. II); in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 168 (wrong: Nov. 6) and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 277.

To his highly learned and honest friend Georg Spalatin, the priest of Christ, librarian to the Prince of Saxony, in the Herrn 2c.

JEsus.

1st Hail! Behold, my dear Spalatin, that father, the licentiate Johann Frosch is here, and claims for certain that our prince has promised him as I have told you and written before. For I casually inquired about the certainty of the matter, so that he would not want to know that the prince knew nothing about this promise or was in doubt about it. His provincial did not come with him because he was prevented by indisposition, but he is expecting the Nuremberg prior. Now we have decided that we want to arrange for his banquet on the next Thursday [Nov. 18], so that he will not lose much time here in vain, in the certain hope that it will be paid for by the prince's generosity.

We did this, however, because this seemed good to us the other day when I was with you, and because it could have been assumed [by him] that it would happen neither in the castle nor elsewhere. For he wanted to speak to the prince beforehand, but since he was advised against it, he refrained from doing so, so that he would not have to spend the triple way and time on it, but especially because I knew that he would hardly be admitted, because of the suspicion of the plague, since he would necessarily have to travel through places infested with the plague. So we stand; if you have something better by which we may preserve both the honor of the Prince and the reverence for him [the Doctor], show it quickly. We would have prepared such a meal for him in our monastery, but we feared that we would not be able to get game; then, because it seemed more honorable, to yield to the princely promise.

1) Not Link, as Seidemann states in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 675 s. v.; rather, the Carmelite prior is meant. (Erl. Briefw.) - The Provincial had come as far as Nuremberg.

My Augsburg trade is printed. For my brother Leonhard has returned and reports nothing new from Augsburg, but neither does the licentiate, except that a certain one of my friends had wanted to dissuade the notary that he should not file my appeal, but nevertheless the notary remained steadfast through the coaxing of the licentiate. That is how people are when God is not with them. For that one is a great man, and was considered by me to be one of my first friends. But the scripture is true [Ps. 146, 3.]: "Do not rely on princes, they are men, they cannot help."

4 Our university is doing well, especially in Greek; only the Hebrew professor has a head after his own fashion, and puts weight on that which has no weight. For that which we esteem most highly he gives easily and gladly to it; that which we almost despise he makes great, as if he wanted to say no to it: that is, we let ourselves care for the meaning of the letters and words, but we do not care much for prosody, because we do not expect to become orators with the Jews. But we are at man's beck and call, lest he (which he is above all prone to do) raise any complaint. Farewell. Wittenberg, the day after St. Martin's Day [Nov. 12] 1518.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 20.

Wittenberg.

January 14, 1521.

Luther to Staupitz in Salzburg.

Luther reassures Staupitz about his matter by reminding him of a word he himself had spoken earlier and expresses confidence about the bold step of burning the bull. All kinds of news.

Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 2986; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 541 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 70.

JESUS.

Hail! When we were in Augsburg, Reverend Father, you said to me, among other things we discussed about this matter of mine, "Remember, brother, that you began this in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ;

I have accepted this word, not as spoken by you, but as spoken to me through you, and I keep it very well in my memory.

2 Therefore, with this word of yours, I now ask: Be mindful also that you have said this word to me. Until now there has been joking in this matter, now something more serious is about to happen, and, as you said: If God does not bring this about, it is impossible for it to be brought about; clearly this is now in the hand of the almighty 1) God, so that no one can deny it. Who can advise here? what can a man think? The noise rages so violently that it seems to me that it cannot be quieted other than by the last day. So great is the excitement on both sides.

3 The situation with the papacy is not like yesterday and the day before; even though it bans and burns books and may even kill me, something quite extraordinary is at the door. How happy the pope would have been, if he had rather used good means to establish peace than violence and storms to destroy Luther. I burned the books of the pope and the bull, at first with trembling and pleading, but now I am more pleased about this than about any other deed in my life, because they are more pernicious than I thought.

Emser writes in Leipzig in German against me 2) at the instigation of Duke George, who rages against me and has proposed at court to act against me in the most ungodly way, using threats and murder.

5 I was summoned by the emperor through letters to the prince, but he refused, and the latter immediately revoked the former ones through other letters. God knows what will happen. Our Vicarius Wenceslaus has gone to Nuremberg. Teschius is at Grimma; he is said to have left, God keep him. With us everything stands well as

1) Aurifaber offers potsntissiins, for which De Wette conjicirt potsntissimi, which we have assumed. The Erlanger has De Wette's other conjecture, patsutissilus.

2) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 39 f.

so far. Hütten has attacked the bull 1) with very sharp glosses against the pope, and still has many things planned with regard to this matter.

6 My writings have burned three times: at Louvain, at Cologne and at Mainz, but at Mainz with great contempt and even with danger to those who burned them. Thomas Murnar also wrote furiously against me. 2) For I am not surprised about that barefoot (*Barfotum*), the ass of Leipzig. Farewell, my dear father, and pray for the word of God and for me; I am torn and tossed by these floods. Wittenberg, on the day of Felix [January 14] 1521.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 21.

Wittenberg.

February 9, 1521.

Luther to Staupitz in Salzburg.

Staupitz had been accused by the pope of being a follower of Luther by the archbishop of Salzburg and had submitted to his judgment in a letter. Luther exhorted him to stand firm and to revoke this cowardly declaration so that he would not deny Christ.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 303; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 556 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 83.

To the venerable and noble man, Johann Staupitz,
Master of Holy Theology, Augustinian Hermit,
his superior in the Lord.

Hail! I am surprised, venerable father, that the letter and my books have not yet reached you, as much as I understand from your letter. Of course, I preach to others and become reprehensible myself, so much does the intercourse with people tear me away from myself. But in which spirit I still act the word of God, you see from what I send. Nothing has yet been done against me at Worms, although the papists are carrying out evil against me with extraordinary fury. Spalatin writes that there is a

was so great a favor against the gospel that he did not expect me to be condemned unheard and unconvicted.

Emser in Leipzig has put aside his shame and written a booklet against me, which is filled from beginning to end with a single lie. I am compelled to answer this monster for the sake of Duke George, who is puffed up by the nonsense of that man.

3 I do not dislike to hear that you are also attacked by Leo, so that you also set up the cross, which you have praised so much, as an example to the world. For I would not want that wolf to be satisfied with your answer, because you have admitted to him more than is right. For he will interpret it as if you completely deny me and all that is mine, after you have pronounced that you will suffer him to be your judge. Therefore, if Christ loves you, he will require you to recant this writing, since in this bull he has condemned everything you have taught and held about the mercy of God.

Since you know this very well, it seems to me that you cannot call him as a judge without insulting Christ, whom you see raging with hostile rage as an adversary of Christ against the word of grace. For it would have been your duty to declare this and to punish him for this ungodliness. For here it is not time to fear, but to cry out, since our Lord Jesus Christ is condemned, stripped and blasphemed. Therefore, as much as you exhort me to humility, I exhort you to hope. You have too much humility, as I have too much hope.

But the matter is serious. We see Christ suffering. Even if we had to keep silent and humble ourselves until now. Dear, must we not now, when our dearest Savior, who gave Himself for us, is made a mockery of in the whole world, fight for Him? Shall we not stick our necks out? My dear Father, the danger is greater than many think. Here the gospel [Matth. 10, 32. Luc. 9, 26.] begins to have its course: "Whoever confesses me before men, him will I also confess before my Father; whoever is ashamed of me, of him will I also be ashamed."

1) In Document No. 444 in this volume.

2) See St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p.40, note 1. - Murners name was nicely changed in his dispute with Wimpheling over his *dsrmauia*. (1502s transformed by his opponents into "Murnar" (Murr-cat), and now in his dispute against the Reformation hardly called differently (Erl. Briefw.). - The "Barefoot" is Alveld.

(6) May I still be found guilty of being a miser, an adulterer, a murderer, an enemy of the pope, and guilty of all vices, if only I am not accused of ungodly silence, while the Lord suffers and says [Ps. 142:5]: "I cannot escape, no one takes care of my soul. I looked to the right, and behold, no one would know me." For through this confession I hope to be absolved of all my sins. Therefore I have also confidently put on my horns against this Roman idol and the right Antichrist. The word of Christ is not a word of peace, but of the sword. But what do I simple teach a wise man (*sus Minervam*)?

(7) I write this to you all the more confidently, because I am very afraid that you will be in the middle between Christ and the pope, of whom you see that they are in the highest battle against each other. But let us pray that the Lord Jesus may shortly destroy this child of perdition with the spirit of his mouth. If then thou wilt not follow, let me go and be carried away; I will not (by Christ's grace) conceal from this abomination his abominations.

But this submission of yours has saddened me greatly and has shown me someone other than the previous Staupitz, the preacher of grace and the cross. If you had done this before knowing this bull and the shame of Christ, you would not have grieved me.

9 Huts and many others write bravely for me, and songs are made daily, which will little delight this Babel. Our prince not only acts wisely and faithfully, but also steadily; by his command I publish this writing "Grund und Ursach aller Artikel" 1) in both languages.

10 Philip greets you and wishes you a more joyful (*auctiorem* - richer) spirit. Please, greet also the physician Ludwig, who has written to me very learnedly. I had no time to write to him, since I have to employ three presses alone. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. Wittenberg, on the day of St. Apollonia, February 9, 1521. Your son Martin Luther.

1) Document No. 448 in this volume.

No. 22.

(Wittenberg.)

November 25, 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends some letters back to Spalatin, reminds him of the delivery of the letter from the university and his letter to the Elector, in which he answers Cajetan's letter, and awaits Spalatin's verdict on the same. He is aware of the excommunication from Rome and is determined to then leave Wittenberg. Just then, the [^]uAU8tarm should be issued.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches GesamtArchiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 104d; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 637; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 188 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 303.

To his Georg Spalatin, the worthy and highly learned man, his best friend in Christ.

JESUS.

Hail! I am sending back to you 2) the letter of the pretended Bishop of Liège, 3) my dear Spalatin, and the other one of Crotus 4); but you will see to it that the most illustrious Prince gets to see the letter of the University and mine 5). I await your judgment on my answer, which I have given with reference to the letter of the legate, if it is not to be erased completely. Now my Acta [Augustana] are published.

By the way, I am expecting the curses from the city of Rome every day, so I am making arrangements and arranging everything so that when they come, I will be ready and ready to go with Abraham, without knowing where to go, but certainly where to go, because God is everywhere; but I will leave a farewell letter behind. But you see that you dare to read the letter of the cursed and banished one. Now take care and pray for me. On the day of St. Catherine [Nov. 25] 1518.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

2) The original has *reruitto* and so the Erlanger Briefwechsel; in the other editions: *remitte*.

3) It is Document No. 166 in this volume. It seemed so unbelievable to Luther that a bishop so openly denounced the abuses of the Roman court that he doubted the authenticity of the document.

4) Crotus Rubianus, actually Johann Jäger from Dornheim, Luther's study friend in Erfurt. The letter written from Italy to Luther in Augsburg no longer exists (Köstlin, Martin Luther, Vol. I, p. 286).

5) The letter from the university is No. 263 and Luther's No. 238 in this volume.

No. 23.

(Wittenberg.)

December 13, 1518.

Luther to Staupitz.

Luther indicates his return to Wittenberg; that those which the prince did not want to be published are now finally being printed with his permission. He complains about Cajetan's malicious letter to the Elector, but has answered it properly. The Elector wishes to have him removed, and therefore a meeting with Spalatin has taken place in Lichtenberg, but his departure for France is being resisted. The Erfurt fathers do not want Johann Lang to receive his master's degree.

Handwritten, this letter is in the Oo6. cken. k. 24, 1. 178. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 101 (without date); in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 639 (presumably dated Dec. 7 without giving a reason); in De Wette, vol. I, p. 194 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 319 (Dec. 13 after Eocl. cken.).

To the venerable and dear Father Johann Staupitz, Vicar of the Augustinian Hermits, his most beloved Father in Christ.

Jesus.

I came to Wittenberg at the beginning of the holy evening before All Saints, happy and healthy, venerable and dear father, but I came against everyone's expectation, but afterwards I found this shameful case, and immediately I was sorry that I had arrived. May the Lord have mercy on us.

2) The prince has absolutely objected to my [Augsburg] Acta being published; now he has finally allowed it, and now they are being printed. 1) In the meantime, the reverend Lord Legate has written a lengthy letter to the prince, 2) in which he accuses me and you and my comrades (as he calls them) horribly, because we left without his knowledge, and complains that this is a fraudulent act. Finally, he has advised that he may send me to Rome or expel me from his lands, so that

he does not (these are his words) bring a stain on his honor for the sake of a little brother, and says that they will pursue the matter in Rome, 3) because he has written my fraudulent action to Rome and washed his hands. The prince wanted me to answer this letter, and so I did, 4) and, as I believe, gave him his fee.

But the prince is very concerned for me, but he would rather that I had a place elsewhere. He had M. Spalatin in Lichtenberg, where I was appointed, talk to me about this matter for a long time. I said: If the Baun comes, I will not stay; and he advised me not to go so quickly to France. I am still waiting for his advice. But farewell, my dearest father, and command only my soul to Christ. I see that they have made a firm resolution to condemn me, but Christ again strengthens in me the resolution not to give way. Let it be done, let his holy and blessed will be done. Pray for me.

4 I ask you, what kind of absurdity are the fathers at Erfurt up to, that they do not want to let the father Vicarius, the Licentiate, 5) come to the Magister dignity? how long, I ask you, shall this peculiar nature and this disobedience last? For I forgot this, since I was with you and wanted to talk to you as much as possible. Our university is doing well, except that the best lessons do not have enough hours. On the day of Lucia [13 December] 1518.

Your Martin Luther, a poor man.

No. 24.

(Wittenberg.)

December 11, 1518.

Luther to Link.

About Miltizen's arrival, the Augsburg Acts that Luther sent, the Protestation and other of his writings; about the death of the provost at Kemberg and the flourishing of the Wittenberg University. In the postscript, of the mood of the Elector, and that he had intended to suppress the Augsburg Acts.

1) namely with the approval of the Elector, which, as we see from No. 26, was not yet available on December 9. Thereupon, in the already completed copies, the blackening of the objectionable passage in Document No. 177 in this volume will have been carried out, and the printing of further copies, with their omission, will have been permitted. Already on Dec. 11, Luther sent a copy to Link. See No. 24 of this appendix.

2) No. 237 in this volume.

3) Instead of euu8uo in the editions, as in Cajetan's letter, euusuin will be read.

4) No. 238 in this volume.

5) Johann Lang, District Vicar.

Handwritten in the Ooä. OIoMÜ. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 124; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 192; in Löschner's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 641 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p.316.

To the venerable Father Wenceslaus Linken (*Sinistro*), a right (*dextro*) theologian, Augustinian ecclesiastics at Nuremberg, his superior to be highly venerated in Christ.

I have written letters to you and still do, dear Father Wenceslaus, but the messengers are so rare, then also so unreliable, that I doubt whether you will receive them; now I have the confidence that I will certainly come to you through this one. The rumor has reached me of three apostolic breves that have been given to Carl Miltitz against me. For M. Caspar has learned this from your letters and has reported it to me through his own messenger out of excessive concern for me. Behold, I send you my [Augsburg] Acta, which have gone out more sharply than the Lord Legate might have expected; but my pen goes pregnant with much greater things. I do not know whence these thoughts come to me: this matter, in my opinion, has not yet had its beginning, so much is lacking in it that the Roman greats could hope for the end. I will send you my little things, so that you may see whether I am right in thinking that the true Antichrist, as Paul depicts him [2 Thess. 2:3 ff.], reigns at the Roman court; that he is worse today than the Turk, I believe I can prove.

2) Our printer has issued 1) my appeal to a concilium to my many and great displeasure; but it has happened. I wanted to keep it printed with me, but God has other thoughts. Those yelpers bark everywhere extraordinarily against me, but they do nothing. I have taken up the Our Father again, 2) in order to publish it in German. I am also sending you other little things of mine, namely the answers 3) to the letter of the Lord Legate, but with the condition that you send all this after you have received it.

1) Johann Grüenberg. - The appellation is No. 243 in this volume.

2) "Interpretation in German of the Lord's Prayer for the Simple Laity," St. Louis edition, vol. VII, 752.

3) Luther's answer No. 238 in this volume; the Elector's answer No. 241.

to the venerable father Vicarius 4). I am expecting my murderers from Rome or somewhere else. I am surprised that it is dragging on with the ban. The provost in Kemberg 5) gave up his spirit in the plague, but in such a calm and gentle death that I have never been so pleased by the death of any man. He spoke and did everything in the most Christian way to his end and desired full of faith and confidence to be dissolved. Praise be to God! M. Bartholomäus Feldkirch, the Rector of our University, has taken his place. There is nothing else new with us. Our university is as busy as the ants. Farewell and greet all who are to be greeted, especially the pastor of the Sebalduskirche 6) and the other magisters, but especially Pirkheimer and Albrecht Dürer, D. Christoph Scheurl. D. Eck writes that my answer against Silvester does not please him everywhere, nor does he dislike it everywhere, but he nevertheless adds a very wise and true word, namely that he knows that his judgment does not count for much with me, because in fact his advice counts for nothing with me. What I am sending to Augsburg, you will, I hope, have taken care of. Farewell again. In a hurry. On the Saturday before the third Sunday of Advent [Dec. 11] 1518.

At first, the prince would have preferred that I not be in the place; afterwards, he definitely wanted me to stay. What he thinks now, after the Acta and the appeal have been issued, I do not know. For he delayed for a long time that they should not be published; but even since they were already printed, he wanted them to be suppressed, which could not happen even through my doing. He is now holding a meeting in Jena because of the answer to be given to the legate about the money against the Turk. I do not know whether it is good that you communicate the appeal to many, although it is widespread among us.

4) Staupitz.

5) According to Lingke, Reisegeschichte Luthers, p. 87, the provost was called Ziegelheim von Sprenberg.

6) Johann Herholt (Seidemann-De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 667 s. v.). - "The other Magister" was Georg Pesler (Burkhardt, Briefw., p. 500), not Hector Böhm [Böhmer], as Seidemann 1. o. p.646 states.

No. 25.

Wittenberg.

December 20, 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther apologizes for the announcement of the appeal and the Augsburg Acts, which the printer had issued in sheets without his prior knowledge. His joy about the answer of the Elector to Cajetan.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches GesamtArchiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 125; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 644; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 197 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 323.

To his highly learned and best friend Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, his master.

JEsus.

Hail! Neither my advice nor yours has gone through, my dear Spalatin. For I, too, ordered that the appeal be printed, but made an agreement with the bookseller that he should not issue any at all, but lay them all down with me after he had received his payment from me, so that, wherever the expected furies of the Roman judgment would come, they would then be ready and ready to be distributed after I had escaped. But the good man, who was anxious for his profit, had, while I expected him to bring them, sold almost all of them beforehand, and I then learned as the last of all that they had been published. I was very displeased with him, but it had happened and I could not undo it. Similarly, the acts were finished except for the last sheet (quaternionem ----- Quaterne) when your first ban arrived, and issued into many people's hands (so much do they chase after it when I publish something that takes up even one page); then I could not hold back the last sheet, since the previous ones had been distributed. Otherwise, don't doubt it, I would have preferred your advice and would have been safe, as I did before (as you know). Now I am all the more sorry for the publication of both writings, after I have seen this excellent letter from our most noble Prince to the venerable Lord Legate 1). Dear God, with what joy I have read it and again I have read it.

1) No. 241 in this volume.

I read it with the realization of how full of joyful defiance it is, and yet seasoned with extraordinary modesty. I fear that the Italians do not sufficiently recognize what is behind it. For it is a kind of people who, both in things and in writings, focus their attention on outward appearance and prestige. But at least they will see that they have not yet begun anything of what they thought they had already finished. It is impossible that they will not completely dislike him. Therefore, for the sake of the Lord, I ask you to give me the best interpretation of the outgoing of the last writings, which is also very unpleasant for me, and then also to thank the most noble prince for me and to praise him in an appropriate way for my extremely happy gratitude. It is excellent that he, who recently was my equal, a mendicant monk, now [but] is not afraid to approach even the most powerful princes without all reverence, to address them, to threaten them, to command them, 2) because it is also late that also the worldly power is from God, and that its honor must not be trampled underfoot, especially by such a man, who has received his power only from men. It pleases me extraordinarily that the prince has shown such an exceedingly patient and wise impatience in this matter. May the Lord in mercy make all this, whatever it is, His own and acknowledge it as such. Amen. Farewell and greet all our friends at court. Wittenberg, the day before St. Thomas [20 December] 1518.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 26.

(Wittenberg.)

December 9, 1518.

Luther to Spalatin.

Spalatin's warning not to publish the Augsburg Acts had come too late; he had heard disturbing things about Miltitzen's arrival in Germany, and also

2) Before äisout, De Wette and the Erlangen correspondence put a punctum, as we think, not good. For this is not both a criticism of Cajetan and praise of the churfürstliche Brief. Aurifaber, Löscher and the old translator have the punctuation we have assumed.

made an appeal. It was wrong that he had taken leave of the Wittenberg people, he had only announced to them the possibility of a quick departure.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches GesamtArchiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 123; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. II, p. 640; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 191 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 314.

Your esteemed husband, Mr. Georg Spalatin,
Christ's servant, librarian of the Prince of
Saxony, his friend who is to be highly honored
in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! It had already happened, my dear Spalatin, what you forbade me by your letter. My acts have been published, but with great freedom of truth, yet not yet completely. I see that I must hurry in this and in all things. Yesterday I received news from Nuremberg that Carl von Miltitz is on his way; a credible person (as they write) is said to have seen that he has three papal breves 1) that he should take me prisoner and hand me over to the pope. Likewise, through our prior 2) the Doctor of Eisleben, who together with Philipp von Feilitzsch stood with me before the legate at Augsburg, commands me to be careful; he had been on the journey, where he had heard that one of the Roman court (cortisanum) had prayed, he had promised the pope that he would deliver me. I also hear other things, all of which, may they be true or may they be pretended to terrify me, as I think, are not to be despised. And therefore, lest they kill me unprepared or assault me with the ban, I have arranged everything and await the counsel of God. I have also appealed to a future concilium. 3) And the more they rage and enter the way with violence, the less I am frightened; I will finally be even freer against this Roman serpent breed (lernas). It

1) There were not only three, but several, namely to the Elector, to Degenhard Pfeffinger, to Spalatin, to the Naumburg canon Donat Groß and to the council of Wittenberg, No. 250. 251. 253. 255 and 256 in this volume.

2) The "Prior" is Conrad Held; the "Doctor" Johann Rühel.

3) Document No. 243 in this volume.

is false what you have heard, that I have bid farewell to the Wittenberg people, but I have spoken on this opinion: I am a very uncertain and unfaithful preacher, as you have experienced. How often have I left you without saying goodbye! Now if the same should happen once, I will have bid you farewell, if I should not return. Then I admonished them that they should not be frightened by the rays of the pope's banishment, which raged against me, nor for their sake blame the pope or any other person, but should command the matter to God, and the like. For I read and teach as before. Fare well. On the day after the conception 4) [Mary] [9 December] 1518.

Brother Martin Eleutherius.

No. 27.

November 4, 1520.

Wittenberg.

Luther to Spalatin.

About letters to Spalatin that have not arrived. Luther is pleased that Spalatin understands that one cannot rely on men; he does not demand the protection of the princes for the gospel, but only works so that they accept it and become blessed. From his writings against the Bull, from the enmity of Duke George and the Bishop of Merseburg, from the writing of Thomas Rhadinus. He wants to renew his appeal, and write to Duke George and the Bishop of Merseburg, but not to that of Mainz. Of the enmity of Matthew Adrian, the reception of the bull in Erfurt and by the bishop of Bamberg.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches GesamtArchiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 287d; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 520 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 509.

To the man distinguished by scholarship and
godliness, Mr. Georg Spalatin, court preacher of
the Elector, Duke of Saxony, his! Friends in the
Lord.

JEsus.

1st Hail! I, too, wonder what has come between you and not receiving my letters, dear Spalatin. For I have written twice, and I realize that nothing has come to you. I am glad that you finally see that the hopes of the Germans are futile.

4) In the old edition: "after the Annunciation".

are that you learn not to trust in princes [Ps. 118, 8. 9. 146, 3.], and refrain from depending on the judgment of men, who either praise or condemn mine, as you have depended on it until now. If the Gospel were such that it would be either propagated or preserved by the potentatibus of the world, God would not have commanded it to the fishermen.

(2) My dear Spalatin, it is not the business of the princes and bishops of this world to protect the word of God, and for this reason I do not seek anyone's protection, since they must rather assist one another against the Lord and His anointed [Ps. 2:2]. What I do, I do rather for this reason, that through their service to me they may prove themselves pleasing to the word of God, and through the same be saved. But I am sorry for those who have heard and known it. For these cannot deny, forsake and conceal it without their eternal ruin. We must fear lest thou also be found among them with us, and many of the friends, and pray for the spirit of strength.

It is difficult to disagree with all bishops and princes, but there is no other way to escape hell and divine wrath. Therefore, see that those who take offense at my sharpness are those who disdain the cause of the word, and I do not know what human thoughts are. For if a man esteems the thing of dignity, it is not to be wondered at if he would cry out and burst. If you did not push so hard, I would order the whole thing to GOtte and do no more than I have done, since I know that only through his advice and help the matter must be pursued.

I have published the Latin counterbullet 1) which I am sending; it will also be printed in German. I ask you not to be moved in it by those who are unwilling that moderate commandments are harshly touched. The Roman pope's commandments are not moderate commandments, since in them Christ is annihilated and denial of faith is commanded. I have, from lukewarm

ter displeasure about the matter, have to be short. Thus, this satanic bull torments me, and I almost kept silent altogether. For which Satan has ever spoken so insolently against God from the beginning of the world? But what shall I say? I am overwhelmed by the greatness of the most frightening blasphemies of this bull, and no one pays attention to that. I am completely convinced that the Last Day is near, by many and powerful signs; the kingdom of the Antichrist is beginning to come to an end.

Duke George is completely furious against me with his sophists and the bishop of Merseburg. I see that this bull implies a rebellion that cannot be quenched, which is befitting the action (*officium*) of the Roman Curia. Emser has published his Furies against me under the name of Thomas Rhadinus Todiscus 2) and had them printed in Rome, and now in Leipzig. It is to their praise that they have raged with incredible fury.

I will not write privately to the princes, but will renew the appeal by a public note, and call upon all the great and small of Germany to adhere to the appeal, and will state the impropriety of the matter; then I will appeal to the conscience of each one, so that he will not be convicted at the hour of death that he has obeyed these monsters. -

I will not do anything with the bishop of Mainz, but I will corner Duke George and the bishop of Merseburg with letters and the German counter-bullet (when it is published); not that I hope to soften these stubborn spirits, but to save my conscience by informing them of their danger. For it is impossible for those to be blessed who have either acceded to this bull or have not opposed it. The Lord will look at the other, even at you. 4)

2) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1252, note 4.

3) No. 478 in this volume, the renewed appeal.

4) The old translator offers here: "not you", but the Latin says: et vos. This can also be translated: also you.

Egranus has told us the same thing about our Adrian, but he has also become an enemy of mine, claiming that I have taught that good works count for nothing, but faith alone. He has hardly refrained from publicly reviling me. Yes, he has insulted me, and the man, who is quite unlearned in theological matters, has challenged me; he is of no use at all and must soon be dismissed. He has gone to Leipzig, perhaps to join forces with Eck. May the will of the Lord be done.

The Erfurt Academy, which had been most urgently requested by Eck, did not admit the bull, claiming that it had not been communicated in a lawful manner. The Bishop of Bamberg rejected it in the same case. The young people of Erfurt besieged the corner armed and threw the printed bull in shreds into the water, therefore it is now in truth a bull (*bull*a == water bubble). The city council turns a blind eye, the court in Mainz dares nothing. But with what honors Eck was received in Leipzig, I think you know; he is hated by almost everyone, except the prince and the bishop. You do what the Spirit will have told you and be well. Wittenberg, November 4, 1520.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 28.

(Wittenberg.)

September 25, 1522.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends a book for his host at the Wartburg, and wishes that the Elector may be calm on his account and let him lead the fight.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 92 k; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 252 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 7.

To Georg Spalatin, evangelist at court and to the prince of Saxony.

Grace and peace! I ask you to send this copy to that John in the kingdom of the birds 1), my host, the

1) Hans von Berlepsch, castle captain at Wartburg Castle, to whom Luther sends a copy of the New Testament here.

you know, until I will have several. For by this case I am angry with Lotther's trade (foro), and not yet reconciled or appeased. By the way, you see what our Wenceslaus writes here. I would like our prince to mind his own business and let me deal with Satan and his scales, as I also wrote before. The sky will not fall if he does not believe that, but I believe it and I am sure. But why do I trouble myself with words? Who does not see that by the ready help of God so far the threats of all have become mockery? He who has done this will do this also until the end. This matter will not be led, and will be led, at anyone else's peril. Be well and pray for me. Greet the rest of us. At this hour I am leaving for Leisnig, since I have often been called and requested there. Thursday after Mauritius [September 25] 1522.

Martin Luther.

No. 29.

Wittenberg.

March 25, 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends the "Weise, wie Man beichten soll," the printing of which he is dissatisfied with. The "Sermon of Good Works" is in progress, and Luther asks to whom he should dedicate it. The answer to dje at Cologne and Louvain is soon ready. Council for the pastor at Lochau.

The original of this letter is in the Cksammt archives of Anhalt. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 252 d; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 430 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 366.

To the learned and good man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Magister, his Alertheuersten in Christo.

JEsus.

1) Hail! I send you "the way how to confess", 2) my dear Spalatin, little correct, which is annoying; then with omission of the preface, which we, although it was ready, I do not know by what fate, have omitted to print. It is under the hand and pen of the "Sermon of Good Works," 3) which will not become a sermon, but a booklet, so much does it grow under the

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 786.
3) St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1288.

If it continues like this, it will become the best of all that I have published; but I know that what I like, because it is mixed with this heaven, does not tend to please others. What is your opinion about it, I wish to know.

(2) It has been discussed with me several times that I would like to dedicate a booklet to our most noble Prince John or his son or his wife. But I, since I suspected that they were looking for a name, and I did not want the Holy Scriptures to be used for the name of anyone except God, have not granted them permission until now. If it seems to you, give advice, and I will dedicate this sermon or booklet to the one you will name. 1)

The answer to the Cologne parasites (bomolochos) and the dead lions 2) has come to the end of the last sheet and will soon be finished. Farewell and pray for me, and guide the pastor at Lochau 3) that he may learn to wear the courtly manners which the Lord has assigned to him as relics of the holy cross, and not yield easily, and he will be blessed in this profession. I know that they are very burdensome, but the fiercer the fire, the more quickly and surely it proves the gold. Wittenberg, Sunday Judica [March 25] 1520.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 30.

(Wittenberg.)

2. February 1519.

Luther to Joh. Sylvius Egranus.

Luther reports on the negotiations with Miltitz, admonishes Egranus to stay in Zwickau, reports the upcoming disputation with Eck, and sends Carlstadt's writings.

Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 140; in Löschner's Ref. Acta, Vol. III, p. 956; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 215 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 407.

1) He dedicated it to Duke John of Saxony. St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1298.

2) Meant is "Die lehrmäßige Verdammung der Bücher Luthers durch etliche Magistri nostri zu Löwen und Köln und Luthers Antwort darauf," No. 421 in this volume. -is a poor, lowly man, who was condemned by the Victim seeks to get something, who gives himself up to anything for the sake of food.

3) Jakob Gropp.

To the right theologian and Christian man, Johann Egranus, ecclesiastics at Zwickau, his superiors in the Lord.

JESus.

1. salvation Hear lately, my dear Egranus, how it stands with my things. Carl von Miltitz was sent to our prince, armed with more than seventy apostolic letters, which were given to him to bring me alive and bound to the murderous Jerusalem [Matth. 23, 37], namely Rome; but on the way he was thrown down by the Lord [Apost. 9, 4], that is, frightened by the crowd of those who were favorable to me. After he had carefully investigated the opinion of me everywhere, he changed his violence into a deceptively feigned benevolence, and dealt with me in so many words that I should recant my sayings in honor of the Roman church. I answered him to this blow: One should prescribe the manner of the recantation and indicate the cause of the error, but such a cause that would be apparent enough to the common man and the scholars, so that a recantation that had no good appearance would not arouse even more hatred against Rome.

We finally agreed on the bishops, either the one in Salzburg or the one in Trier, that one of them would be ordered to do the thing, and so we parted amicably, even with a kiss (namely a Judas kiss), because he also cried under the admonition. But I opposed it, as if I did not understand these crocodile tears. That is how far it has come; what they may now do in Rome, I do not know.

Carl said that in a hundred years there had not been a thing that had been more troublesome for the quite idle bunch of Cardinals and the Roman Romanists (*Romanantium Romanorum*), and that they would rather give ten thousand ducats than allow this thing to go further than the beginning. I rejoice, and command GÖtte everything.

4 I also wrote to you before that you should not leave Zwickau; you can learn a lot from books at leisure in Zwickau.

Do Greek. For you owe GÖtte, that is the people of God, more than you and the sciences. I wish to know what ails you in the doctrine of faith, which seems clear to me. For I do not separate justifying faith from love; indeed, for this reason one believes, because he is liked and loved in whom one believes. Grace causes the word to be well pleased and believed; but this is to love. I, too, do not like everything that the newer ones have said about faith, hope and love, since they do not seem to have understood any of them.

Our Eck, who was approached by me in Augsburg to fight with our Carlstadt in Leipzig so that the dispute would be settled, has finally agreed. But listen to how the man behaves: he takes up my sentences and bites them most horribly, and he lets go of the one he has to deal with; one would think that he was playing a carnival game. I am therefore compelled to get involved with the man for my indulgence theses and to fight with him. He is a quite unfortunate little glory beast.

After Easter, he promises the battle. Some claim that it is instigated by the Dominicans (*Praedicatoribus*), but it is the will of the Lord. I would have sent a copy, but I have only one, which was sent to me from Nuremberg. I am sending Carlstadt's booklet "On the Justification of the Wicked"; he has completed the rest "On the Spirit and the Letter", which I am also sending, hoping that you have the beginning of it. Fare well in Christ and pray for me. On the day of the Purification [of Mary] [February 2, 1519.

Martin Luther.

No. 31.

(Wittenberg.)

February 20, 1519.

Luther to Staupitz.

Complains about Staupitz's silence; about the negotiation with Miltitz; about the Leipzig disputation, which the Leipzigers initially refused; about the Basel edition of his small works (*opusculi*).

Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 151; in Lösche" Ref. Acta, Vol. III, p. 964; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 251 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 430.

To the venerable and dear father, Johann Staupitz,
Vicar of the Hermits of St. Augustine, his patron
and superior to be highly venerated in Christ.

JESUS.

Hail! Even though you are very far from us and silent, venerable Father, even though you do not write the eagerly awaited letters to those who are waiting for them, we want to break the silence. We wish, all of us wish, that you would let us see you once in this heavenly region. I believe that my [Augsburg] acts have come to you, that is, the Roman anger and displeasure; God is tearing, driving, I cannot say leading me; I am not powerful, I want to be quiet and am torn into the midst of the noise.

Carl Miltitz saw me at Altenburg and complained that I had attracted the whole world to me and had withdrawn it from the pope; he had scouted out in all the inns that among five people hardly three or two were favorably disposed toward the Roman party. He was equipped with seventy apostolic breves for the task of bringing me captive to the murderous Jerusalem, the purple-clad Babel [Revelation 17, 4. f.], as I learned afterwards from the prince's court. Since it was desperate with this undertaking, he began to negotiate that I should give back to the Roman church what I had taken from it and recant.

But since I requested that he should report the things to be revoked, we finally agreed that some bishops should be ordered to do so. I named the Archbishop of Salzburg, of Trier, and of Freising, and in the evening he received me, and we were merry at a banquet, and after he had given me a kiss, we parted. I pretended not to understand these Italian tricks (*Italitates*) and hypocrisy. He also had Tetzel called and scolded; at last he convicted him in Leipzig that he owed ninety florins as his monthly salary.

1) Namely, von Eck's first edition of theses. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 25a f.

He would have had a salary and three horsemen and a wagon free of charge and without any expenses. Now this Tetzl has disappeared, and no one knows where he has gone, except perhaps his fathers.

4 My corner, the treacherous man, draws me again into new things, as you see here, 1) so much does the Lord see to it that I am not idle. But this disputation will, if Christ wills, go out badly for the Roman rights and customs, on which Eck leans as on his sticks [Isa. 36, 6. Ezek. 29, 6.].

I would like you to see my small works (*opuscula*) printed at Basel, so that you can see what learned people think of me, Eck, Silvester and the scholastic theologians. For the very witty people call Silvester *magirum* [cook] of the palace 2) instead of *magister* of the palace (but it is *magirus* in Greek, ahead in Latin), making a deliberate printing error, and they rebuke him with other very sharp remarks. This will hurt the Roman great ones. You, I beg you, pray for me. For I have the firm confidence that the Lord requires your heart to be concerned for me. I am a man exposed to society, intoxication, tickling, carelessness, and other troubles, and am surrounded by them, except that which oppresses me by virtue of my office.

The Leipzigers have finally given their consent to the disputation with Eck and accuse me of carelessness that I had written that they had refused it, and demand in a letter addressed to me that I should revoke this. But I am certain through Duke George that they have refused. I have answered twice that their dean, when I asked for it, had refused me before, which he also did. So pitifully do people seek whether they can prevent such a disputation, but Duke George is very insistent on it. Farewell, dearest father. February 20, 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

1) Probably Luther sent with this letter also the letter to Carlstadt, No. 361 in this volume, to which the disputation note of Eck is attached.

2) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 20a and the note to it.

No. 32.

(Wittenberg.)

March 5, 1519.

Luther to Spalatin.

Admonished by Spalatin to mention faith and works, also obedience to the Roman church in his defense, Luther says that it never occurred to him to become unfaithful to the Roman see. The Roman decrees are supposed to leave the true gospel unhindered. The arrangement of lectures at the university.

The original of this letter can be found in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 154; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 965; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 235 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. I, p. 446.

To the esteemed and highly learned man, Georg Spalatin, court preacher to the most illustrious Elector of Saxony.

Jesus.

Hail! You have reminded me twice, my dear Spalatin, that I should mention faith and works, then also obedience to the Roman Church in my German treatise on defense 3). I believe that I have done so, although it was published before you reminded me. It has never occurred to me that I would have wanted to fall away from the Roman See; indeed, I am content that he be called, or be, the Lord of all. What is that to me? since I know that also the Turk is to be honored and tolerated, for the sake of violence, because I am sure that only by God's will (as Peter [1 Ep. 2, 13. Rom. 13, 1.] says) any violence can exist. But I am anxious, because of my faith in Christ, that they should not tear and defile his word according to their will.

2. the Roman decrees shall leave me free of the true gospel, and even if they take away everything else, I will not do the slightest thing. What more can I do or should I do? Therefore, I will be more than happy to stick to the treaty and not innovate in anything, because this disputation, as I hope, is a disputation, and only the scholars should keep an eye on it; the common people will have their sermon. Farewell.

3) This is Document No. 281 in this volume: "Unterricht auf etliche Artikel, so ihm von seinen Abgönnern auflieg und zugemessen worden worden.

You wish to know who the petitioners are with regard to the lectures that the most noble prince would like to change? The Rector, 1) Carlstadt, me and Amsdorf. Many, however, do not like it, but for a quite unjust reason, since they do not look at what is useful for the young people, but at what the magisters should feed on. And as I was arguing with someone the other day, I said: If the scholarships are only to be given to feed the masters, then the university will become a hospital for the poor. The poor must therefore be fed in a different way, here we must look at what is useful for their studies. They are blind and have no judgment. I hope that the most illustrious prince will give the right advice here. Farewell. March 5, 1519.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 33.

(Wittenberg.)

May 16, 1519.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther finds it ridiculous that Miltitz summons him to Coblenz to appear before Cajetan without being authorized to do so from Rome or by the Archbishop of Trier. He wants to write for the third time to Duke George, who has twice given him an evasive answer about the Leipzig disputation.

Handwritten, this letter is in the Oo6. den. a, L. 53. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 174; in Löscher's Ref. Acta, vol. III, p. 977; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 270 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 45.

To his Georg Spalatin, Christ's priest, his friend and learned patron.

JEsus.

1 Hail! The ridiculous man, Carl Miltitz, confesses that the order from Rome has not yet come, and summons me; but he summons me himself, not the archbishop; then, to appear before the Cardinal: whether the people are nonsensical? I will write to him; meanwhile advise me, I ask.

2. the duke George has answered me twice, 2) and does not let me yet to the dis-

1) Bartholomäus Bernhardi of Feldkirch.

2) In these two replies, dated March 4 and May 7, 1519, the Duke's consent was made conditional on Eck's request for reimbursement of the disputation (Seidemann, "Leipziger Disputation," p. 129).

I have informed him that Eck forces me to answer him by private letters as well as by public disputation notes. Then, why does he demand of me so much that Eck should write for me, since he has not hesitated to show favor to Eck and has demanded nothing in regard to Carlstadt? What kind of an absurdity is this? I send his two letters; now I write to him for the third time. Please, give advice, what seems good to you. - I will take care of our Schart 3) if I can serve him.

3 By the way, as for my describing the priestly way of life, why do you ask me to do this, since you have the apostle who speaks so abundantly about this matter in the letters to Titus and Timothy?

I thank you for the gift, and I give you God's reward. Fare well in the Lord. We all consider Carl's letter to be of such a nature that, according to everyone's judgment, I would become a laughingstock if I went on the journey for its sake. On Monday after Jubilate [May 16] 1519, Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 34.

(Wittenberg.)

May 16, 1519.

Luther to Johann Lang.

From a matter of order. Luther sends his and Eck's theses for the Leipzig disputation, and reports that Duke George twice gave an evasive answer. About Miltitz's letter. The interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians is printed.

Handwritten in the 6oä. Ootb. 399, toi. 115. printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 173 b; in Löscher's Ref. Acta, vol. III, p. 976; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 273 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 51.

To the venerable Father Johann Lang, the Vicarius 5) of the Augustinians, Master of Holy Theology, his superior in the Lord.

3) Marcus Schart and his brother Bernhard were the servants of the two natural sons of Frederick the Welsh.

4) Such a writing is found in the editions as a supplement to this letter. Walch brings it in the old edition, Vol. XXI, 631.

5) Vicario mediastino jokingly instead of vicario medio. iVltzckiusinus is a slav used for all sorts of minor purposes.

Jesus.

Hail! The prior of Grimma, 1) venerable father, who has now stayed with me for a day, wished me to write to you about Brother Matthias, the miller, through whose administration things have come to such a pass that the monastery is suffering from a bad reputation, in that the citizens have hinted at or even proven I don't know what kind of trouble that has arisen with the miller's maids. He certainly desires that he be transferred; you will, as your office requires, advise in this; I mean that he should be removed. The lay brothers (*conversi*) have been ruling there for a long time.

2) I send the new disputation notes, the mutual accusations of Eck and Luther. 2) Duke George has answered me twice in a very doubtful manner; he does not admit me yet, but promises that he will admit me when Eck has informed him that the fight with me is pending, while he has admitted Eck and did not wait to see whether Carlstadt would like to fight; indeed, he has learned from me that I am being challenged by Eck through letters and disputation slips that have been published. You see what an absurd thing people are up to. Now I am writing to him for the third time. The Leipzig theologians and heralds of lies will perhaps be consumed by spite, so much are they inflamed against me.

Carl Miltitz has summoned me to Coblenz to answer to the Archbishop of Trier in the presence of Legate Cajetan: a sweet man, confessing at the same time that he has not yet received a commission from Rome, and hoping that I am so stupid that I should come, since I am only summoned by his insolence. I see that everywhere, from all sides, they are seeking my life in every possible way. My letter to the Galatians 3) becomes

1) Wolfgang Zeschau.

2) "Eck's Disputation and Apology Against Luther's Accusations" 2c. is in this volume no. 362; the theses belonging to it in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 712. "Luther's Disputation and Apology Against the Accusations of D. Johann Eck" is in this volume no. 363, the theses belonging to it in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 718.

3) The Shorter Interpretation, St.L. ed. vol.VIII, 1352.

Leipzig produced in print. Farewell and pray for me. Monday after Jubilate [16 May] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 35.

(Wittenberg.) September

3. September 1519.

Luther to Johann Lang.

Luther is surprised that the people of Erfurt hesitate so long with their verdict on the Leipzig disputation. Luther writes about Eck's boasting and the Leipzigers' writings about the disputation; about his refutation of the articles imposed on him by the Franciscans at Jüterbock and his defense against Eck's malicious judgment. The interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians is ready for printing. Von Miltitz and the Golden Rose.

Handwritten in the Ooä. Ootuuu. V. 399, col. 129. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 207d; in Löschner's Ref.Acta, vol. III, p. 981; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 327 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 139.

To the venerable and dear father Johann Lang of Erfurt, vicar of the middle hermits, his superior in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! I wonder, venerable father, why your citizens of Erfurt may hesitate, since one is waiting for their verdict; but I assume that they will act more wisely than to get involved in these strange and spiteful matters. In the meantime, we anticipate the verdict, and judge one another and are judged. We, unlearned and learned, write poems everywhere. 4)

2. corner in his impetuosity hurls letters, 5) strews triumphant crowns. The One Leipzig has produced nothing but Herodote, critics, Aristarche, Tadler (*Momos*) and innumerable such frogs. Leipzig, which was always dumb, has become a greater yapper (*latrantior*) than many scyllae because of this One Disputation. 6) So much the miserable envy torments itself

4) Soon after the Leipzig Disputation, a large number of writings about it came out, namely, until then, the following documents (here chronologically ordered), which are given in this volume, Cap. 5, Sections 3 and 4: No. 394, 406, 407, 397, 398, 380, and, Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 1202, Emser's letter to Zack. The last sentence in the preceding text alludes to the title (see No. 399 in this volume.) of Rubens' Reimerien, which are mentioned in this appendix, No. 49. 3.

5) Cf. No. 413 in this volume.

6) *Scylla*, the daughter of Phorcus, was taken by the Circe out of jealousy into a monster with dogs on its underbelly. Oviä. LitzunaorpU. 14. v. 52 8^4.

whether he could not claim victory against us by making noise. The truth will prevail.

3) I would send you my explanations (*salivas*) about the Psalter 1) but because you do not write anything, whether you want them and how much you already have, I think that you are not interested. This man 2) sells my last explanations against Eck. 3) Lotther in Leipzig prints a defense for me against the same, in which I refute the thirteen articles that have been imposed on me by the Minorite brothers in Jüterbock and which Eck has most spitefully directed against my name. 4) I again impose 24 articles on him and the matter is well underway. I am told that today the letter to the Galatians is finished.

Our most noble prince is tempted by Miltitz with the golden rose, who boasted in Dresden: "Doctor Martinus is in my hands"; but if God is merciful, he will do nothing. Farewell and pray for me with work overburdened brother. On Saturday after Aegidii [September 3] 1519, Brother Martin Luther.

No. 36.

(Wittenberg.)

October 3, 1519.

Luther to Joh. Staupitz.

Luther sends the interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians, writes about the forthcoming discussion with Miltitz; also about religious affairs; about the two letters from Bohemia; about Melancthon's theses; about Erasmus's judgment of him and Eck; about the hatred of the bishop of Brandenburg; about Staupitz's coldness toward him; about a Franciscan chapter in Wittenberg that is hostile to him; about Fontinus's disputation; about a dream concerning Staupitz.

1) This refers to "Luther's work on the first 22 Psalms" (operatio Q68 in psalmos), which appeared in pieces, and of which Melancthon had already sent a part to Lang on April 3, 1519 (6orp. UsL., I, 76). See St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 198 ff. and the note there.

2) Perhaps the bearer of the letter.

3) "Luthers Erläuterungen über seine zu Leipzig disputirten Thesen." St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 820.

4) This is the writing: "Luthers Vertheidigung wider das böswillige Urtheil des Johann Eck" 2c. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1370. - The specification thirteen (XIII) articles is erroneous, perhaps through the fault of the copyists; there were fourteen articles of the Franciscans, to which Eck then added a fifteenth. Luther mentions and refutes fifteen articles in his writing.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 209; in Löscher's Ref. Acta, vol. III, p. 983; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 340 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 182.

To the venerable and extremely valuable Father Johann Staupitz, Vicar of the Hermits of St. Augustine, his patron and superior to be highly venerated in Christ.

JESUS.

1. Hail! I send, venerable father, two copies of my incomprehensible Galatians. 5) They no longer please me as they first pleased me, so that I see they could have been interpreted more broadly and clearly. But who can do everything at the same time? yes, who can always do many things? But I have confidence that this Paul is clearer than others have made it before, even though it does not satisfy my taste. The Psalter is progressing, 6) only that I am annoyed by the slow printer. Our prince, who has recovered, is staying at Lochau.

Carl Miltitz has ordered me to Liebenwerda next Sunday [Oct. 9] with the Prince's permission in an extremely friendly (I know the fox) letter. 7) I do not know what will happen. He finally handed over the rose in Altenburg in the absence of the Prince, which he had intended to bring to Wittenberg, I do not know with how much pomp.

We have not yet seen anything of the meeting in Erfurt 8) except for the obedience of the lay brother Peter, whom our prior has not yet dismissed because he expects another in his place, not believing that you respect this meeting less than the one in Dresden. Brother Matthias Grüner has also come and become our procurator. I do not yet see what you want to have done with the books that you left with me, and I am very surprised about that.

3. I wanted more brothers to be sent to us, and capable ones at that. There have been

5) St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1352.

6) Luther's "Works on the Psalms," St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 198. The "slow printer" is Joh. Grüenberg.

7) No. 316 in this volume.

8) Nothing else is known about this convention.

Both priors in the Netherlands, Jacob and Henry, 1) wrote to me in an exceedingly lamenting and quite hopeless manner that nothing is happening through their vicar. But they say that they want to send brothers, even come themselves; but it will not happen, since the letters are written in the Easter season and they are not yet there.

In this hour I have received letters from Prague in Bohemia from two priests of the Utraquist party, who are quite learned in the Holy Scriptures, together with a booklet by John Hus, 2) which I have not yet read. But they exhort me to constancy and patience; that is the pure theology which I teach. They follow the manner of Erasmus (Erasmisant) quite extraordinarily, both in meaning and in writing. The letters, however, came to me through the court of our prince, in that Spalatin sent them to me, and there it is no longer hidden.

5) You have seen or now see Melanchthon's somewhat bold but quite true theses 3). He answered in such a way that he was to us all what he is, namely a miracle. If Christ will, he will replace many people like Martin (multos Martinos), as an exceedingly powerful feiud of the devil and of scholastic theology, because he knows equally the inanities of those people and the rock of Christ; therefore, as a strong one, he will be able to do much. Amen.

Letters have come from France in which it is written that Erasmus 4) said: I fear that Martin will perish by his righteousness; but of Eck.

that he had robbed his name of one letter, namely that instead of Eck one should say Jeck. But Jeck means a fool among the Dutch. So much does Christ fight against the vain honor that the one whom the Leipzigers worship and call Eck, all scholars, as they write, detest extraordinarily and call him Jeck.

7 My bishop of Brandenburg is pregnant with a monster, the good man, and like Moab, he misses greater things than he is able [Isa. 16:6]. He is said to have said that he would not let his head rest gently, because he had previously thrown Martin into the fire like this firebrand, which (while saying this) he threw into the fire at the same time. But this is how Eck's windmaking blows up this miserable bubble.

8 But this from others. What do you want in relation to me? You trust me too much. I have been exceedingly grieved for thee this day, as a weaned man for his mother [Ps. 131, 2. Vulg.]. I beg you to praise the Lord even in me, a poor sinner. I hate the exceedingly poor life, I detest death, and I am empty of faith, full of other gifts; Christ knows how much I do not desire them if I cannot serve him.

(9) The Minorites discuss with us in the assembled chapter about the marks of St. Francis and the glory of their order, but with such happiness that we, who before revered both, now begin to doubt both about those marks and about the nature of this order. Both have been found to be more like lies than truth; the same thing has happened to them, since they exalted those things too much, as happened to the preaching monks who exalted St. Thomas too much.

(10) They were led to these disputations by envy against this Martinus, who had spread the rumor that I had preached against those wounds. Therefore they thought to have gained an occasion against me and hoped to make something difficult for me. And I am indeed happy, since all of them are so eager to attack me that they also begin to invent doctrines which they would like to deny as mine; but it does not do any good.

1) Jakob Probst, prior in Antwerp, and Heinrich von Zütphen, prior in Dordrecht. It was a matter of appropriate measures in the sense of the Reformation, to which the Vicar Johann von Mecheln (also called Johann von Osbach) did not offer his hand.

2) The two letters have been included in No. 422 and 423 in this volume. The book of Hussens is 6s Vedssia.

3) Reprinted in Krafft's "Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation", p. 6. Melanchthon had put forward the theses for the attainment of the lowest theological dignity, namely the degree of a daeoalaurns tUboiobiae kidlieus. The disputation took place in September 1519 under the decanate of Petrus Fontinus (not Fontanus, as Krafft writes).

4) In Walch's old edition: "Emser.

I am sorry that they are making such a mockery of their entire Order without cause.

It was an Erfurtian who disputed this, namely the one who attained the master's degree at the same time as our Lange. Tomorrow, Peter Fontinus 1) will debate, who attacks me and all of us as bad scholars and smart alecks, and has stated that one must thoughtlessly repeat the most distinguished fathers. We will see great miracles from these Minorite workers. Thus these ignorant people excite great sorrows without cause. But behold! their Baccalaureus Jakobs, 2) who answered today for the bystanders (pro cironlo), surpasses those two Magistri nostri, because he was modest and put the theses right. He is from Zwickau, educated here in Wittenberg, at the same time pious and a good head. Thus God humbles the worthy and exalts the lowly.

(12) That night I had a dream about you, as if you wanted to leave me, but I was crying bitterly and suffering; but you waved your hand at me and told me to be quiet, that you would return to me; this is certainly true and has just happened this day. But now be well, and pray for me poorest. The day before St. Francis [October 3], in the evening. 1519.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 37

(Wittenberg.)

October 13, 1519.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther says that he did not promise Miltitz the trip to Trier, but only his willingness to accept the bishop of Trier as arbitrator. What one chooses from Miltitz in Rome. About the writings of some opponents. Apology for his quick departure at a banquet. About the plague in various regions. Finally, he urges that his and Carlstadt's answer to the Elector be sent to Eck.

The original of this letter is in the Ge" sammt-Archiv of Anhalt. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 211k; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 985; in De Wette, Vol. 344 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II.

To the servant of Christ Georg Spalatin, secretary and court preacher of the Elector of Saxony, his friend in the Lord.

JEsus.

1st Hail! Not only have I not spoken a word about it, but I have never even had the thought, my dear Spalatin, that I wanted to travel with Carl to Trier; I wonder at the impudence or even forgetfulness of this man, since I have hardly admitted to him that I wanted to come to Liebenwerda; how can it be likely that I should promise such a journey, and with him as a traveling companion? Therefore, you will not doubt that I have promised nothing else than that I, according to our prince's order and advice (whose name and actions with the bishop of Trier I asserted for his sake), insisted on the promise and agreement, according to which we had united at Altenburg on the bishop of Trier as judge in this matter; the judge, I say, has only been mentioned, nothing is said about the journey.

Add to this the fact that the same Carl said that he would not travel to Trier on this trip, but to Rome as soon as possible, and that he had already arranged the mission he had from Rome. Yes, I suspected that he had no other reason for wanting to talk to me again in a personal meeting about a matter that had been agreed upon long ago than so that he would have something to boast about his diligence when he returned to Rome, namely that he had not only dealt with me personally once, but had tried everything he could.

3) But I believe that he, since he is deceived in his hope, pretends such trivial things out of fear of conscience, or gossips after his own fashion. For yesterday at the midday meal, a certain doctor, the provost of Collerburg, 3) a Pomeranian, who, having come from Rome, dined with me at the Prince of Pomerania, 4) our rector, described him as such a person, and he said, "I do not believe him.

3) Löscher has next to OoUsrkui^nsns in brackets": OolkerAkllsis, with which probably the right thing will be hit.

4) Duke Barnim.

1) Franciscans from Borna.

2) Jakob Fuhrer from Zwickau.

told that he was taken for I don't know what in Rome. For he had boasted there because of his affinity with the dukes of Saxony 1), so that he was called everywhere by the Italians *de parente Duce Saxoniae* (that is, by the kinship [parentela] of the dukes of Saxony), and many other ridiculous and vain things. In short, he is a miserable man who has been made a fool of everywhere there, and should be made a fool of here as well.

4. The same doctor reported that when he was to deliver the rose, an apostolic breve was handed over to him in which he was ordered to hand over the rose to the prince in such a way that he should send Martin against it, and it would have happened this way if a certain sensible cardinal had not intervened, who, after reading the breve, said with great vehemence: "Are you all children or nonsensical that you dare to buy the monk from the prince? and immediately he tore the breve with his own hands.

5 My Silvester Prierias is silent (as he reports), but another, Cyprian, a brother of Paris, 2) writes against me by order of the pope, but unwillingly. For he reports that he said (to use his words): The pope wants me to write, but I do not like to do it at all; that brother is rich in words (*verbosus*), he will not be silent. My dialogue 3) is hard for them, and well known in Rome.

I have not yet received a letter from the University of Leipzig, but I have found anew the follies of that man, Rubeus Longipolitanus, in the German language, who makes stupidities about my name (*crassantis*). It is to be marveled how

very it, the Leipzigers are delighted to blow out their poison through this flute, which fits very well for them. How fearfully envy seeks causes to revile, but I still despise everything.

7 I beg your pardon for my very quick departure. For I did it because I know that the name of the monks has an evil reputation at court and with the pots (*propter aulos et ollas*); 4) then, because I did not want to be an annoyance to the man of whom I told you, whom I believed to be a burdensome and annoying table companion. You know how, because of one man, one must also refrain from many things that are permitted [1 Cor. 8:13]. You also see how sharply the Leipzigers observe me. Now if the latter secretly wrote to his Leipzigers that I had been merry and frivolous, had even played dice with our Pistor, and they seized the opportunity and compared my life with the word whose proclamation through me they hate, then this would, through my instigation, cause an obstacle to the gospel of Christ. For what should they not write, who through the Rubeus chatter that in Leipzig I carried in my hand a plaited and bound wreath to smell and look at it? they would rather say that I carried it on my head, if they could dare. I cannot be careful enough of all things, nor do I want to be; but I will give way to weakness and spite as much as I can. I have therefore hurried away out of no contempt, but out of fear of offence.

8. a cruel plague is raging in Switzerland, so that it has killed 16,000 men, not including children and women. This was reported by the same doctor, the provost, who told the above. In Kreuzberg 5) she carried off eighteen nuns together with their provost; in Sangerhausen eight brothers together with their prior. It is said that she also rages in Nuremberg and almost everywhere. Thus it is written to us from our places. The father vicarius 6) came to Nuremberg healthy on September 24 and from there to Munich.

1) Henry the Illustrious, died Jan. 14, 1300, had in third marriage a von Maltitz, who has also been taken for a Miltitz (Seidemann, "Miltitz", p. 18).

2) The Dominican Oiprinno Lsnsti, who, born in Arragon, is called here *kurrlüsknsis*, because he had become a master in Paris. He is mentioned in Huetit st Lekarä, Keniptorr. orä. krasäieut., 1. II, 49, but among his writings none is listed against Luther from this time. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 19 d.

3) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 344.

4) That is, they are unmannerly and gluttonous.

5) Kreuzberg, a quarter of an hour below Vacha on the Werra, where there was an Augustinian nunnery.

6) Staupitz.

9th Now I also begin to wish and ask that what we have answered our prince be sent to Eck. 1) The latter wrote to the pope and boasted of his honor that he had overcome both of us at Leipzig and left us dejected. The man, who is entirely boastful, glorious, boastful and boastful, has even dared to demand reimbursement of his expenses from the pope in this matter. This was told by the above doctor, the provost. Farewell. In the greatest haste. On the fifth day [Thursday] after Dionysii [October 13] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 38.

(Wittenberg.)

May 5, 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

Of Staupitzen's intended resignation from office at the next Augustinian chapter. About Matthew Adrian, who cost Luther and Melancthon a lot of money. About the sermon on good works.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 265; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 446 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 399.

To the good and learned man, Magister Georg Spalatin, princely court preacher, his friend in the Lord.

Jesus.

1st Hail! I am sending a letter, as you wished, but a short one, as the content is short. I also send the letter of Wilhelm, 2) the treasurer of the Count of Stolberg, who recently visited me here with his father, brother and friends.

Our vicar has scheduled our chapter earlier 3) and will come to Eisleben on the feast of Augustine [Aug. 28] and there, as they say, lay down the burden of his office.

Adrian does not have a house yet, and we are constantly plagued. But listen! I almost passed over it: remember that you are helping me with two or three gold florins.

1) No. 416 in this volume. However, the letter had already been sent on Oct. 12.

2) Tire stone.

3) It should actually have taken place in 1521.

For I put up a lot with Adrian; or should Philip and I alone spend our money in guest affairs? since we are poor, but others do not care about him, as it were. So they do not visit him, which displeases me, for that is somewhat ruder than is proper. Yes, if I could, I would also reclaim from you the loss of time, which is most burdensome to both of us. May the Lord grant that he will soon have a house, although the good man very often stays in Luca's pharmacy, for fear of making things difficult for us.

I lose a lot of time by inviting people all over the city. I don't know which Satan arranges this, that I must not refuse it, and yet brings me harm if I do. - The Sermon of Good Works grows to a not small book, even twice as big as the Tessaradecas. 5) Farewell. May 5, 1520.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 39.

(Wittenberg.)September

1. September 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther thanks the Churfürst for Wildpret; of the imminent arrival of Staupitzen and Links; of Miltizen's letter; of the transfers decided upon at the Capitol.

The original of this letter is in the Ge" sammt-Archw. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 280b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 483 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 472.

To the worthy man, Magister Georg Spalatin 2c., his patron in Christ.

Jesus.

Hail! Above all, my dear Spalatin, see to it that you give thanks for me to the most noble prince, who fattened me with venison, although I am a monk. By the way, the venerable Father Staupitz will come today and with him his new successor M. Wenceslaus. For yesterday the

4) Lucas Cranach had a pharmacy; D. Basilius Axt was according to the letter to Brismann on August 24, 1531 5) This is: "Tröstliches Büchlein in aller Widerwärtigkeit" 2c., Walch, St. Louiser Ausgabe, Bd. X, 1816 ff.

Ours returned. 1) Carl Miltitz wrote this letter 2) to me; he also gave a speech at the public meeting of the fathers, which was delivered with Italian pronunciation 3) and asked for advice on how to dampen me. For he sees that he brought the rose in vain, which he also indicated with words, however darkly. The fathers are said to have answered that they had nothing to do with me and knew no advice. But we will hear more about that today. The counts have kept him quite splendidly.

I am sending the letter from Antwerp, which is written by the prior of 4) this place, so that you may see what is being done in relation to me. Our Lang (about which I wonder) is to be prior at Dresden, 5) Melchior Mirisch [is to be prior] at Ghent; I do not know whether they have been driven by the spirit of fortitude, so much are all things in confusion with the new government of the new vicar. I believe that you will have received the letters from the father Jakob Vogt 6). Farewell. The first of September 1520.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 40.

(Wittenberg.)

3. October 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther does not want to write the letter to the pope that he promised Miltitz, because Eck has arrived with the bull of excommunication. He leaves it undecided whether he should ask the Elector to obtain an imperial edict for him and his books. News from Venice. Of the "Babylonian captivity" and a writing by Carlstadt; of Eck's reception in Leipzig; of the Archbishop of Mainz; of Matthew Adrian.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv, Printed by Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 283b; by De Wette, Vol. I, p. 491 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 486.

1) The General Chapter of the Augustinians was held in Eisleben on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday after Bartholomew [August 26-28].

2) No. 339 in this volume.

3) In Walch's old edition: "in Italian".

4) Jakob Probst.

5) This was just an empty rumor.

6) The confessor of the Elector, died April 15, 1522.

To the learned and godly man, Georg Spalatin,
Christ's servant, his friend in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! I have received many letters from you, my dear Spalatin, and I am surprised that the one through which I answered yours from Buttstedt has not yet reached you. 7) For the later ones did not concern anything else than that one, namely from the fathers' sending to me from Eisleben; but I still hope that it will have reached you in the meantime. For Carl has requested that I write privately to the Roman pope and apologize for not having attacked his person. I have not yet done so, nor will I do so now, since Eck, as one has heard, has prepared bulls and curses for me at Leipzig. 8) It is still not known what he intends to do.

It has seemed good to many that I should ask our prince to issue me an imperial edict that no one should condemn me unless I am overcome by Scripture, nor forbid my books. You may see whether it is advisable; I do not care much about it, because I do not like that my books are so much copied, and would like to destroy them all at once, because they are without order and unsmoothed, although I wish that the things themselves are known to all. But not everyone can gather gold from the dung, nor is it necessary, since better writings and the holy books are available. I would like it much more if we could either multiply the living books, that is, the preachers, or ensure that they are read to the people; in this regard, I am sending you what has been sent to me from Italy.

If our prince wanted to come here, I believe that he could hardly do a work that would be more worthy of him. For if the common people in Italy were to take hold of this, perhaps our cause would stand all the stronger. Who knows if God will not awaken them and give us

7) Compare No. 13 in this appendix.

8) In the Erlanger abhuc instead of aklue; probably a misprint, because no variant is given.

Keep our prince for his own sake, that he may work through him for his word? Therefore, see what you can promote here for Christ's cause. The one who writes from Venice is a brother of Lazarus Spengler, 1) who sent this copy to me from Nuremberg.

The book of the captivity of the church 2) will go out on Saturday [Oct. 6] and be sent to you. Carlstadt has also made his decision, 3) and is sounding the horns against the Roman pope. At this hour it is reported to me that Eck is quite uncertain in Leipzig and very much despised, and is mocked in many notes posted everywhere, and he finds a far different shape of things and a different attitude in Leipzig than he had hoped; for things are not as they were a year ago. 4) Yes, he has changed his lodgings and is staying in the Dominican monastery; it is publicly said that he will not escape the persecutions, nor will he return to Ingolstadt. 5) I did not want him to be killed, although I wish that his plots would come to nothing. May the Lord do what is good in his eyes.

5) There is nothing new in our country but the Prussian war. 6) The bishop of Mainz publicly orders that the books of Hütten and those that have appeared against the pope be stopped; thereby he will bring evil upon his head. Hütten sets out with tremendous anger against the Roman pope, 7) and attacks the cause with weapons and writings. Our Adrian, I do not know by what furor he is driven, 8) rages violently against me; perhaps he seeks an occasion to leave. I have done nothing to the man; he is attacking

1) Georg Spengler, a respected merchant in Venice; Scheurl, Briefbuch, vol. II, p. 60. He died March 21, 1529.

2) "Of the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," St. Louis Edition, vol. XIX, 5 ff.

3) Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XX, Introduction, p. 5a f.

4) Compare Miltizen's letter to the Elector of October 3, 1520, No. 340 in this volume.

5) He finally escaped at night from Leipzig to Freiberg.

6) This is the war of the Teutonic Knights' Grand Master Albrecht against the King of Poland, to whom he refused the oath of fealty.

7) Compare No. 13. ? 3 in this appendix.

8) He held to Eck. Cf. Seidemann, "Beiträge," p. 39, note.

my sermons, ready to teach me the gospel, while he does not understand his Moses. We interpret his nonsense in many ways; but let it go, time will reveal it. Fare well in the Lord. On the day before Franciscus [October 3] 1520. Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 41.

Wittenberg.

11. 9) October 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

The bull has arrived, Luther wants to attack it as fabricated. He is of good cheer, since the bull and Eck are despised everywhere. At this hour, he wants to leave for Lichtenberg for a discussion with Miltitz.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 28üd: in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 494 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 490.

To Georg Spalatin, the godly and learned man, princely Saxon court preacher, now at the emperor's court.

JEsus.

Hail! Finally the Roman bull has arrived, which Eck brought with him, of which ours write several things to the prince. 10) I despise it and now attack it as a godless and lying and in every respect ecclesiastical one. You see that in it Christ himself is condemned, then that nothing of reason and cause is given, finally that I am called, not to be heard, but to recant, so that you can know that they are people full of rage, blindness and nonsense, who neither see nor mean anything. But I still want to proceed with concealment of the name of the pope, as against a fictitious and lying bull, although I believe that it is genuine and their own. Oh, if only [Emperor] Carl were a man and attacked these devils for Christ!

9) The date of this letter in the text, "October 13," is incorrect. Luther arrived in Lichtenberg on October 11. Compare No. 347 in this volume.

10) Eck sent the bull with a letter of October 3 (No. 456 in this volume) to the University of Wittenberg. The latter turned to the Elector, who was in Cologne at the time and only gave an evasive answer to their letter from Homburg on November 18 (No. 457 in this volume).

2 I certainly fear nothing for myself; let it be what the will of God wills. Nor do I know what the prince should do, except that it seems to me to be best here that he pretends not to know about it. For even at Leipzig and everywhere, both the Bull and Eck are held in the greatest contempt; therefore, I suspect that it might want to gain a reputation through our excessive concern and distress, while in itself it will easily collapse and be silent. I am sending a copy of it, so that you may see the Roman monstrosities. If these should prevail, it will be the end of the faith and of the church.

However, I rejoice with all my heart that evil is done to me for the sake of the best cause, and I am not worthy of such a holy plague. Now I am much freer, having finally become certain that the pope is the Antichrist and has obviously been invented as Satan's chair. God only preserve his own, that they are not seduced by his exceedingly godless appearance. Erasmus wrote that the court of the emperor was taken over by the beggar tyrants 1) so that there could be no hope for Carl. This is not surprising: "Do not rely on princes, they are men, they cannot help" [Ps. 146, 3].

I am going to Lichtenberg at this hour to give Carl Miltitz another opportunity to speak with me, as the Prince has ordered, although the Preceptor 2) does not like it and I do not know what great things he fears. Farewell and pray for me. I will renew my appeal 3) and do what has to be done according to the advice of the others, even though I would rather that the bull would take its course against me; but one must also take others into consideration. Wittenberg, 1520, 13 [11] October.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

1) That is, the mendicants.

2) "The preceptor" is not, as Walch and De Wette assume, Melanchthon, but Wolfgang Reibenbusch, preceptor or head of the Antonian monastery at Lichtenberg, at the same time chancellor of the University of Wittenberg. Compare No. 347 in this volume.

3) This he did on November 17, 1520. See No. 478 in this volume.

No. 42.

Wittenberg.

March 24, 1518.

Luther to Joh. Sylvius Egranus.

Luther speaks courage to Egranus against Ochsenfart's attack on his doctrine of the three Marys; about Eck's obelisks; about the ignorance of the Leipzig theologians in the Holy Scriptures.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 56 d; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. II, p. 608; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 99 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 172.

To the noble and righteous friend, Johann Sylvius Egranus, 4) Master of Liberal Arts and Philosophy, ecclesiastical priest at Zwickau, his most revered in the Lord.

1st Hail! I have seen the sentences (positionos) of Doctor Hieronymus Ochsenfart, which, as it seems, have been compiled against you, but without mention of your name. Be steadfast and strong, my dear Egranus, so it must be done. If this were of the world, the world would love yours. All that is in the world must die in the world, that the spirit may be glorified. If you are wise, wish me happiness, and I you.

2. Recently, an outstanding man of true and perceptive erudition and a deft good head, and, what hurts me even more, who was previously connected with me by a recently concluded great friendship, 5) wrote "obelisks" [notes] against my theses, namely Johann Eck, Doctor of Theology, Pro-Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, canon of Eichstädt, now also preacher of the church of Augsburg, an already famous man, also known through his books; and if I did not know the thoughts of Satan, I would be astonished at the rage from which he has created the entire

4) His real name was Johann Wildenauer from Eger, and since 1517 he was employed as a preacher at the Marienkirche in Zwickau. He had preached during the sermon about the legend of Saint Anne against the church belief of the three husbands of the grandmother of JEsu, Anna, and was therefore attacked by D. Dungersheim of Ochsenfurt (compare St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 21 d). A rich evidence of literature about him can be found in Seidemann, Münzer", p. 9, note.

5) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 23.

new and exceedingly sweet bonds of friendship dissolved without any warning, neither writing nor saying goodbye. 1)

But he has written obelisks in which he calls me a poisonous Bohemian, a heretic, a rebellious, insolent, sacrilegious man. But I pass over the lesser invectives, that he calls me a sleepy, unskilled, unlearned man, finally also a despiser of the pope. In short, they are nothing other than the most despicable invectives with explicit mention of my name and designation of my theses, so that there is nothing in these obloquies but envy and resentment of a completely enraged heart.

4 Nevertheless, I wanted to swallow in patience this morsel puffing for a hellhound, but the friends forced me to answer him, but in a private writing. Praised be the HErr JEsus, yes, he alone be in honor, let us be rightly covered with shame. Rejoice, dear brother, rejoice, and do not be so frightened by these flying leaves that you should desist from teaching as you have begun, but [rise against them] like a palm tree in Kades against the burdens pressing it down. 2)

The more they rage, the further I go. I let go of the former things, however they may bark at them, and take up the later things, so that they may also bark at them. Continue happily, only ask the Lord that he himself create his glory and that his will be done. However, I have written to D. Hieronymus Ochsenfart that what you have asserted does not seem to me to be errors, but truths; his statements also seemed to me to be mostly erroneous, and I am prepared, and have no doubt, that you will defend both your errors and mine.

1) Eck therefore apologized in a letter to Carlstadt (No. 352 in this volume) and offered peace again, but too late.

2) Sirach 24,18. Vulg.: tznasi xalraa cxaltata "um in Oucclcs. - In ^ulus (Icllius', noct. ^ttic. III, 6, it is said that the heavier one loads the wood of a palm tree, the higher it rises against the load. We find the same more frequently in Luther, e.g. Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 42, §94 and vol. XII, 421, 8 28.

But if they were to bring up something from the scholastic teachers, he should know that he would not get anywhere with us with it, but would only lose words.

(6) It is obvious that I would like to swear that there is no scholastic theologian who understands even one chapter of the Gospel or the Bible, especially not one from Leipzig, not even one chapter of the philosopher Aristotle, which I hope to prove with honor if I am given the opportunity to examine them; unless that is to know the Gospel, if one pronounces the syllables, but only to some extent. Therefore, do not be afraid of ignorance. Let not the rattling of titles leave your mind: doctors, universities, magisters, for they are a mere shell and a sham (do not be afraid of those whose hearts you see); nor of men, but only of the form of a shell. The Lord instruct thee and strengthen thee; in him thou shalt be well. Wittenberg, the day before the Annunciation [March 24] 1518.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 43.

(Wittenberg.)

3. February 1519.

Luther to Johann Lang.

Congratulations on Längs' upcoming graduation; Luther reports that Eck is provoking him to serious argument against Rome, and asks for the dismissal of a Father Matthew.

Handwritten in Ooä. Ootttan. 399, tot. 127, printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 141 d; in Löscher's Ref. Acta, vol. III, p. 958; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 217 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. I, p. 410.

To the venerable Father Johann Lang, middle vicar of the Augustinian hermits, the newly appointed Doctor 3) of Theology, his friend in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! All the honors the Lord has bestowed on you, we wish you happiness, as if they were also bestowed on us. Venerable

3) Both De Wette and the Erlangen correspondence say (probably on the basis of the "Doctori" in the salutation) that this was a congratulation on Längs' promotion to the theological doctorate, but we are of the opinion that Luther, as in the letter of June 4, 1518 (De Wette 1,124; Walch XXI, 595), used the title Lscras Ditsoloxias closiZnato Doctori also

Father, [Ps. 45:5, Vulg.] "go blessedly forth with thy jewels, and thou shalt prosper"; 1) I will not come.

Our corner is waging new wars against me, and it will happen that I will do what I have long thought, if Christ is gracious, that is, that I will finally start a serious book against the Roman serpent breed. For up to now I have only played and joked with the Roman cause, although they lament extraordinarily as over an unbearable seriousness.

By the way, I ask you to see to it that you remove Matthew, 2) this aged father. For one must spare old age, and his willing obedience must be respected; also it is neither an honor nor proper before God nor before men to leave him in such misery; but in such a way that you first provide us with another in his place, who is to be appointed there as pastor. If you heard me, such a parish should be filled with a (so-called) secular priest. Farewell. On the day of Blasius [February 3] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 44.

Wittenberg.

April 13, 1519.

Luther to Johann Lang.

Luther asks Lang to send the teacher of the Hebrew language recommended by him in Böschenstein's place. Information about the Leidiger Disputation, which the

Luther jokingly used this word here, since it was about the promotion of the licentiate Lang to Magister. Still on December 13, 1518 (No. 23 in this appendix) Luther wrote to Staupitz that the Erfurt fathers did not want to let the licentiate Lang get the master's degree, and now, two months later, he should have been promoted to doctor? This could not be done by skipping the master's degree. Moreover, in all later letters in which the titles are given, Lang is referred to as Laoras UreoloZias MKFr'sFe-*, never as 8th D. so e.g. in No. 44 of this appendix. - Erhard, Ueberlief. z. vaterl. Gesch. I, 31, says (as the Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 13, Note 2 indicates) that the doctoral graduation took place on February 24, 1519; but this source is not reliable, because according to it, the Erlanger Briefwechsel (Vol. IV, p. 138) has transferred his No. 655 to the year 1523, which, as later corrected, belongs to the year 1528.

1) How Luther wants these words: xrospsr's prossäs st to be understood in the Vulgate, see St. Louiser Ausg., Vol. V, 368.

2) Compare No. 44, § 7 in this appendix.

Theologians at Leipzig try to prevent. From letters received. Luther sends him some of his own writings, some from others, and warns him of two sermons published without his consent 2c.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 161; in Löscher's Ref.- Acta, vol. III, p. 968 (with wrong resolution of the date); in De Wette, vol. I, p. 253 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 9.

To the venerable and highly esteemed Father Johann Lang, Master of Sacred Theology, middle Augustinian Vicar of the Hermit Congregation (Eremitarum familiae Vicario Augustiniano medio), his superior in the Lord, his highly esteemed friend.

Jesus.

Hail! I rejoice and wish you happiness, venerable Father, that you too are one of those in whom the cross of Christ is effective; be a strong man! 3) We thank you for your gifts. By the way, you know why I didn't come to your pomp 4). Our silence is not so much to blame as the nature of the road, by which it comes that we either rarely or never have anyone who goes from here to you.

This Hebrew of yours, whom you recommend, you want to induce to go to us and, I ask you, to put everything you can into it, and all the more so, since our Böschenstein, 5) who is a Christian by name, but in fact an arch-Jew, has gone away to the disgrace of our university, and you also owe something to our university. 6)

3) Oviä. ListÄlli. 9, 272; 15, 846.

4) the promotion, which is said to have taken place on February 24.

5) Johann Böschenstein from Esslingen, born 1472, died 1532, came from Ingolstadt to Wittenberg at the end of October or beginning of November 1518 (inscribed between Nov. 2 and 5, ^lb. x. 77) as the first Hebrew professor, but, as we see here, left again at the beginning of April 1519. (Cf. No. 16, § 8 in this appendix.) He then went to Heidelberg, but remained there only a short time. Later he was Zwingli's teacher in Hebrew in Zurich. In a special writing, he defended himself against the accusation that he came from a Jewish family and not from born Christians, and says of his family that it is a very old family of the town of Stein am Rhein, below Costenz, where his father's brothers still lived as fishermen.

6) Lang was inscribed in Wittenberg in late summer 1511 and remained there until May 1515. Kolde, ^valseta, p. 4.

We will see to it that he is honestly preserved in Christ and that he is in a proper position here; not only because we all have to care for one who is still young (*recentem*) in Christ all the more carefully, but it should also be our task that a sufficient salary is procured for him.

Eck has indicated that our disputation will take place on June 27, but it will be between me and him, as you will see from this disputation slip. For Carlstadt will not fight with him about these theses, both because they are mine and because the deceitful sophist has brought these things from the pope 2c. on the track, so that he would bring him by them either into the danger of having offended the pope (which is an unbearable misfortune for those endowed with benefices 1) or to bring down the one deterred by such a danger without war and without victory.

He will, however, argue about the other things, which say nothing about the authority of the pope or the indulgence. For the exceedingly godless people have left us only these things, against which a Christian man could sin, while they meanwhile sully God's commandments in the most abominable way. But everyone fears for me that I will come off very badly with the twelfth thesis; but I, although I do not expect to be able to catch the extremely slippery sophist, who is also an extraordinary screamer and boaster, will nevertheless, with Christ's help, uphold what is mine. For this reason it [the twelfth, later the thirteenth Theses] is placed in such a way that I would have the opportunity to finally draw out into the open the inanities (*nugas*) of the completely inconsistent and godless Decretals, with which we Christians are frightened in vain, since they are full of lies, which are advertised under the name of the Roman Church. Christ will strip them of their larvae and, as it was said in Job (Cap. 41, 4. Vulg.) He will remove the covering from his face and reach into the middle of his mouth.

But the theologians of Leipzig and at the same time the bishop of Merseburg have made and are still making extraordinary efforts to prevent the disputation from taking place, and they would almost have turned the prince away from it if he had not, fortified by the word of our prince, finally acted in a commanding manner. 2) The university has answered and promised me. The prince writes that he will admit me as soon as he has been informed by me that Eck also wants to fight with me, and now it is being done that this will happen. For he believes that Carlstadt alone will fight with him.

In the meantime, the theologians are belittling me, especially that bull, ox and donkey, 3) who does not belong to those who know their Lord [Isa. 1:3], but is one who eats chaff 4). They cry out to the people of Leipzig that they should not adhere to the new heresies, by which they perhaps intend that, when the hatred of the people is aroused and the fear of the pope is created, we might still be excluded. It is reported that Tetzl, when he heard that the disputation was going to take place, said: "This is the devil's work!

7) Eberhard Brisger has received ten guilders. We are doing well here, only that we are in a bad way as long as we have no other pastor in Dabrun 5). Discord has arisen between Father Matthew and Günther Staupitz.

8 Cajetan has written anew about me to our most noble prince; before inconsistencies, now follies, and it pleases me well that these very coarse Italian follies are also revealed to the layman.

2) Cf. Duke George's letter to the Bishop of Merseburg, No. 370 in this volume. - The letter of the university to Luther is missing.

3) D. Ochsenfurt, or Dungersheim of Ochsenfurt.

4s That is, the Decrees of Gratian, which have the superscription *palea* (chaff). Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 247,754 and 757.

5) Dabrun, a village on the left bank of the Elbe, 3/4 German miles southeast of Wittenberg. There, Günther von Staupitz, brother of the vicar Johann Staupitz, sold the Augustinian monastery at Wittenberg 124 gulden of Rhenish interest on the village of Dabrun 2c. for 2400 gulden. Because of this interest purchase the monastery was in dispute with him for a long time. - The "father Matthew" will be the same who was mentioned in No. 43 of this appendix (cf. Seidemann - De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 679).

1) Carlstadt was canon of the collegiate church in Wittenberg, which was under direct papal jurisdiction.

9) Frobenius has written to me in Basel, who praises my frankness extraordinarily. But also from Paris, friends have written to him that many people there like my things and that they are read by those in the Sorbonne, that is the theologians. In addition, he has distributed all copies to Italy, Spain, England, France and Brabant. He sent two volumes to me and Carlstadt as a gift. Another, a certain learned priest at Ettlingen, 2) and another, even more learned, but without giving his name, also write. In this I rejoice that the truth, which speaks so clumsily and unlearned, pleases so much.

I also send Carlstadt's chariot, 3) which illustrates the foolishness of the theologians, and against which they raged extraordinarily in Leipzig: one tears it apart publicly with his hands in the pulpit, the other inquires of the young people in confession whether they have laughed at the chariot, or whether they possess Martinus' writings. Those who confess, they punish quite badly, as Andreas Camitianus 4) writes to me. See the darkness, see the nonsense! These are theologians!

(11) I believe that my beginning came to you through the Psalter (5); now I am doing it.

1) Here is an anacoluth in Latin. Luther begins with the plural *8erip86runt*, since he wants to say of three scribes, but continues afterwards in the singular: *Lerikit 6t a1iu8 2c*.

2) Caspar Hedio. The letter is missing; also that of the anonymous scribe.

3) See No. 355 in this volume.

4) M. Andreas Frank, from Camenz, professor in Leipzig.

5) "Luthers Arbeiten über die ersten 22 Psalmen," St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 198. Melancthon had sent a part of it to Lang on April 3 (Oorp. I Lsk. I, sp. 76). - Now in this little paragraph are two difficulties. Regarding the words: *ouo tuuru 6orriM8*, the Erlangen correspondence says: "What Luther means here by the Correctur, I do not know to explain." And Waldau, "Nachricht von Hieron. Emsers Leben und Schriften," says p. 12: "He writes in a letter made on Thursdays after Judica to Georg Spalatin sollte Joh. Lang heißen: Lcis, yuoä Drussr nv8t6r, stiam ckuM rseta kormat, errat; which words I admittedly do not fully understand." These difficulties might be solved as follows: Instead of *Lm8er*, Kawerau has set up the acceptable conjecture that *erni88or* (editor) or *6x6'8or* (printer) should be read. The printer was Johannes Grünenberg. He issued the sheets individually, and with this type of publication, many errors may have occurred. So it is obvious to understand the eorrsissere of the Aufbefsern, the supplementing of the copy.

another copy, through which you can improve yours. You know that our editor, even if he prints correct things, makes mistakes.

I am sending you the grammar of Moses Kimchi until you can get another one; this one is sent to me by Anshelm Thomas 6) as a gift. I am issuing the interpretations of the Epistle to the Galatians at once; they are to be printed at Leipzig. 7) If two sermons should come into your hands, one in Latin, the other in German, on two kinds of righteousness and on marital status, 8) do your duty: they have been copied from me and published without my knowledge, but quite erroneously and in an inconsistent manner both compiled and printed; this is a disgrace to me. I am also sending the revised Lord's Prayer. 9) Philip will send other things. 10) I believe that you have seen the new Methodus or "the way of theology" (*Rationem theologiae*) 11) of Erasmus; I wish that he had not finished it so easily.

Have you seen, for example, in my writings against Silvester published in Basel, that they have written, more with diligence than by mistake, at the beginning: *magirum* [cook] instead of *magistrum palatii*, then also other printing errors in the margin, pure mockeries? We are told that the Car-

6) Thomas Anshelm from Baden had printed the Hebrew grammar of Moses Kimchi (who lived in Provence in the first half of the 13th century) at Hagenau in January 1519 and dedicated it to the Elector of Saxony, Frederick.

7) Melchior Lotther in Leipzig was the printer.

8) The former sermon is found in the form reworked by Luther, Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1262; the latter in the corrupted form there Col. 630; changed and improved by Luther Col. 638. Both sermons, although perhaps already delivered in 1518, were printed only in 1519 in February or March by Wolfgang Stöcke! in Leipzig.

9) "Luther's Interpretation in German of the Lord's Prayer for the Simple Laity," St. Louis Edition, Vol. VII, 752. Compare also the note there.

10) In Latin only: *Oaetera?dilippu8*, to which the Erlangen correspondence makes the remark: "This letter of Melancthon is missing." We doubt that the quoted words are about a letter. It seems to us to be closer that *mitto* in the preceding sentence is supplemented by *mittet*.

11) The title of the writing is: *Latio 86u M6tko<tu8 eonapsnäio porvonioncii a<1 veram ttieoloAiam*; Panzer, VI, 212, Xo. 277.

dinal Cajetan had been imprisoned at Mainz by the Spanish envoys of Carl, because he had made all possible efforts for the party of the King of France. 1) We wrote to Erasmus, Philip and I. 2) See, there you have everything you wanted. The venerable father Vicar 3) has forgotten ours, so he does not write anything. Kindly greet the venerable father M. Usingen, likewise also M. Johann Nathin, and I cordially commend myself to the brothers, whom I also greet all.

Finally, I remind you again about Hebrews, so that we may help the excellent young people who do theology in the best way and have extraordinary zeal for right sciences. Be well, and, Christ willing, may your leg also be healed. Wittenberg, Thursday after Judica [April 13] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

Furthermore, you will not refrain from reminding our highly learned and dearly beloved Jonas of me and assuring him of my love. So also D. Ludwig Melsingen and all my acquaintances.

No. 48.

Wittenberg.

June 6, 1519.

Luther to Joh. Lang.

Of Trmtfetter's death. Luther reports that he is busy editing the explanation of his thirteenth thesis against Eck. He has not yet received a definite answer from Duke George about the Leipzig disputation. Of a journey of his enemy Rabe to Rome; of a great challenge, which he wants to communicate orally. Greetings.

Handwritten in 6oci. Qotk. 399, col. 128 k. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 179; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 979; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 281 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 69.

1) As we can see from a letter of Beatus Rhenanus to Zwingli of April 4, 1519 (from Basel), Cajetan and his comrades had wanted to go to the head of the French party, Richard, Elector of Trier, by ship to Oberwesel near Coblenz on the Elector's Day (March 31), and they had therefore hired vehicles. These, however, were stopped by the Spanish envoys under the pretext that this was done by order of the Elector of Mainz. When a complaint was made to the prince of Mainz, he denied that it had happened on his orders.

2) Luther's letter to Erasmus of March 28, 1519, is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1582.

3) Staupitz.

To the venerable Father Johann Lang, Vicar of the Augustinian Hermits in Thuringia, the highly learned and righteous Master of Holy Theology, his friend to be highly honored in Christ.

JEsus.

1. hail! We have heard that D. Jodocus of Eisenach has departed from life. May the Lord accept his soul and forgive him all his sins, including ours. I send what you see, we have nothing else.

2) I now give the reasons of proof about the so much hated thirteenth thesis 4) for the sake of the envy that goes around with the fact that I am not to be admitted to responsibility in Leipzig. In three letters 5) I have not been able to obtain a definite answer from Duke George (that Leipzig raven 6) has traveled to Rome in order to bring other lies there and other sacrilegious things here), but I will be present in order to at least offer myself for answer. But everything is admitted to Carlstadt.

3 In addition to these things, another, greater challenge has befallen me. With all this, the Lord teaches me what man is, which I thought I already knew well enough up to this point; you will hear it verbally when you are present. The brother John Caesar escaped the danger of death by the devouring ulcer.

Be well and pray for me, a great sinner. I have no need of anything but the mercy of God. Therefore, envy torments me because it feels that I have no need of other things. Wittenberg, on the Monday after Exaudi [June 6] 1519.

4) "Luther's Explanation of his Thirteenth Thesis on the Violence of the Pope," St. Louis Edition, vol. XVII, 720.

5) These letters from Duke George to Luther on March 4, May 7, and May 23, 1519, are printed in Seidemann's "Leipziger Disputation," p. 129, Supplement 21.

6) Hermann Rab (also Rabe), a native of Bamberg, came to the University of Leipzig in 1486 (became Doctor of Theology there in 1512), entered the Dominican Order and was elected Provincial in Saxony at Osnabrück in 1511, iriHuisitor kasretioas pravitatik in 1517, Prior of the Pauline Monastery in Leipzig in 1525, died there on January 5, 1532. In Cyprian's "Nützliche Urkunden," vol. II, p. 106, the Brref that Rab wrote to Miltitz in Tetzels favor is dated January 3, 1519.

Greetings to the venerable fathers M. Johann Nathin and Bartholomäus Usingen and all. Soon you will see the proofs of my thirteenth thesis of the supremacy of the pope, which I hope are insurmountable.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 46.

(Wittenberg.)

1. November 1519.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther asks Spalatin to thank Marcus Schart on his behalf for a gift of money and at the same time sends him several copies of the "Sermon on the Preparation for Dying" (St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1984). About Eck's writing *Expurgatio* (see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 27b) and Luther's rebuttal "Luther's Letter to Johann Eck on Eck's Purification Writing" (No. 383 in this volume), which is already at the printers. He sends a copy of the "Works on the Psalms" for Langenmantel.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches GesamtArchiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 216; in Löscher's *Ref. Acta*, Vol. III, p. 990; in *De Wette*, Vol. I, p. 352 and in *Erlanger Briefwechsel*, Vol. II, p. 218.

To his [friend] in the Lord, Georg Spalatin, the highly revered servant of Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! I ask you to thank Marcus Schart in my name, my dear Spalatin, for the ten florins and at the same time send him these copies, as many as seem good to you. But since I had become so rich, on the same day the need of several people made me poorer, to whom I am forced to lend. I am distressed that there is so little love left among the people of Christ, since they do not even have twenty guilders [so that] one can help the other. I am therefore of the opinion that those florins were given to me because the Lord wanted those people to be served through me, and yet it is not enough. Therefore, if you advise me to do so, I will also knock on the door of the most gracious prince for poverty. For my sake, thank God, I am not worried.

2. the raging corner has a "cleansing writing" against the letter addressed to you 1)

to which I have already replied with a sheet that is to be completed this week and has already been sent to the printer. It is to be marveled at how man rages, also full of lies. Then he has come to me quite appropriately and conveniently in that he has carelessly exposed his hypocrisy. But in this, with concealment of everything else, I have seized him, and will compel him to reveal himself and his Leipzigers more. Next I will send a copy.

If Langenmantel does not have the complete "Works on the Psalms", send him this copy; but if he has several sheets, send it back and indicate the number, so that we do not harm the printer. Fare well in the Lord. On the Day of All Saints [Nov. 1] 1519.

Martin Luther.

No. 47.

(Wittenberg.)

November 7, 1519.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther's recommendation of Matthew Adrian for employment as a teacher of the Hebrew language. He sends his "Letter to Johann Eck on Eck's Purification Scripture" (No. 383 in this volume); thanks the Elector for Wildpret.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 216d; in Löscher's *Ref. Acta*, vol. III, p. 991; in *De Wette*, vol. I, p. 364 and in *Erlanger Briefwechsel*, vol. II, p. 222.

To His Most Holy in Christ, Georg Spalatin, the completely righteous priest of God.

JEsus.

1st Hail! As you see here, my dear Spalatin, Matthew Adrian writes to me, the Hebrew of Louvain, perhaps driven out by those through tyranny, and desires to teach Hebrew with us. You know the reputation of this man and his learning. Therefore, you would like to present these gifts of God to the most noble prince as an exceedingly noble opportunity to promote the Hebrew language among us. And I ask you to answer this as soon as possible, so that I can give him an answer. In the meantime, his messenger is staying with me. You see that he thinks that our

1) No. 380 in this volume.

The death of the prince (which God wants to postpone for a long time) has been announced. This may be a false omen.

I send you Eck's nonsense 1) with my short letter, who responds to it, and will give him more when the hypocrite comes out completely with his exceedingly ungodly hypocrisy. Farewell and pray for me. For the venison we thank the most noble prince. On the day after Leonhard [Nov. 7] 1519. Martin Luther.

No. 48.

Wittenberg. (October 15, 1519.)
2)

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther wants to write a postilla at the request of the Elector; he advises not to answer Miltitz. Postscript I: About the dedication of his sermons to the Duchess of Brunswick; II: Sends the requested letter to the Elector. Does not want to have anything more to do with Eck.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. The postscript II is on a special slip of paper. Handwritten in Oo<1. vssav. No. 42. There is postscript II as a special letter No. 43. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 221b; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 997; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 376 (in the prints just shown, postscript I is missing, which is printed in Burkhardt, p. 24) and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 220.

To his dearest [friend] in Christ, Georg Spalatin.

JEsus.

1st Hail! There is nothing, my dear George, that has often been more urgently desired of me by several than what, as you write, the most noble prince desires of me. But of all that I do, I, too, would not ask for anything.

1) The expurMtio oto.

2) De Wette places this letter "after the 8th of December", which is not permissible, since here the wish of the Elector regarding a postilla is indicated first, and Luther already reports to Spalatin on the 7th of November that he had begun work on the postilla. - The time of the Erlangen correspondence is: "between November 1 and 7" which is based for the same on postscript II. On November 1 (see No. 46 of this appendix) Luther had announced the writing against Eck to Spalatin; here it is finished, on November 7 (see No. 47 of this appendix) he sends it to Spalatin, so this letter must fall between November 1 and 7. Then the Erlangen correspondence continues: "But if postscript II does not belong to this letter at all, then it would have to be called 'Wohl'".

I would rather do this, because I believe that only in this way the priests and clergy could be helped, that they, with the elimination and rejection of the unwashed fables of the chatterers, who banish Christ more than they present him before the eyes, would have something by which they could spread the truthful theology of Christ among the people and dispel the errors, which, as it were, have broken in like a flood of sin. And God wanted the popes to see to it, because that is their office.

But as much as I want to do this, I am afraid that I will not be able to do it, because I am too busy to devote myself to it; or it will be necessary to withdraw something from the public lectures as well as from the sermon, which will be difficult.

because of the words Carolo Miltitio eto. f? 3 at the beginning even further back, put about the end October." - We have a somewhat further conjecture. We are of the opinion that both the letter and postscript II are to be dated October 15. It is striking that Luther, after he had written in detail to Spalatin on October 13 (in this appendix Ro. 37, §§ 1 and 2), that he had not promised Miltitz to travel with him to Trier, here comes back again quite emphatically to the same matter. We assume that Luther was prompted soon after October 13 by the Elector's wish to write the same thing to him, which Luther fulfilled by the letter to the Elector (No. 325 in this volume) of October 15, which, as postscript II shows, was enclosed with our letter to Spalatin. This would at the same time clarify what in postscript II is the matter that Spalatin requested. On October 17, the Elector sent this letter of Luther to Miltitz (No. 326 in this volume) with a very short answer of his own. - The difficulty that would then remain in Nachschrift II due to the writing against Eck could be overcome in this way: Here, Luther's work on the Schrift wider Eck is mentioned, in the letter of Nov. 1 (No. 46 of this appendix) of the printing (it is not the first announcement, as the Erlangen edition thinks), and in the letter of Nov. 7 (No. 47 of this appendix) of the transmission to Spalatin. - Another objection that could be raised: "it cannot be assumed that our letter and No. 5V in this appendix should have been sent to the same person on the same day", is easily settled. We have quite the same case with two letters written to Spalatin on November 7, 1519, of which the original still exists, namely No. 47 in this appendix and Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 145 (De Wette, vol., I, p. 365). And perhaps this explains the fact that no date was added to our letter. - In any case, from the dedication of the sermons to the Duchess of Brunswick, it can be assumed as certain that our letter is to be placed in the middle of October.

But I will try it and begin; if G^Otte likes it, it will continue; I wish to serve him completely in this matter. Farewell and commend me to the prince. I like the very good advice of the worthy Auerbach. 1)

3) I believe that nothing should be answered to Carl Miltitz. As I have written and said, 2) this is how the matter happened, and I cannot speak differently if I do not want to lie. For if he was a riddle speaker against me, who I heard with quite simple ears, then he was such through no fault of my own. Wittenberg, 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

(I.) You will wonder how it has come about 3) that I have dedicated my sermons to the Duchess; I too wonder, since I had not yet seen her, but I am with

1) D. Heinrich Stromer from Auerbach in the Upper Palatinate, born in 1482, professor of medicine in Leipzig, personal physician to several princes, including Duke Georg of Saxony and Elector Friedrich, died November 25, 1542.

2) In the letter of October 13, 1519, No. 37 in this appendix.

3) In the Erlangen correspondence: yna torts; whereas Burkhardt, p. 24 reads: Hus, sort. This we have assumed. - The Duchess of Brunswick is Margaretha, a Countess of Rietberg by birth, married to Duke Frederick of Brunswick-Luneburg on Nov. 16, 1483; widowed on March 5, 1495. Luther dedicated three sermons to her, namely "vom Sacrament der Buße" (St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1230), "of the Sacrament of Baptism" (ibid. Col. 2112), and "of the reverend Sacrament of the holy true body of Christ" (St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 426). These three sermons appeared one after the other; the middle one, according to the final note of the first edition, was finished in print on November 9, 1519, the third one was under press three weeks later; from this the Weimar edition, vol. II, p. 709 concludes: "therefore, for the first one, we must certainly not go back beyond October of the same year". The Weimar edition could have continued: "therefore we can conclude that the first is completed about three weeks before Nov. 9"; but it expresses itself less definitely, because before it in all editions it had been assumed (so also in our edition) that the Sermon of Repentance belonged to the year 1518. Due to the fact that the dedication of the sermons to the duchess is mentioned here, the date assumed by us for this letter receives the greatest probability, and from this, in turn, a more exact determination of the time of the first sermon results than one has had so far. It seems that this one was also sent with our letter, because Luther did not mention it against Spalatin either before or after.

great requests to be at our Otto's 4) will for the so highly praised wife.

(II.) I send the letter to the most illustrious prince 5) about the object you have named, and ask you to give thanks for me for his exceedingly kind care; I am extraordinarily sorry and do not want their graces to be troubled with it. To Eck I have answered nothing but three words, namely that he will become infamous throughout the world as a sophist, not through my fault but through his. I do not want to have anything more to do with this man; he is completely unfaithful and has obviously broken the rights of friendship.

No. 49.

(Wittenberg.)

October 16, 1519.

Luther to Johann Lang.

Of the boast of the Leipzigers that Erfurt would decide against Luther; of Emser's forthcoming rebuttal and of Rubeus' German rhymes.

Handwritten in 6ock. Ootbav. 399, koi. 127 b. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 215b; in Löschers Ref. Acta, vol. III, p. 989; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 351 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 203.

To the venerable Father Johann Lang, Master of Sacred Theology, middle Vicar of the Augustinian Hermits, his Superior in Christ.

J^Esus.

Hail! Finally Brother George 6) returns to you as you wished, venerable father. There is nothing new, except that the spitefulness of the Leipzigers increases from day to day. They boast for certain that your Erfurters have passed a sentence against us for Eck. 7) If this is so, then it may be good for you that yours are interfering in a foreign matter without cause.

2. I have resolved to make this verdict infamous throughout the world by means of a Latin as well as a German defence paper, and I will

4) Otto Beckmann, canonicus and professor of eloquence in Wittenberg; he later became a renegade.

5) This will be letter No. 325 in this volume.

6) The Augustinian Georg Hoch from Erfurt.

7) This was a false rumor.

I am not willing to let any syllable of our theses go unsworn. I am not willing to let any syllable of our theses go unsworn. I am not willing to leave any syllable of our thesis unsaid. May the will of the Lord be done.

Emser gives birth (as they say) to an elephant instead of a goat 1) and I do not know how many tigers, in that the Leipzigers are quite unlearned scholars (amusissimis musis) obstetricians. Thus the matter is in great heat, and Satan rages against the word of God, but he will accomplish nothing. The donkey Rubeus has again 2) belittled me in the worst way in the German language, and even so the hatred in Leipzig is not yet sated. But the Lord lives, and I also live; in him you also live and prosper and pray for the truth. On St. Gall's Day [16 October] 1519, Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 50.

Wittenberg.

October 15, 1519.

Luther to Spalatin.

Ueber einen Abgesandten der böhmischen Brüder und die Antwort auf die Briefe derselben (No. 422 und 423 in diesem Bande); von des Rubeus Schmähschrift, einen Briefe des Rectors zu Leipzig und einer bevorstehenden Gegenschrift Emsers.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 215; in Löscher's Ref. Acta, vol. III, p. 989; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 350 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 201.

To His most worthy in the Lord, George Spalatin,
Christ's servant.

Jesus.

1 Hail! We have done everything with this truly fine man, the Bohemian, my dear Spalatin, as you will see and read. I have given him all my writings. Philip dictated a letter to him, since we were all present and participated in it, even the Bohemian himself, in our monastery.

I have seen the nonsensical things of Rubeus on

1) Meant is the writing: A venatione Luteriaua ^6AO66roti8 U886rtio. Emser. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 39d.

2) First in a Latin script, No. 398 in this volume. The title of the German script mentioned here is found in No. 399.

sent you, but I see you got it elsewhere. The Leipzigers are racing. I am sending the proud letter from the Leipzig rector, which I received yesterday, in which the incompetent head commits everything for which he apologizes and which he rejects. So without all judgment are the people. I will answer him by doing nothing else than showing him his things. Just send me the letter back soon.

It is said that Emser is working out an Iliad against me and has boasted about how he wants to treat the proud monk; I am eagerly awaiting this birth of the mountains. We will take care that in the future nothing of such trivial things will be published here. I think whether our university should write to the University of Leipzig. I would write to Prince George, but I have experienced his chancellor 3) earlier and do not want to give an opportunity to the water bubbles, which I have met there before. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, the day before Gallus [October 15] 1519.

Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 51.

(Wittenberg.)

(Early October 4) 1519.)

Luther to Spalatin.

Various things about Eck and Miltitz.

The original of this letter is in the Ge- sammt-Archiv of Anhalt. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 221; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 997; by De Wette, vol. I, p. 375 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 275.

3) D. Johann Kochel from Magdeburg.

4) De Wette has for this letter the date: "After December 8, 1519", in which the Erlangen correspondence follows him. The reason for this date is the following: "On December 8, Miltitz wrote to the Elector fNo. 328 in this volume that he had received serious orders from Rome to bring the matter with Luther to a close soon, and held out the prospect of interdicts and other ecclesiastical censures. On the 11. he then spoke to the Elector himself at Torgau, where he repeatedly urged that Luther should travel to Trier. The Elector, however, did not agree and broke off the negotiations. - This determines the approximate date of this letter." - This reasoning seems to us not only extraordinarily weak, but also completely invalid. The Elector broke off the negotiations with Miltitz: what should be his order or advice after that, which Luther declares himself ready to fulfill in this letter? What guided us in our determination of the time, we have said in the note to § 2 of this letter.

To his dearest friend in Christ, Georg Spalatin,
Duke of Saxony's court preacher.

JEsus.

1st Hail! Send Eck's slobber 1) back, my dear Spalatin. For you did not send me Franz Sickingen's letter 2); it was given to me to read by our Otto 3) for a very short time. It is also written about Eck from Nuremberg and Salzburg by the hand of the vicar Staupitz that he is trying to win over the great ones; he has also published Rubeus' German rhymes against us again at his expense in Augsburg. Truly a thing worthy of a theologian! Our vicar writes that he is healthy and honored in Salzburg, and sends you his greetings, and that you may recommend him to our prince.

2) With regard to Carl Miltitz, I will do what the most gracious Prince has commanded and advised; 4) I almost wish to get into the hands of these wicked people, so that they may

1) Perhaps Eck's writing is meant: Expurgatio^{ob}.Dekiiste., whose title is exactly given in the St. Louis edition, Vol. X VIII, Introduction, p.27b. It is dated September 2, 1519, and Luther answered it in October by his letter to Eck (No. 383 in this volume), which went out at the beginning of November.

2) On July 29, 1519, a letter of feud by Sickingen against the Dominican Order, especially against Jakob Hoogstraten, appeared in print; this is what is meant here. Bernhard Adelman mentions in a letter to Pirkheimer of October 15, that the same one should have written a second letter against the mentioned order.

3) Beckmann.

4) These words have primarily determined us to place this letter before Luther's meeting with Miltitz in Liebenwerda (Oct. 9), in relation to which Luther writes in his letter of October 13, 1519 (No. 37 in this appendix, § I) to Spalatin: "Therefore you will not doubt that I have promised nothing else than that I, according to our prince's command and counsel ... of both promise and agreement, according to which we at Altenburg had united on the bishop of Trier as judge in this matter" 2c. In reference to this passage, Seidemann, "Miltitz", p. 17, says: "Luther acted sin Liebenwerda) according to secret instruction of the Elector." Above in the text Luther promises that he will act according to the received instruction. - Furthermore, it does not seem credible that Luther in December could hardly have gained a glimpse of Sickingen's letter, which had already gone out at the end of July. Therefore we have been anxious to date our letter further back.

I would finally satisfy their rage if I did not stand in fear for the word of God and the little people of God. Fare well in Christ. I am forced to leave Amsdorf and go to Pretzsch at this hour. 1519.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 52.

(Wittenberg.)

February 27, 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends the letters published by Eck (No. 413 to 416 and No. 419 in this volume). Oekolampad confesses to be the author of the Oanonioi inäooti (No. 408 in this volume). Eck complains that this writing hurt him the most. From a Basel print in relation to the Leipzig Disputation.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 249 b'; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 422 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 341.

To the learned and righteous man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, his dearest friend.

JEsus.

Hail! So that you finally see what it means to write theologically what Eck prescribes in his letter addressed to the prince 5), you can, although it corresponds beautifully to his prescription, waste an hour and read this slobber of the raging boar.

2 Oekolampad writes to our Philip that he is the author of "the unlearned canons", 6) and that he has made this writing so that it presents itself to the people; then, if he is not quiet, he will make something else; and he writes that Eck has complained that no other writing that was published against him has hurt him so much. I am also sending you a print from Basel about the action in Leipzig, so that you can see what they think of it. Send all this back as soon as possible. Farewell and pray for me. Monday after Invocavit [February 27] 1520.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

5) No. 419 in this volume.

6) No. 408 in this volume.

No. 53.

December 3, 1519.

Wittenberg.

Luther au Spalatin.

About Eck's letter to the Elector (No. 419 in this volume); Luther complains about Eck's untruthfulness concerning the determination of the place for the disputation. About the expected verdict of the University of Erfurt. - Postscript: about the filling of the parish in Schmiedeberg.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 219 b; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, vol. III, p. 994; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 371 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 268.

To the learned and proven man, Georg Spalatin,
Christ's servant and his most trusted (friend).

JEsus.

1st Hail! I am glad, my dear Spalatin, that you got to know Eck in Eck's letter. He was such a one when he disputed at Leipzig, as he is (now) when he writes. For there is nothing but rage in him, and as I had printed in the letter 1) addressed to you, he is only powerful in this one thing, namely, to arouse spite; to this he also always directs all his energies. Furthermore, it is a nice trick that he proves by the original of my letter 2) that we offered him Leipzig or Erfurt. Who doubts that we gave him our consent to Leipzig or Erfurt, as my letter indicates? How could we have admitted that we wanted to dispute there, if we had not written that the place was up to us, because another could not be granted?

Why does the intriguer conceal that he wrote again on my request that he would like to come to Wittenberg, that he does not want to, because that (as he says) belongs to a Sejan horse 3)? But since he again offered Cologne and even more distant places, but we refused, we were finally forced to agree to one of the two cities already mentioned, although we preferred neither of them.

- 1) No. 380 in this volume.
2) Namely in § 70 of No. 419 in this volume, where Eck refers to Luther's letter to him (No. 359).
3) "The Sejan horse" is literally the horse that a certain Cn. Sejus had, but who, like all those who had the horse after him, became unhappy.

that is, what I wrote afterwards, that we would have recognized only from the disputation why he had preferred Leipzig. Therefore, we did not offer it, but, since it was offered, we accepted it, albeit unwillingly, only so that the arrogant person would not want to boast that we did not want to stand by our theology.

3 Therefore, you will now understand the copy of my letter, which states that we did not offer [the place], but agreed to it, forced by necessity. But with such tricks the exceedingly spiteful sophist is wont to deal. And therefore I await with pain his threats in print, in which he (I know) will not act with other reasons, and then I will, with Christ's help, paint all his intrigues before all the world and bring them to light.

I am sending the letter from Lang, from which you can see what is to be hoped for in Erfurt with regard to the verdict. But if they do not judge, I do not care about the Parisians, because it has been agreed that they should judge me as one who has been convicted. 4) Be well and pray for me. Wittenberg, the day before St. Barbara [December 3] 1519.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

At this hour, two magistrates with equal votes have been appointed for the parish of Schmiedeberg; finally, it has been agreed that the older of them should have the preference. One is Magister Johann Herzberg, the other Johann Schurf, the brother of Doctor Jerome. But I have not yet found out which is the older one, since I left.

No. 54.

August 18, 1519.

(Wittenberg.)

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends the letter of responsibility against Eck's letter to the Elector; complains that Eck is interfering in a hostile manner in Luther's dispute with the Franciscans at Jüterbock and that the Bishop of Brandenburg is spreading his writing. About the ceremonies to be used at the Passion celebration.

4) Compare Eck's letter to Hoogstraten, No. 395 in this volume.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches GesamtArchiv. Printed by Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 206b; in Löscher's Ref.-Acta, Vol. III, p. 980; by De Wette, Vol. I, p. 323 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 129. The last piece of this letter (§ 4) is once again in Walch as a special letter in the old edition, Vol. XXI, 5; also in the supplement to the Leipzig edition, p. 29.

Your esteemed husband Georg Spalatin, priest of the princely court, his most sincere friend in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! Behold, my dear Spalatin, we are sending the letter to the most noble prince 1) and our most gracious patron, who is answering Eck's slander. If the most illustrious prince should deign to send the same to Eck, it will be dear to us; but if not, then let it be done as God pleases. For the venerable father Vicarius has made it doubtful to us whether the prince wanted Eck to be answered in this way as well, or only by the Latin explanations of the theses, with which we are now occupied; therefore we provide both. If the letter is to be sent, then we wish that either according to the prince's or according to your opinion everything be changed that seems to be good to be changed in it. I have searched for Eck's letter among my papers, but have not yet found it; I will search more carefully.

2) By the way, Eck (whom we can now judge and accuse without sin) behaves everywhere neither as a good nor as a noble thinking man: he has handed over articles to the bishop of Brandenburg, which are provided by him with interpretations, which the brothers of Jüterbock have brought together against me in a lying way. 2) He is an impudent man and has a shameless forehead, ready to assert everything possible and to let the same thing go again, depending on whether there is a glimpse of fame for him. He has only one thing in mind, whether he cannot harm Wittenberg with right and wrong. This is what

I now oppose and will drag this intriguer with his lies before the public, God willing.

Meanwhile, the bishop of Brandenburg, without having heard the other part, spreads Eck's lies and helps them, to my name's disgrace, to many people's reputation through his name, by which he shows quite nicely what attitude he has harbored against me so far. I fear that I can hardly avoid implicating him at the same time and displaying his ignorance and sacrilege, which is closely related to that of Eck. The Minorite Brothers of the Observance help him quite extraordinarily; we only lack a printing press so that we can publish counter-writings more quickly. 3)

I have begun, according to your wish, to direct my attention to the public celebration of the passion of Christ, and the more I think about it, the less I find something that could please me, because there are already more than enough ceremonies in the church, so that almost all serious things of Christian godliness run into superstition, as [the people] are inclined to trust in the outward appearance of the works and in the meantime to leave the spiritual things safely in the queue. And for this reason I am not yet fully prepared how to present it, so that what is established may at the same time have a beautiful outward appearance and be inwardly fruitful. It is difficult for both to happen at the same time, since the Gospel has placed the most reliable godliness in brotherly love and mutual goodwill. Another time more. Farewell and commend us to our patron, the prince. Wittenberg, 1519, on the day of St. Agapetus [August 18].

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

3) Therefore, Luther's "Vertheidigung wider das böswillige Urtheil des Johann Eck" 2c. (St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1362) was printed by Melchior Lotther in Leipzig and not finished until September.

4) publies we have resolved by publicoas, because it belongs to mkaitutioui. For what the old translator offers: "I have thought publicly" (eoeipi publico iutouäkrzt), does not seem possible to us.

5) Added by us, since we assume that Luther had a preceding vulxus in mind when he wrote "xroeliv".

1) Luther's and Carlstadt's letter of responsibility against Eck, No. 416 in this volume. Eck's letter, against which it is directed, No. 413.

2) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 43 b f. and No. 380 m in this volume, towards the end.

No. 55.

(Wittenberg.)

February 8, 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

Of the author of the Canonici inäooti; of the burning of the writings of Luther and others, intended but thwarted by Eck; of Eck's writing against Carlstadt, and of Duke George's request to the people of Erfurt to give their verdict on the Leipzig disputation. His sermons on Matthew, his work on the Postille, and his answer to the ban of the Bishop of Meissen.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 241; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 404 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 318.

To the learned and honest man, Georg Spalatin, princely Saxon court preacher and secretary, his superior in Christ.

IEsus.

1st Hail! Bernhard Adelman has written that he has seen to it that the Eck is answered; this much I have about the author of the unlearned very learned canons. The style fits, in our opinion, both Oekolampad and Conrad Adelman, the brother of Bernhard, who seems to me to be stronger and more important than Bernhard.

Our Wenceslaus wrote that Eck had ordered the nobles [of the university in Ingolstadt] that my books should be burned on the public market, "the unlearned canons" and the German "Schutzrede"; 1) and since a container had been prepared there so that they would be burned the following day, certain more sensible doctors at Ingolstadt would have consulted Johann Reuchlin, and he would have answered: They should be careful that they do not attach a stain to themselves and the whole university by this matter. Therefore the execution was omitted. When Eck came to the place the next day, he left angrily, without having accomplished anything. One would think that man had become a raging bacchante. That is how we do theology nowadays! By the way, I didn't want you to read what he spat out against Carlstadt, but you will read it, because he

so sullied that I have not seen nor heard of a more impudent and impure book. 2) He is a desperate man, the wretched sophist, when he sees that his undertaking is either postponed or prevented. Duke George has written anew to the Erfurt people with great arrogance (so our Lang writes) that they should answer which of us has the better opinion about the faith. A good prince, but one who is driven and ruled by the sophists. Carlstadt is working on a rebuttal against Eck. 3) See the fruit of the Leipzig disputation!

2 I have not even managed a word of my sermons on Matthew, my dear Spalatin, although I hardly wanted anything else so much, but I lacked time. Furthermore, I have not yet completed the interpretations that began with Advent up to Lent, and have not begun anything from Lent. You want to know briefly the reason for this. It is impossible for me to do it, there is no lack of desire. By God's grace, there is enough strength, but I hardly do enough for the Psalter? 4) Enough. You would not believe how much even a single verse troubles me at times. You want to tell the prince that I will gladly continue the matter as I have gladly begun it; but you create two or three days for me for each one, and that will hardly be enough. Sometimes my time is taken away by my willingness to serve strangers, brothers and near ones. Yesterday I also lost half a day by responding to the Meissen ban. 5) I certainly have a quick hand and a vivid (promptae) memory, from which

2) This is the book that Eck dedicated to his compatriot Gervasius Vaim from Memmingen, professor of theology in Paris, on December 3, 1519, which has the title: "Wider den dummen Verfechter Martin Luthers, Andreas Rodolphi Bodenstein, Carlstadt" 2c. See Wiedemann, "Eck," p. 512 ff.

3) Carlstadt had intended the title for it: 6outra drutissiruuru asium st assstrum vostorsulum sts, but on Spalatin's advice (prompted by Luther), he changed it and gave it the title: Eontutatio acivrsus äksusivaru spiktolam loanuis Lskii sts. Cf. De Wette, Vol. I, p. 406.

4) St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 198 ff.

5) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 462.

1) Des Lazarus Spengler Schrift: "Schutzrede und christliche Antwort" 2c.

I wonder how it might be with others who are slower than I. But you know that our intention is that after Lotther's printing press is properly set up, all interpretations should be printed at the same time. You know, however, that our intention is that, after Lotther's printing press 1) has been properly set up, all interpretations should be printed at the same time, and that is our intention that we also begin, as soon as possible, the severe punitive speeches about the teachers of the sentences 2). Farewell and commend me to the prince. February 8, 1520.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 56.

Wittenberg.

March 21, 1520.

Luther to Johann Lang.

Luther's reply against the Louvainiers and the Cologneers is printed. Von Eck's journey to Rome. About the imminent death of D. Eschhausen's wife. Postscript on the imminent death of Aesticampianus.

Handwritten in the Ooä. botd. 399, toi. 130d. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 252; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 429 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 365.

To the venerable and highly esteemed father, Johann Lang, Master of Holy Theology, Vicar of the Hermits of St. Augustine, who has his being in Erfurt, his [friend] in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail! I believe, venerable Father, that you received my letter through Brother Martin Benedictus. Now there is nothing new with us. For my answer against the reprobates, 3) the bad theologians, is under

1) Around this time, Melchior Lotther Jr. moved from Leipzig to Wittenberg and established a printing press there. The writing just mentioned, "Luthers Antwort auf den Zettel, so unter des Officials zu Stolpen" 2c., was, as we can see from the Weimar edition, vol. VI, p. 136, still printed by Melchior Lotther in Leipzig, whereas the Latin adaptation of this writing (St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 468), which Luther produced very shortly thereafter, was printed by Melchior Lotther Jr. in Wittenberg. See Weim. Edition, 1.6. p. 143.

2) Philippieas super sententiarum. The Erlangen correspondence remarks: "Probably the Lueudratuueula, published against Melanchthon's will and therefore later suppressed by him; cf. Oorp. Ret. XXI, 6 ff. 59."

3) No. 421 in this volume.

the press. My corner goes to Rome and wants to set fire to the forest of Lebanon. But I believe that Rome is also subject to Christ, the Lord above all, who, if I am worthy, will work for me there; but if I am not worthy, then I do not want him to work for me here either. You will ask the Lord for me, that I finally become pious and lead his cause worthily in this wicked world. I recommend the wife of D. Thomas Eschhausen to you, who, as I believe, is either already deceased or will pass away today, because there is no hope for life. Farewell in Christ. Wittenberg, 1520, Wednesday after Lätare [March 21] Brother Martin Luther, Augustinian.

Aesticampianus 4) also suffers from respiratory problems. He has been given the last ointment and prepared for retirement, although he still walks around his room with a pious and confident heart and is not at all afraid of death.

No. 57.

Wittenberg.

August 23, 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

About the matter of the widow Landmann; about the additions to the second edition of the Scripture to the Christian Nobility. Luther sends his "Erbieten" (No. 433 in this volume) and his letter to the Emperor (No. 428 in this volume) for improvement. Content of a letter to the Cardinal 8. Orueis. Postscript: Recommendation of Franz Günther.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 279; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 480 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 464.

To the dear friend, Mr. Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant, his [patron] in the Lord.

JEsus.

1st Hail! First of all, nothing is answered to the widow Landmann (as I hear), my dear Spalatin, but harsh vituperations, so that this intercession has helped nothing; answer, if you can, what is going on. I have arranged for your letter to be brought to Nuremberg. There will be in the second edition, which Lotther will take over, additions to the

4) D. Johann Sommerfeld. He died on May 31, 1520.

Booklet 1) will be made; it will also be increased. Behold, I send the "Erbioten" (*Elogion*) and the letter [to the emperor for improvement.

2. the contents of the letter to [the Cardinals St. Crucis 2) is this: Since his fame is extraordinary in the whole world, I have wanted to ask him to make himself a mediator with all the diligence possible to him, so that the matter may be settled; that I also offer any 3) conditions of peace, except recantation, and the ignominy of heresy, and the freedom to teach the word; that banishment and violence would not be feared by me, since I could already be safe in the midst of Germany; at the same time that they should beware lest, if one were destroyed, they would awaken many; I would (if God gives grace) be a match for the enemies in gifts and scholarship. 4) Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg 1520, the day before Bartholomew [August 23].

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

I recommend Magister Franz Günther to you, and you will see to it that this letter is delivered to the Prince.

No. 58.

Wittenberg.

January 21, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends the beginning of the "Grund und Ursach aller Artikel" 2c. (No. 448 in this volume). Of Emser's and Murner's writings. Use for Joh. Schwertfeger, that the teaching position of civil law be transferred to him.

1) "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" 2c. St. Louis edition, Vol. X, 266.

2) aü 8. Örn66ni: "anyway LernÄrckinrm Oarvajal Hispanns, Lpiseoxms Ostiensis, OarälLnalis 8. Oueis" (Burkhardt, p. 31).

3) The Erlangen correspondence has this reading, oua8vis; against it Burkhardt I. o. reads vm, which you want ^Spalatins. - De Wette erroneously says that Luther sent the letter to 8 Örnx to Spalatin for review, because he recognized neither the motion ("Erbioten") nor the letter to the emperor. Luther would not have detailed the contents of the letter to the Cardinal in our letter if he had sent his letter to him along with it. We leave it undecided whether Luther is speaking here of his letter to the Cardinal or of one to be drafted for him by the court.

4) This seems to indicate that Luther is not talking about his letter to the Cardinal. For this

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 300 d; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 545 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 75.

To the learned and godly man, Georg Spalatin, princely Saxon court preacher, his [friend] in Christ.

JESus.

1. hail! I believe that this has come to you or will soon come to you, my dear Spalatin, what I sent to you with the assertion of the articles by Taubeuheim; 5) in the meantime, we have read your letter to Stromer. The German "Grund und Ursach" (*Assertio*) is among the press of which I send you a foretaste; it is better than the Latin. Emser writes against me at Leipzig with great courage; 6) I despise Murner.

Furthermore, since the provost 7) has died and Wolfgang has turned away from us, yes, since I hear that the Torgau doctor is also to be deprived of the lecture on law, I ask you to be a good intercessor and mediator for Johann Schwertfeger. If he could obtain the lecture on civil law, which he also seems to be equal to our Philippus, then he would perhaps change and become a layman from a clergyman, which would also be more to the man's liking.

I am writing this on the advice of many good people; you do what the spirit tells you to do. It is said that the bishops of Meissen and Merseburg have decided to execute the bull; it is the will of the Lord. There is nothing else with us; you are showered with new things every day. Fare well in Christ our Lord, Amen. Wittenberg, 1521, on the day of St. Agnes the Martyr [January 21].

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

he could well write to his trusted friend Spalatin, but (with his great modesty) not to the Cardinal.

5) Cf. no. 65 of this appendix.

6) namely against Luther's writing to the German **nobility**, to which Luther replied with his writing "An den Bock zu Leipzig". See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 39 b f.

7) D. Henning Göde. - "Wolfgang" is D. Wolfgang Stehlin, who turned away from the Reformation. - "The Torgau Doctor" is Matthäus Beskau, professor of law at Wittenberg.

No. 59.

Wittenberg.

March 6, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends the last sheets of the book "Grund und Ursach" and the beginning of the Postille. He gives news about his work and about his adversaries.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 310 d; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 567 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 98.

To the learned and pious man, Georg Spalatin, disciple of Christ, his friend in the Lord.

JESus.

Hail! On the first of March, the German text "Grund und Ursach" was completed, my dear Spalatin, but when will it reach you? Today is also the beginning (praegustus) of the Postille, 1) as you see; slowly, ours is being delivered to you. The answer to Emser 2) is in progress. I am getting started on the Canticum of Mary, 3) as I wrote earlier. I have sent the sheets of the German Assertio ["Grund und Ursach"] piecemeal, now I am sending the rest. In Louvain (as I am told) Latomus 4) stands up as an enemy against me, and the whole crowd of sophists. I hear that also two Italians 5) have written, and Murner three.

1) The Latin postillon on the four Sundays of Advent. See Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, Preface, Col. VII.

2) Luther's "Answer to the Super-Christian 2c. Buch des Bocks Emsers" 2c., St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1270. See the introduction there, p. 41 a.

3) "Interpretation of the Magnificat," St. Louis edition, vol. VII, 1372. See the note there.

4) In the writing: Articularura ckoetrivae kV Nartlui Imtiieri, per tleoloZos l'ovanienses aamnatorruli ratio ex saerls litteris etc, which Luther encountered through his "Refutation of the Reasoning of Latomus," St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1056. See the introduction ibid. there, p. 35 f.

5) One of these "two Italians" is Ambrosius Catharinus, whose writing Luther received the following day through Wenceslaus Link, and soon answered in his "Answer to the Book of M. Ambrosius Catharinus" 2c., St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1434. See also the introduction ibid. there, p. 45 d ff. The other is disputed. Burkhardt, p. 37, refers to Dlarei Lauriae vekensio potestatis ^postolieae, L'errara 1521. The Erlangen correspondence says that because Luthern could not yet have known this writing in March, des ^oisii Narliani Illo ckiol^Anensis etc. in Ulart. Imttisuru oratio was meant. But this, fispisooops Duäae sTuy in Spain, was a Spaniard, not an Italian. Perhaps Italos is to be translated here by "Welsche".

Books. What is this? Right once Hercules can come up against two! But for an elephant these monsters are gnats.

The Bishop of Meissen is annoyed that Schmiedberg's and Fabian's money has been bequeathed to me, since he recently sent a secret scout to investigate whether Fabian had really bequeathed me two thousand gold florins. The bishop of Merseburg, of humble court and holy avarice, continues in the service he renders to God by killing Christ and his word. I believe that never from the pulpits has been shouted so furiously against any man as is shouted against me by the Minorites and the preaching monks; it is extraordinary how I rejoice in this. For thus they make themselves known even to your people, and the thoughts of their hearts are revealed after the sign is set up, which is contradicted. Otherwise there is nothing new. Now farewell and pray to the Lord for me. Wittenberg, March 6, 1521.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 60.

(Wittenberg.)

March 7, 1521.

Luther to Wenceslaus Link.

Luther wants to write against Ambrosius Catharinus. He sends books and all kinds of news.

Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 312; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 569 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 104.

To Wenceslaus Link, general vicar of the hermits of St. Augustine.

JESus.

Dear God, what a great mishmash of this quite insipid Thomist Catharinus! 7) I will answer him with little, at most four sheets. These German books you will give in my name to the apothecary Stephan Hoff, and to him, I

6) Heinrich Schmiedberg, chancellor of Bishop Philip of Naumburg and Freisingen, bequeathed a hundred florins to Luther before he died at Eilenburg on November 5, 1520. Compare No. 467 in this volume. - Fabian" is Fabian von Feilitzsch, electoral counselor.

7) See St. Louis edition; Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 46.

please you to say thanks for the gift sent to me. I would have written to him, but since I am busy, I could hardly write this. With another messenger I sent you the Psalter; now you do not need these German books.

The postilla about Advent is ready, but the printer did not want to publish it, because he fears that the profit might be taken away from him first. The prince has written to me from Worms so that I may know that the matter is not yet in the nest of the papists. The bull posted in Leipzig has been soiled with excrement and torn up, likewise in Torgau; but the same thing has happened in Döbeln, with the signature: "The nest is here, the birds have flown out." Emser's book 1) was nailed to the public post in Magdeburg, which is called "Gack" 2) or "the pillory", with two rods or brooms attached here and there, and the inscription added: This place is worthy of such a book. Besides, there is nothing new with us. You pray for me. March 7, 1521.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 61.

Wittenberg.

March 7, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin.

Recommendation of a young clergyman and news.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 313; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 570 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 106.

To Georg Spalatin, the pious and learned man, his most trusted [friend] in Christ.

JEsus.

1st Hail! This young man, Michael Creuzen, who is well-disciplined, my dear Spalatin, has

1) See St. Louis edition, Introduction, pp. 39 ff.
2) In Aurifaber and De Wette wrong: "Sack". Instead, the Erlangen correspondence put "Kack", but we according to St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 998: "Gack". See the note there. Gack or Kack rst, however, not, as Seidemann assumes in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 670, the "gallows," but the kaak, pole of shame, pillory. - The editor of this has heard from the mouths of old people that the "Kaak" in Rostock was on the new market next to the so-called water art, while the gallows was outside the city, at the Reeperbahn.

I want to use both your and my help with our most gracious prince to ask for a certain priestly position, whom I neither should nor want to refuse this service. You will therefore see to it that he is promoted because of you and me (if I am anything). Because that you are something at the court and are valid, one believes rightly.

By the way, there is nothing new with us, except that the bull is becoming more despicable day by day. For what happened to it in Leipzig, I have written to you before. 3) It is said that it was also posted in Torgau, but secretly, and it was immediately torn apart. Since it was struck in Döbeln, it was immediately pelted with dung and torn apart, and these words were written: "The nest is here, the birds have flown out."

The Duke of Saxony, Heinrich, in Freiberg, strongly detests them along with his own. I have addressed a letter to him, because it was written to me from there that he wishes this. The King of Denmark also persecutes the papists, and has given orders to his university that they should not condemn what is mine. Thus reported the one whom we sent there, D. Martin. 4) He has returned to be doctored, but he will return there.

4) What happened to the book of Emser in Magdeburg, I have written before. 5) Finally, Ambrosius Catharinus has come from Nuremberg; dear God, what a tasteless and silly Thomist, so that he almost kills us sometimes by laughter, sometimes by disgust. I will answer him briefly and excite the bile of the Italian beast.

Two Counts of Stolberg came to us for the sake of their studies. You had

3) In this, Luther will be mistaken. He had written this to others, but not to Spalatin. That a letter is missing here is unlikely.

4) This is Martin Reinhard, who was sent to Denmark in the winter of 1520 at the request of King Christian II; however, he remained there only a short time. Later he became a preacher in Jena, where he made common cause with Carlstadt and wrote the "Acta Jenensia" (No. 680 in this volume). Compare also No. 681 in this volume and No. 117 of this appendix. - We do not know whether "D." is to be dissolved by Doctor or Dominus.

5) In the letter Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 747; De Wette, vol. I, p. 560.

well and pray for me. Lucas has asked me to sign these pictures and send them to you; 1) you will get them. Now also the juxtaposition of Christ and the Pope in pictures [the Passional] is prepared; a good book for the laity. Wittenberg, 1521 March 7.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 62.

Wittenberg.

July 10, 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

Of the salary allowance for Melanchthon, the bull from Rome, the Lucius asäoltrm; of Peter Aperbach as a lector to be won for Plinius, by D. Wick. Luther sends the letter of Silvester von Schaumburg (Schauenberg), No. 489 in this volume, the contents of which the Churfürst could make use of in his letter to the Cardinal St. Georgii. Postscript: Indication of several things that the Elector could also add.

The original of this letter is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv; the original of the postscript in the 60ä. Ootlian. 122, toi. 16 with the inscription in an old hand: Hugo soksäula portinot ää kpistolam säe supliotions pro kkilippo), quao äata 68t 10. Iulii 1520. The letter is printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 272 b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 465 and the letter together with the postscript in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 432. The postscript is appended to the letter in Buddeus, p. 17, which is found (also with this postscript) in De Wette, vol. I, p. 463, in Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 767; in Buddeus and Walch with the wrong year 1522. We have transferred the postscript from Walch, vol. XXI, 768 here.

To the learned and godly man, Magister Georg Spalatin, princely court preacher, his superior in the Lord.

JEsus.

1) Hail! He himself wrote to you about the intercession to be made for Philip, 2) dear George, I have nothing more to say about that. By the way, I almost wish that that infamous bull would come from Rome, which rages against my teaching. I hope that I will receive "den gehobelten Eck" (Eccum dedolatum), 3) which has been printed in Erfurt, today. What Lang writes about Peter Aperbach, you see.

1) That these preceding words are not to be referred to the "Passional Christi und Antichristi", about this see the preface to this writing in the St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 191 f.

2) Melanchthon's letter is in the 60p. Loc. I, 262 (from July, not September).

3) This satyr is by Pirkheimer in Nuremberg.

You yourself know man from his childhood how great gifts he has. Perhaps God offers us this opportunity, which I did not want to be rejected out of hand, and I believe that it is not easy to find another who is equally puffed up for [the lesson about] Pliny. Of the [Roman] courtier Doctor Wick 4) (Viccio) there was no danger; nor will I admit any.

I send the letter of the Frankish knight Silvester Schauenberg, and if it would not be burdensome, I would like that this would be indicated in the letter of the prince to the Cardinal St. Georgii. Georgii 5) so that they would know that, even if they expelled me from Wittenberg with their curses, they would achieve nothing except to turn the matter from a bad one into a worse one, since now there are people not only in Bohemia, but also in the middle of Germany, who can and want to protect the expellee against all their lightning against their will. There is danger that I would rage more fiercely against the Romanists, certainly through these protectors, than if I were to argue under the prince's rule in the public magisterium. This will undoubtedly happen if God does not defend me. But to show consideration for the prince, as I have shown consideration in many things up to now, even when I was irritated, will then certainly not be necessary.

Therefore, they should know that what I have not yet done to them is not due to my modesty, nor to their tyranny or merits, but to the name and reputation of the prince, then also to the common cause of the students in Wittenberg. From me at least, after the game has been started for me (jacta mihi alea), the Roman rage and the Roman favor are considered contemptible; I do not want to be reconciled with them, nor do I want to live with them forever.

4) Johann von Wyck from Münster had been Reuchlin's trustee in Rome, from where he now returned. In 1528 he became syndic in Bremen. After the introduction of the Reformation in Münster, he returned there, but left the city again when the Anabaptists came to rule. On his way back to Bremen he was caught by the bishops and secretly beheaded in the dungeon.

5) Raphael Petrucci, who is however listed in the Cardinal directories as tituli 8. 8u8anva6. - The letter of the Elector to the Cardinal is in this volume No. 155.

have communion. They may condemn and burn what is mine; I, on the other hand, if I can only have any fire, will condemn and publicly burn the whole papal law, that is, the whole cesspool of heresies, and there will be an end to the observation of humility, which has been shown in vain up to now, with which (this is my will) the enemies of the Gospel shall no longer blow themselves out.

The more I consider the letter of Cardinal St. Georgii, the more I despise those whom I see so enraptured by pure cowardice and an exceedingly bad conscience, as if they still wanted to feign great ferocity at the last breath. By force they try to protect their ignorance, but fear that it may not go out happily, as it did yesterday and the day before. But the Lord, who knows that I am an abominable sinner, will bring forth his cause either through me or through another; I have no doubt of it. Farewell. Wittenberg, July 10, 1520.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

[Inserted note.]

The prince would also like to add this: Luther's doctrine is so widespread and ingrained in Germany and beyond that if the Romans do not overcome it with good reason and with Scripture, they would, by force and ecclesiastical punishments, as one fears, accomplish nothing other than that Germany twice become a Bohemia. For, as they themselves know, the Germans are hot-tempered, and it is not safe even for many popes to irritate them if they are not restrained by Scripture and reason, especially at this time, when science and languages prevail in Germany, and the laity are beginning to become wise. Therefore, as befits a Christian prince, he comes beforehand and warns that they do not want to do something sacrilegiously, trusting in some power, if they have not first given obvious reason, so that they do not arouse an unmanageable sedition against themselves. I would like to believe that this would shake those timid Romanists very much. But your judgment shall be valid in these and in all things.

No. 63.

(Wittenberg.)

May 13, 1520.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther has his famulus Johann Lonicerus answer Alveld from his book, and has provided him with the draft. The intercession for the sick Elector; by Miltitz, Cranach and a messenger of Silvester von Schaumberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 265 b; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 447 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. II, p. 401.

To the learned and godly man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, court preacher of the Elector of Saxony, his dearest [friend] in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! I am very pleased that I have had the burden of writing against Alveld carried out by my brother. 1) Man has also overcome my mental powers in a quite incomparable way, so that I would not have been able to counter his ignorance with anything worthy. I have neither seen, nor heard of, nor read a book that would have been so tasteless or foolish in all syllables, in short, I lack names with which I could describe it. Today I have finished the notes that I gave to the brother so that he would put it into a form, and in a short time it will be finished. Likewise, the "Sermon of [Good] Works," 2) I hope, will be finished shortly.

2. for the prince will be prayed, only do not begin to trust in our prayers, but in God's goodness, who gives the promise to those who pray, and I hope the Lord will preserve it for us, even for Himself, in these matters.

I do not care about Miltitz, about the one at Meissen 3) and others. I wanted all the tyrants of Rome to feel insecure, so that they could

1) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 31b f. - This refers to Luther's religious brother Johann Lonicer.

2) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1298.

3) By Nisnormern is to be understood the bishop of Meissen, not Miltitz. A comma must be placed after Miltitium, as the Erlangen correspondence has done. Shortly before this time Luther was in dispute with the Bishop of Meissen. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 462 and ibid. the Erleutung, p. II.

finally learned to recognize that they were human beings who had a God.

I know that Lucas has the cloth, but he does not know for whom it should be, and I have not demanded it. I have also seen the watered garments (*undulatas*) 1) but he does not know for whom they are to be either, they have also not been demanded, so that there would not be a mistake if they were also bought for others. Perhaps everything has come to you today.

Two days ago I had a messenger from Silvester von Schauenberg, the Frankish nobleman, whose son 2) has also recommended Philip here, and he promises safe protection 3) if the prince were in danger in any way because of me. As I do not despise this, I will only rely on Christ as my protector, who may also have given him this spirit. Fare well in the Lord. On the Sunday Vocem Jucunditatis [May 13] 1520.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 64.

Wittenberg.

July 20, 1520.

Luther to Wenceslaus Link.

Luther sends him new writings. From Alveld; from the student revolt; from Schaumburg's letter and from the writing to the Christian nobility.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 275 b; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 470 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. II, p. 444.

To the venerable man Wenceslaus Link, Master of Holy Theology 4) at Nuremberg, hermit, evangelical preacher, his [friend] in the Lord.

1) According to Du EuuZtz, uuduiaa is a coarse hären dress, camlott dress.

2) Inscirbit in the Album, p. 93 as Ambrosius "Is Lebaubsra Herbipo: Gioe. 10. Lluü 1520. The name is otherwise written "Schaumberg" or "Schaumburg".

3) This is an oral message; Schaumburg wrote Letter No. 489 in this volume to Luther only on June II.

4) In Aurifaber: "D. 1. NaAistro" etc., thereafter our translation, in that we have dissolved D. by Divns. The Erlangen correspondence offers: "v. Nbsol., LlaZistro ^Doctor of Theology, Magisters, which we did not accept for this reason, because it is not necessary to think of the Magister title after the Doctor title. - We are also aware of the fact that it is not usually called vsiva] NbeoloZins, but 8saeru6] or 8sa,6r08ÄN6tu6] 1b6oloZiu6.

JESus.

Hail! I send you again my trifles, hurry Aergerniß for the hypocrites. I believe that the "planed corner" has reached you. The Leipzig Waldefel 5) shall yahren against me anew; but we shall see. Recently there was almost a schism among us and a riot arose, but Satan was quickly crushed by Christ's help.

2 Silvester von Schauenberg, a Frankish nobleman, has sent me a letter in which he asks me not to flee to Bohemia or elsewhere, but to come to him if the Roman excommunications come into force. He promised me excellent protection from a hundred Frankish knights. Thus, finally, Roman rampaging is also despised among the Germans. Franz Sickingen did the same.

3) From Rome, letters have been written to the prince against me, 6) but in vain. The same has happened from the court of a great man in Germany. Our German booklet against the pope about the necessity of the reformation of the church, which is addressed to the entire nobility of Germany, will be published, which will offend Rome to the highest degree, since her ungodly artifices and violence will be brought to the public. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, the day before Praxedis [July 20] 1520.

Brother Martin Luther.

No. 65.

Wittenberg.

January 16, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin in Worms. 7)

Luther sends Spalatin a letter and some of Hutten's works and his nsssrto, whose vehemence he excuses. He is dissatisfied with Hutten's warlike plans. He does not like the fact that the emperor has withdrawn his invitation to Worms. From a conversation with the Margrave of Brandenburg, the printing of the Postille 2c.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 332 d; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 543 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 73.

5) Alveld.

6) Compare No. 440 in this volume.

7) The Elector had arrived in Worms on January 5 and Spalatin with him. Köstlin, "Martin Luther" (3), Vol. I, p. 419.

His most beloved in the Lord Georg Spalatin, princely Saxon court preacher, the pious man.

Hail! I am sending the letter Hutten sent to me 1) with the bull and other works of him, my dear Spalatin, and everything you see, also the letters of Bucer, one of which has been delivered to me damaged, as you see before your eyes, perhaps by the trituration of the messengers. My Latin *assertio*, 2) which was previously sent to you in a few sheets, now comes in its entirety with the supplement. Do not judge it as harsh; the German will be clearer and simpler. It was necessary to sprinkle the Latin stomachs with something salted. Emser has risen up against me; may the Lord be my counselor.

2 You see what Hutten is dealing with. I do not want violence and bloodshed to be used to fight for the gospel; that is how I wrote to man. 3) By the word the world has been overcome, the church has been preserved, it will also be restored by the word; but also the Antichrist, as he started without hand, so he will be destroyed without hand by the word. I also send my letter to the prince. 4) With sadness I read Carl's last letter, in which he recants his former actions. I ask you, what hope can there be, since they are so minded and write? May the will of the Lord be done.

I have been before the Margrave of Brandenburg and his princely comrades 5) today. I was called and they talked to me, because they wanted to see the man.

1) The letter is dated 9 December 1520 - the "bull" is the writing: *Dialogi Huttoniei novi, poryuam kostivi. Lulla vs! Dulioicla*. Among the other writings was: *In ineonclium Dutborianum oxkiamatio Iliribi üttoni D'uitis. Anno Domini NDXXI*.

2) "Grund und Ursach" 2c. No. 448 in this volume is the German script.

3) This letter did not come into Hutten's hands; it was lost, as can be seen from Luther's letter to Spalatin of February 17. (Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 747; De Wette, vol. I, p. 560.)

4) No. 575 in this volume. This letter is dated January 25. Luther had probably already intended to write on the 16th and hoped to be able to send this letter with the present one to Spalatin.

5) Among them, as Spalatin reports, especially Duke Albrecht of Mecklenburg.

I received the hundred gold florins that were bequeathed to me from Taubenheim, but Schart also gave me fifty, so that I am beginning to fear that God may reward me here, but I have objected that I do not want to be overfilled by him in such a way, or I will immediately give it away and dispose of it. For what do I have to do with so much money? I have given half to Father Prior 7) and made man happy.

The younger Prince 8) has written to me for the second time very graciously, indicating to me the answer of his uncle, our Elector, about my matter.

The interpretations of the epistles and gospels have been put into print. I will order them to go out under the name of the prince 9) if you do not advise otherwise. For three sheets are printed, the first is still postponed.

Doctor Henning, the provost, is seriously ill; one doubts the possibility of his recovery; likewise Tilo Dene 10) is suffering; the Lord help them. Otherwise there is nothing out of the ordinary. Farewell. Wittenberg, on the day of St. Pabst Marcellus the Martyr, [January 16] 1521.

Martin Luther, Augustinian.

No. 66.

January 14, 1521.

Luther to Wenceslaus Link.

Luther rejects the request that he declare in writing that he has written nothing against the secular power, since this is unnecessary. Miscellaneous news.

Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 299b; in De Wette, Vol. I, p. 545 (with the wrong date: January 21) and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 72.

6) The legacy of D. Heinrich Schmiedberg.

7) Helt.

8) Duke John Frederick of Saxony. The letter is dated 20 Dec. 1520.

9) On March 3, 1521, Luther dedicated the Latin Postille to the Elector. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XI, Preface, Col. VII f.

10) Tilo Dene, born 1465, mayor in Wittenberg since 1501, died only on November 29, 1545.

JEsus.

Hail! I have received your letter from Merseburg, venerable father. But how could I have written, since I did not know where the spirit of God was taking you? But I was very surprised that you wrote that I would like to testify in a published booklet that I have written nothing against the worldly rule, since all my writings show the opposite. But who can shut everyone's mouth, since very many do not want to read my things, for the sole reason that they have heard that mine cannot be read and rebuked, or not believed. What shall I do here with the impertinent people?

I was appointed by the emperor, and now this appointment has been revoked. Emser writes against me; I will meet that beast. For he acts on the orders of his furious Duke George. We have heard bad things about Teschius 1). With us, everything is as it was. I have received my hundred florins and have pleased the prior with the money and even more in the Lord.

3. be well and pray for the word, since you see that the matter is in the wildest turmoil; perhaps this is the flood of sin of which it is foretold that it will happen in the year 24. 2) Wittenberg. Philip greets you. On the day of Felix [January 14] 1521, your Martin Luther.

No. 67.

Wittenberg.

March 6, 1521.

Luther to Johann Lang.

Luther sends writings; reports that he answers Emser. About his new adversaries, his overload of work. About the papal bull and the hostile behavior of the bishops of Meissen and Merseburg. Postscript: Of the efforts of Aleander at Worms.

Handwritten in the Oock. Ootdnu. A. 399, toi. 132p. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 311; in De Wette, vol. I, p. 568 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel-, vol. III, p. 100.

1) Compare No. 20, § 5 of this appendix.

2) In 1520, such a writing had appeared: "Eyn Warnung des Sündfluss oder erschrockenliche Wassers des .xxiiij. iars auß natürlicher Art des hymels zu besorgen" 2c., six leaves in quarto. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XI, 59, 33. where instead of what is said in the note in the oldest editions is found: "which will now occur over two years".

His Johann Lang, the theologian, Erfurt hermit, his extremely dear [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! Although I am very busy, my dear father, I am writing this only to forestall your complaints that I am not writing anything to you when I have no other reason to do so. At the same time, I am sending my trifles. Against Emser, I have an answer under my hands.

Murner has poured out three books against me. It is said that two Italians have also written against me, of whom I have seen nothing so far. But also the Löwener have something under the press to attack me. By so many snakes (*hydris*) I, a unifier, am attacked, and I am forced to overturn the saying that not even a Hercules can stand against two, while I must stand against ten. Preaching twice 3) requires one man, the psalter three, the postilion no less, and besides this there are so many enemies, to say nothing of the secondary works and the letters to the friends, then also of the conversations and services against brothers. For I am released from the laws of the Order and of the Pope, and excommunicated by virtue of the Bull, which I rejoice in and accept, only that I do not take up the habit and the place.

3 Give my best regards to Crotus and Jonas, and take care that you pray bravely for the ministry of the Word. For Satan is slaughtering many thousands of souls through this quite satanic bull. The bishop of Meissen has gathered and burned wagonloads of our books, as well as the holy man (*sancticulus*), the bishop of Merseburg, who has the most hopeful and stingy humility. Farewell in Christ. Wittenberg. Philip greets you. On the sixth of March, 1521.

Martin Luther.

Aleander, the apostolic nuncio, is working with all his might to have me declared to the imperial eight, but as yet he has done nothing.

3) Luther preached twice a day at that time; once on the first book of Moses, the other time on the Gospels,

No. 68.

Wartburg.

May 14, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther reports the rumors of his capture. About several events in Erfurt and Gotha. His friendly reception in Hersfeld and Eisenach. His present occupation. The circumstances of his capture.

Handwritten in the Ooä. lern n. k. 269 and in the Ooä. 60t6. 187. 4. which, however, according to De Wette, mostly have reprehensible variants. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 3266; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 5 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 152.

To his most worthy in Christ, Georg Spalatin, the most faithful servant of Christ in Altenburg.

JEsus.

Hail! I received your letter, Gerbel's 1) and Sapidus' on Sunday Exaudi [May 12], my dear Spalatin, and the fact that I have not yet written to you was done with good forethought, so that the new rumor of my imprisonment would not give someone cause to intercept my letters. Various things are said about me here, but the opinion gains the upper hand that I was captured by friends who were sent from Franconia 2). Tomorrow the time of the escort given by the emperor comes to an end. I am sorry that you write that they would also rage with such a strict edict in order to search their consciences; not because of me, but because they carelessly burden themselves with evil and continue to burden themselves with such great hatred. Oh, how great hatred this shameless violence will arouse! But let it go; the time of their visitation is perhaps imminent.

I have not yet received anything from Wittenberg or elsewhere from our people. The youth in Erfurt had damaged some of the priests' houses at night (at the time when we went to

1) Nicolaus Gerbel, D. juris in Strasbourg. - Johann Sapidus (Witz) from Schlettstadt, Rector of the school there. He later went to Strasbourg.

2) One will have thought of the Frankish noblemen who were favorable to Luther. Another widespread rumor had him imprisoned by Count Wilhelm of Henneberg, who was an opponent of Luther because of his attack on the pilgrimage to Grimmerthal.

Eisenach), 3) unwilling that the dean of the Severistift 4) (Severianus), a great pope, seized Magister Draco, a well-meaning man, by the surplice and publicly dragged him out of the choir, claiming that he had been banned because he had gone to meet me with others when I entered Erfurt. In the meantime, people fear greater things; the council is looking through its fingers, the priests there have a bad rumor, and it is said that the young craftsmen are allying themselves with the studying youth. It is obvious that they perhaps want to make true the prophetic proverb that says: Erfurt is a Prague. 5)

3 Yesterday I was told that in Gotha a certain priest had suffered because they had bought I don't know what kind of goods to increase the income of the church, and under the pretext of spiritual (*ecclesiastica*) freedom refused to pay the (so-called) burdens and duties. We see that the people (as Erasmus also writes in his *βουλή [bule]*) could no longer, nor would they want to, bear the yoke of the pope and the papists. And yet we do not cease to afflict and weigh down the same, although, since the light brings everything to light, we have already lost the name and [good] opinion, and that appearance of godliness can no longer apply nor rule as it has ruled until now. Up to now we have increased hatred 6) by force and suppressed it by force; but whether it can be suppressed in the future, we will find out.

I sit here all day, idle and heavy-headed; I read the Greek and Hebrew Bible. I will write a German sermon on the freedom of ear confession. 7) Also the Psalter and the Postillas.

3) on April 9.

4) Jakob Doleatoris, actually Schröder, from Eimbeck.

5) Soon after its foundation, the University of Erfurt had taken such an upswing, especially due to the influx of German teachers and students from Prague, that it was compared to Prague. Here Luther means: as the University of Prague had fallen into disrepair due to unrest, so would it happen to Erfurt.

6) Instead of omnia, the two manuscripts have odia, which we have assumed.

7) The writing "Von der Beichte, ob die Pabst Macht habe zu gebieten". St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 814. -The "Psalter" is the "Works on the first 22 Psalms".

I will continue as soon as I receive what I need from Wittenberg, including the Magnificat that I have begun.

You cannot believe with what kindness the abbot of Hersfeld 1) received us. He sent the chancellor and the castle governor to meet us a good mile away; then he received us himself at his castle with many horsemen and accompanied us into the city. The council received us inside the gates. In his monastery he fed us splendidly and put me up in his bedroom. They forced me to preach a sermon early at the fifth hour 2) claiming in vain that he might lose his sovereign rights (*regalia*) if the imperials began to interpret this event as a breach of the granted fare, since they forbade me not to preach on the way. But I said that I had not agreed that the word of God should be bound, which is true.

I also preached in Eisenach, 3) but the fearful priest protested in front of me in the presence of notary and witnesses, but humbly excused himself because of this necessity with the fear of his tyrants. So you will perhaps hear in Worms that I have broken the escort, but it has not been broken. For this condition was not in my power, that the word of God should be bound [2 Tim. 2:9]. I did not consent to it, and if I had consented, it would not have had to be kept, because it would have been against God. So the next day he [the abbot] finally led us to the forest.

men," iikiä. Only for the print did Luther finish the 22nd Psalm that he had begun, but he did not resume the lectures. It is therefore not quite correct what the Erlanger Briefwechsel notes: "Luther did not continue the Op6rntion68 in ksnlinos as he had undertaken here." See the note in the St. Louis edition, Vol. IV, 199 f. - "Die Postillen" are the German church postils.

1) Crato Miles of Hungen. He was inclined to the Reformation, but did not formally convert, probably because then the abbey would have been given to a strict Catholic. He was soon the only Catholic member of the abbey.

2) May 1.

3) on May 2.

The Chancellor is in charge of us, and he has dined all of us in Berka 4).

We were finally received by the Eisenachers, who met us on foot, and entered Eisenach in the evening. Early in the morning, all the companions left with Jerome. 5) I traveled to my relatives across the forest (for they hold almost all of the land), and in breaking away from them, as we were turning toward Waltershausen, I was caught shortly thereafter near Altenstein Castle. Amsdorf must have known that I was to be captured by someone, but he does not know the place where I am being held.

My brother, 6) who saw the horsemen at times, made off from the wagon and is said to have come to Waltershausen on foot in the evening without greeting. So here my clothes have been taken off and I have put on horsemen's clothes; I let my hair and beard grow, so that you would hardly know me, since I myself have not known me for a long time. Now I live in Christian freedom, released from all laws of this tyrant, although I would rather that that pig at Dresden 7) would be worthy to kill me while I was preaching publicly, if it should please God that I should suffer for the sake of His word. May the will of the Lord be done. Be well and pray for me. Greetings to your whole court. Given on the mountain, Tuesday after Exaudi [May 14] 1521.

Martin Luther.

No. 69.

Wartburg.

May 12, 1521.

Luther to Melanchthon.

Luther wants to know what Melanchthon thinks about his concealment, into which he has reluctantly submitted. He admonishes him to stand firm and faithful to the cause of the Gospel. He comments on the imperial edict and complains of abdominal discomfort. Some news.

4) Berka is a small town in Saxony-Weimar-Eisenach, on the Werra. This does not refer to Berka an der Ilm in the Principality of Weimar.

5) Prospect. - In Möhra, where Luther was a guest of his father-brother, Luther preached on May 4 in the morning.

6) Luther's monastic brother, Johann Petzensteiner, who often accompanied him on his travels.

7) Duke George.

Handwritten in the Ooä. len. s, k. 118. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 324; in Strobel-Ranner, p. 16; in Schütze, vol. II, p. 206, but incomplete, without addressee, and placed under the letters from the Coburg of 1530; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 1 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 148.

To Philipp Melanchthon, evangelist of the church at Wittenberg, his exceedingly dear brother in Christ.

JEsus.

1. Hail! What are you doing in the meantime, my dear Philip? Are you not praying for me that this seclusion of mine, which I have unwillingly allowed, may work something greater for God's glory? And how this pleases you, I very much wish to know. I feared that I would be regarded as leaving the battle line, and yet there was no path open to me on which I could have resisted those who wanted and advised me to do so. I want nothing more than to meet the rage of the adversaries and offer them my neck.

2 As I sit here, all day long I imagine the figure of the Church and see the word in the 89th Psalm [v. 48.]: "Why will you have created all men in vain?" Oh God! What a frightening image (spectrum) of the wrath of God is the abominable empire of the Roman Antichrist! And I abhor my hardness, lest I be utterly dissolved in tears, lest I too weep with my fountains of tears for the slain children of my people [Jer. 9:1]. But there is no one who rises up and keeps God [Isa. 64:7], or makes himself a wall for the house of Israel [Ezek. 22:30, 13:5] in this last day of His wrath. O, a worthy kingdom of the Pabst for the end and yeast of the world! God have mercy on us!

(3) In the meantime, therefore, O servant of the word, stop and fortify the walls and towers of Jerusalem, until they also attack you. You know your profession and your gifts. I pray especially for you, whether my prayer (as I do not doubt) is not able to do something. Do the same for me, and let us bear this burden together. We alone are still in the battle line; they will look for you after me.

Spalatin writes to me that such a cruel edict 1) will be printed that they will, at the risk of their conscience, investigate the whole world about my books, so that they will soon cause their own downfall. Rehoboam at Dresden is pleased, 2) and is very eager to execute such an edict. They have also told the emperor to write to the king of Denmark that he should not receive the remnants of the Lutheran heresy, and they sing the little song [Ps. 41:6]: "When will he die and his name perish?"

Hartmann Kronenberg has promised the emperor a salary of 200 gold florins 3) because he does not want to serve the one who hears these godless people. I believe it will happen that this edict will not rage anywhere but among this Rehoboam and your other neighbor, 4) whom the vain doctrine plagues. God lives and reigns forever, amen.

The Lord has beaten me with great pain. The bowel movement is so hard that I have to force it out with great force until the sweat of fear, and the longer I put it off, the more it hardens. Yesterday, on the fourth day, I had an opening; therefore, I did not sleep all night, and I am still not at peace. I ask you to pray for me. For this evil will become unbearable if it continues as it has begun.

6 The Cardinal of Salzburg went as a companion with Ferdinand to his bride in Innsbruck on the day before Philip and James [April 30], that is, on the fourth day after our departure. 5) It is said that this companion displeased Ferdinand, but also the emperor, as Spalatin writes. But you read his letter yourself. See that you write everything that is going on with you and how everything stands, and be well with your own (cum carne tua). On Sunday Exaudi [May 12] 1521, in the regions of the birds.

Your Martin Luther.

1) The first edict in No. 747 of this volume.

2) Duke George.

3) This was the annual salary for having entered the service of the emperor with his friend Sickingen. Compare About Hartmuth von Kronberg, numbers 503 to 514 in this volume.

4) the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg.

5) Luther left Worms on April 26.

No. 70.

Wartburg.

May 12, 1521.

Luther to Amsdorf.

Since Amsdorf had been Luther's companion during his capture, Luther asked him for news about the continuation of his journey and told him how he had fared.

Handwritten in 6oü. Isn. L. 24. n. 1.182. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 326; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 3 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 150.

All the Mr. Nicolaus Amsdorf, the holy theology licentiate.

JEsus.

1st Hail! I had recently written to you all, my dear Amsdorf, but after hearing a better counselor, I tore it all up because it was not yet safe to send letters. Now it has been written about the books and sheets 1) to D. Hieronymus, and in this letter I also write to the prior about the same. You will take care of what needs to be done. The Lord is seeking me home, but pray for me, as I always pray for you, that the Lord may strengthen your heart.

2 Therefore, be confident, and when the opportunity arises, speak the word of God with joy. Write also how everything went for you on the journey and what you heard or saw in Erfurt. At Philippils you will find what Spalatin wrote to me.

On the day I was torn away from you, as a new rider tired by the long journey, I came to my night inn at about eleven o'clock in the dark. Now I am here idle, like a suitor among captives. Beware of the Rehoboam of Dresden and the Benhadad of Damascus. 2) For a cruel edict has gone out against us. "But the LORD will laugh at them" [Ps. 37:13.]. In Him be at ease, and greet all who are to be greeted. On Sunday Exaudi [May 12], in the Air Quarter, 1521.

Your Martin Luther.

1) The "books" that Luther needed for his work; the "sheets" that were already printed from the Magnificat he had begun. - Jerome" is Schürf; "the prior" is Helt.

2) George of Saxony and Joachim of Brandenburg, whom Luther compares to them because of their arrogance and mockery of the holy gospel. Cf. I Kings 12 and 20.

No. 71.

Wartburg.

November 1, 1521.

Luther to Nic. Gerbet in Strasbourg.

In response to his inquiry (of May 18), Luther gives him news of his stay and his writings so far, the most recent of which is the one against the Archbishop of Mainz concerning the indulgence in Halle. He reports that he agrees with Melanchthon about the abolition of the monastic vows and wishes Gerbet luck for his marriage.

Printed at Aurifaber, vol.I, Bl.362K; at Ki8t. 600168. 866. XVI. 8Uvpl6M6Qtum.?. VIII, xo. 30, p. 340; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 89 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 239. The second half of this letter is found in 0oä. OotNav. 451 as a letter to Melanchthon.

To the man distinguished by scholarship and Christian godliness, Nicolaus Gerbet, jurist, his extremely faithful friend in Christ.

JEsus.

Hail in Christ! Your letter, dearest Gerbet, which was written to me on the day before Pentecost [May 18], was only delivered to me on Michaelmas, and this I write to you today on All Saints' Day [November 1], and do not know when it will reach you; perhaps at another Pentecost time or never (ad Calendas Graecas). 3) You see the cause of my silence; namely, you may attribute this to fate, that is, to the hidden will of God.

By the way, I believe that you have since learned from others what you are asking so anxiously and amicably, namely how my affairs are. I have withdrawn from the public sphere by following the advice of friends, albeit reluctantly and without knowing whether I was doing something pleasing to God. I certainly thought that I should stick my neck out to the common rage, but they were of a different opinion. Moved by their advice, horsemen sang to me by a disguised attack on the way and brought me to a safe place, where I am now treated in the friendliest manner.

3. but you can believe that in this idle solitude I am exposed to a thousand devils.

3) The Greeks had no calends, hence the expression.

am. It is so much easier to fight against the incarnate devil, that is, against men, than against the evil spirits under heaven [Eph. 6:12]. Often I fall, but the right hand of the Most High raises me up again; therefore I also seek publicity again; but I will not, unless the Lord calls me.

It is not up to me to send my books to you. I have written about this matter to Spalatin, 1) that he see to it. In the meantime, a booklet has gone out against Catharinus on the Antichrist, likewise against Latomus of Louvain, likewise the German Scripture on confession, likewise the 68th Psalm interpreted in German, likewise the Canticle of Mary explained in German, likewise the 37th Psalm explained in German for the consolation of the church at Wittenberg. 2) Philippus has published for me a protective writing against the Parisians 3) which I have provided with a German [Vor- und Nachrede]; it has also already been published. He also has the theological Methodus 4) under the press; a book worthy of Philip.

5) The German interpretation of the Epistles and Gospels has been in the press from me throughout the year, 5) likewise I have written a public 6) chastisement against the Cardinal of Maiuz, because he has again erected the idol of indulgences in Halle, likewise the interpretation of the Gospel of the ten lepers; 7) everything in German. I was born for my Germans, whom I also want to serve. I have great desire to publicly attack the high schools with writings, but I have not yet decided to do so. I have resolved not to write anything about Matthew.

8) but I had begun to preach both Testaments from the beginning for the people in Wittenberg for the pulpit, and I had come in the first book of Moses up to the 32nd chapter, in the Gospels up to the voice of John the Baptist; here my voice fell silent. Behold, there you have everything you asked for.

6) Your earlier letter, which you had sent to me to Worms, I received long after in this solitude. 9) But it is extraordinary how much I liked the wife and the bridegroom 10) who gave and adorned her to me. But she gave birth to the children I listed above. You are asking whether the offspring is similar to the mother. She is still fertile, and she is heavily pregnant, and, Christ willing, she will bear a son who will crush the Papists, Sophists, Religiosists and Herodists with an iron 11) scepter [Ps. 2, 9.]. For about the vows of the monks and priests we, Philip and I, have a strong alliance, namely, that they must be annulled and destroyed. 12) O, about the wicked Antichrist with his scales! how Satan has devastated through him all the mysteries of Christian godliness!

You want to greet your wife again, and I wish that she loves you and is loved by you again. You happy man, who have overcome the impure celibate state, which is also damnable either by constant rutting or by impure rivers, by an honorable marriage. Suffer all that this state instituted by GOD entails, and be grateful to your GOD. The completely wretched and dishonorable state of young men and girls reveals such great abominations to me every day that my ears already do not hear anything.

1) Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 766; De Wette, vol. II, p. 91.

2) The above writings are found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XV/III, 1434; vol. XV/III, 1056; vol. XIX, 814; vol. V, 656; vol. VII, 1372 and vol. V, 306.

3) St. Louis edition, vol. XV/III, 960, and 932 the verdict of the Parisians with Luther's pre and post speech.

4) the loai tieoloMei.

5) the German church postilla.

6) This will be the writing "Wider den Abgott zu Halle", whose appearance Spalatin prevented, and which has disappeared without a trace. But still on December 1, 1521, Luther threatened the archbishop of Mainz with the publication of this writing. Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 26 a.

7) St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 1438.

8) In his letter, Gerbet, also on behalf of his friends, had asked Luthern to prepare interpretations of the whole of Matthew as soon as possible.

9) May 12. See No. 68, § 1 in this appendix.

10) This refers to the fact that Gerbet had presented Luthern with his edition of the New Testament published by Thomas Anshelm at Hagenau in 1521. The "wife" is therefore the Bible edition, "the bride's guide" Gerbet.

11) Erlanger: lerre instead of: ferrea.

12) This refers to Lucher's correspondence with Melanchthon on vows and "Luchers Urtheil über die geistlichen und Klostersgelübde," St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1500.

uglier than the name nun, monk and priest, and I consider the married state to be a paradise, even if it has to contend with the utmost paucity.

Greet also the others whom you have named to me, Otto Brunfels, 1) Caspar Uringer and Lucas Bathodius, and all who hold with you to the gospel and condemn the spirituality of the angels, as the apostle says [Col. 2, 18]. And thou hast well and pray for me. From my desert, 1521.

Martin Luther.

No. 72.

Wartburg.

May 12, 1521.

Luther to Johann Agricola.

Luther wishes Agricola's wife a happy delivery and exhorts him to be faithful in his office,

Handwritten in dock. llen. L. 24. n, 1.151; Ooä. üatLenderser; Ooä. OotJan. 1048, 1. 58 d. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 325 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 4 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 151.

To Johann Agricola, the married theologian and freedman of Christ at Wittenberg, his friend.

Jesus.

Hail! Although I believe that everything I have addressed to Philip and others is also addressed to you, my dear John (unless through my departure the fellowship among friends has also departed, which God forbid), it has nevertheless seemed good to me to greet you with my hand as well. Be therefore greeted, and be mindful of this word: "The servant is not greater than his lord" (John 13:16). Salute your flesh and your rib; may the Lord grant that it may be happily delivered, amen.

1) Otto Braunfels, son of a cooper from Braunfels, born in Mainz in 1488, entered the Carthusian Order there and lived in the Carthusian House in Strasbourg, which he left at Hutten's instigation. He was also a physician and went to Basel in 1530, from there he was called "ach Bern, where he died in 1534, - "Uringer" (so written by Gerbel) is called "Urniger" after Aurifaber, "Winger" after I'tzebtius. - "Bathodius" is Lucas Hackfurt, priest at Strasbourg, later the almoner of the city.

I am a strange prisoner, who sits here with my will and not with my will; with my will, because the Lord wills it so; not with my will, because I wish to stand in the public for the word, but I have not yet been worthy of it. Wittenberg is hated by his neighbors, but the Lord sees to it that his time will come; then he will laugh at them [Ps. 2, 4], if we only believe in him. Write, how it stands with the sermons, which were handed over to everyone, so that either my hope or my concern of the word may be increased.

(3) But you also, since you are called to the ministry of teaching the children 2) the word, establish your ministry, and bear what the Lord sets before you to bear. Behold, this I have written, only to write. Fare well with all thine own. In the region of the birds, on Sunday Exaudi [May 12] 1521. Martin Luther.

Give one guilder to the newborn child and the other to the mother in childbirth, so that she may drink wine and have plenty of milk. For if I had been present, I would have become godfather in any case.

No. 73.

(Wartburg.)

August 15, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther expresses his dissatisfaction with the printing of the book "von der Beichte" and writes about the printing of the Postille. He rebukes the way Carlstadt argues against celibacy, wants to know at whose expense he lives there, and tells that he had been hunting with him.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt - Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 349; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 41 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 217.

To Georg Spalatin, his [friend] in the Lord.

. Jesus.

Hail! The second and third sheets of the confession I have received from you, my dear Spalatin; the same with the first one.

2) He had the office of a catechist at the parish church. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, p. 42d.

I had already received the bow from Philip. But it is quite extraordinary how this printing repents and upsets me. Would God that I had sent nothing German, so unclean, so careless, so confused 1) it is printed to say nothing of the bad types and the bad paper. The printer Johannes is a Hans, who always remains in the old Schlendrian. 2)

2 I ask you to see to it that he does not print the German Postillen under any circumstances, but rather that everything that I have sent from them is kept and sent back to me so that I send it to someone else. For what use is it that I have worked so much, if through such great uncleanness and disorder other printers are given an occasion to still increase and multiply the errors? I do not want anyone to sin against the Gospels and Epistles after this example; it is better that they remain hidden than that they are published in this way. Yes, for this reason I am not sending anything now, although I have almost ten large sheets on the same matter, and I will certainly not send anything more until I have realized that these dirty profit-seekers care less about their profit when printing the books than about the benefit of the readers.

For what does such a printer seem to think but this? It is enough for me that I make money; let the readers see what and how they read. Philip has sent three sheets of Latomus, which I like very much.

(4) How I would like Carlstadt to make an effort to refute celibacy with more suitable scriptural passages; I fear that he would incur ill reproach for himself and for us. For what kind of interpretation of Scripture is this, that "to give seed to Moloch" means so much as to be defiled by natural flow? as if everyone did not know that seed in this place means so much as children or offspring,

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 838, note 2.

2) The ordinary form of the proverb is: Hans in that is, an incorrigible man. Luther has here the form: in koäsm tsrnxs

- Hans, who always remains in the same tempo, who does not let himself be dissuaded from his sloppiness (Weim. Ausg., vol. VIII, p. 132, note 2). - The printer is Grüenberg, not Lufft, as De Wette assumes. See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, introduction, p. 38 f. After that, the information vol. XI, in the preface, Col. IX, Z.4 is to be changed.

as Ps. 37, 25. 28. and Joh. 8, 33. 3) is written. Why does he not use the words of Scripture, which call this evil softness (wollitiem) and impurity, as the apostle [1 Cor. 6, 9. Gal. 5, 19.] is wont to do? The fact that he even twists the passage to Timothy from a wife to be rejected 4) to the celibate state will be refuted by an adversary in many ways and with success.

It is an excellent thing that he has undertaken and a very good enterprise, but I wish that it will also be carried out in an excellent, skillful and successful manner. For you see how great clarity and the exertion of all forces on our part are necessary for the adversaries, since they blaspheme even the clearest and most appropriate. How much more must we, who are a spectacle of the world [1 Cor. 4:9], take care that our word is blameless, as Paul teaches [Titus 2:8].

(6) Perhaps I am concerned about strange things here, but they are not strange things if he succeeds in his plan. For what is more dangerous than to provoke such a large number of celibate people to marriage by such unreliable and uncertain passages of Scripture, so that afterwards they are martyred with constant anguish of conscience, and worse than now? I, too, wish that the unmarried life would become free, as the Gospel demands, but I do not yet know sufficiently how to go about it. But this I remember in vain, perhaps he does not want his course to be hindered, therefore one must let him.

7) I send the briefly explained passage to John, as you wished. 5) You will be ob-

3) In the original here are two inapplicable citations, namely Psalm. 77 st ^oli. 5.

4) Carlstadt had posted seven theses for a disputation to be held on June 21, 1521, the first of which reads thus: "As we reject the younger widows, so also the monks, so also the young priests in the conjugal state." Jäger, Carlstadt, p. 176.

5) This was the interpretation of the passage Joh. 20, 22. f., which Spalatin wanted to have interpreted more extensively, as we see from Luther's letters to Melanchthon, No. 100 in this appendix. This passage, inserted into the Sermon of Confession, is found at the end of the second part, St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 845 ff, A 63-68. The other passage, where Luther had already brought this interpretation before, is there, Col. 837 ff, § 46 ff; this cannot be the inserted passage, because it is on the third, already printed, sheet. The fourth arc begins in the original edition with z 52 (ibid. Col. 840).

to insert the same at a suitable place. For I do not have the entire sermon in my memory, but I assume that I have said this before quite abundantly, that this excess would perhaps not have been necessary.

8 Do not worry about the suffering of my banishment. For I do not care, wherever I am, if I am not finally a burden and a burden to these people. For I do not want anyone to be burdened by me. But I certainly believe that I am living here through the food

and at the expense of our prince, otherwise I would not stay here for an hour if I knew that I was consuming this man's possessions 1) even though he gives me everything happily and gladly.

(9) For thou knowest that if any man's goods must be forfeited, those of princes must be forfeited because to be a prince and not to be somewhat of a robber is either impossible or scarcely possible, and the greater the prince the greater. You will do well if you give me certainty about this. For from this so kind man I can learn nothing else than that he will receive me from the princely purse. But this is my way, that I fear to be a burden, where I am perhaps not a burden, and it is also befitting for a noble-thinking person that

he fears this

I went hunting for two days last Monday [August 12] 2) to get to know the bittersweet pleasure of

heroes. We caught two hares and several poor partridges; truly an occupation worthy of idle people. I also did theology there under nets and dogs, and as much pleasure as the outward appearance of those things gave me, so much pity and pain brought the secret hidden underneath. For what is this image but that it signifies the devil, who hunts these harmless little animals by means of his persecutions and the

godless teachers, his dogs? This extremely sad secret interpretation was all too obvious to the simple-minded and believing souls.

11) There was a more gruesome secret interpretation. Since we had kept a rabbit alive through my efforts, and I had wrapped it in the sleeve of my skirt and walked away a little, the dogs had meanwhile

found the poor rabbit, broken its right hind leg through the skirt and killed it by strangling its throat. Namely, the pope and Satan are so furious that he corrupts even the saved souls, and does not care about my effort.

(12) Yes, I am tired of this hunt; I think that the one in which the bears, the wolves, the boars, the foxes and such ungodly teachers are pierced with spears and arrows is more lovely. But I am comforted by the fact

that the secret interpretation is exceedingly close to bliss when the hares and innocent animals are caught by men, [quite different] from when they are caught by bears, wolves and predatory hawks and the bishops and theologians similar to them, because it is meant that here they are devoured to hell, there to heaven.

This is what I want to have played with you through the letter, so that you may know that you who eat game at court will also be game in paradise, which the best hunter of Christ can hardly catch and preserve with much effort. A game will be presented to you while you are playing your game on the hunts.

I have changed my intention and am sending the poorest of the postilion, thinking that if one has perhaps begun to print what I had sent before, that it cannot be postponed or stopped. However, I would like it to be printed on paper in large quarto format 3) and with Lotther types, because it will be a large book. But I will divide it into the four parts of the year, from quarter (angaria - quatermber) to quarter, so that it will not be too burdensome and expensive.

15. but in vain do I desire this, because what I want cannot come to pass but

1) Hans von Berlepsch, castle captain at Wartburg Castle.

2) Monday and Tuesday.

3) in cubitalis xunvri rnoänm the old translator asked correctly by "auf Regalpapierart" given. The Erlangen correspondence explains it by: "in quarto". That Luther wanted a larger format, however, can be seen from his reasoning - "because it will be a large book".

what is done there. But whatever happens or does not happen, see to it, I beg you, that the copies written by my hand are well preserved or sent back to me. I know what kind of Satan is stalking them. I wonder if my Magnificat will finally be finished. Farewell and pray for me. On the Feast of the Assumption of Mary [August 15] 1521.

Martin Luther.

No. 74.

Wartburg.

June 10, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin (in Coburg). 1)

Luther sends Spalatin the Magnificat and the manuscript of the Book of Confession; he is still uncertain whether he should add the 119th Psalm, on which he is working, to this book. He is busy with the German Postille, studies Greek and Hebrew, and suffers from constipation.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 333 d; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 16 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 171.

To the man of excellent scholarship and godliness,
Georg Spalatin, princely Saxon court preacher,
his dearest in Christ.

Jesus.

Hail! I have received both your last letter and the booklet of Oecolampad 2) before, my dear Spalatin, with everything else, and now I am sending, because it is believed that it can be done most conveniently through you, as you see, the completed Magnificat, and the booklet which arose from the Sermon of Confession, which is attributed to Franz Sickingen, so that it may be printed, if it pleases you, as soon as possible. For I have already sent the 22nd Psalm 3) to the printer before.

1) Spalatin had left Worms with the Elector on May 23. On May 31, the latter wrote from Gerolzhofen to his brother that he hoped to be with him in Coburg on the next Sunday (June 2) (Fürstmann, Neues Urkundenbuch, p. 19b). On June 10, Melanchthon received a letter from Spalatin at Coburg (Oorp, Lei. I, 396). Aurifaber and, according to him, Walch let Spalatin still be in Worms.

2) Hnōā non sit onsrosa obrlstianis onkossio, Paradoxon doa. Oooolarnpadii. Basi! 1521. cf. no. 79 of this appendix.

3) St. Louis edition, vol. IV, 1256.

You will therefore see to it that this is also brought there, unless something seems to you to have to be changed. For I have not yet decided about the 119th Psalm 4) whether I would prefer to have it connected [with the Scripture of Confession] or especially as a book of its own. The rest I will send as soon as I have learned what is advised by you there. For now I have it under hands in work, but not yet completed, therefore the messenger has been forced to leave it behind.

I have not yet received the postilion; the one to whom I had given the order has made a mistake. In the meantime, I have written that if they cannot be found, you will arrange for me to receive a copy of the shorter postilion, if you have it, along with the index of the epistles and gospels. In the meantime, I have provided my epistle in German for the Sunday after Christmas Day 5) with an exceedingly rich interpretation. I must also answer Latomus, who boasts in his lord the pope. But I marvel at the spirit of Oecolampad, not both because he has fallen on the same subject with me, but because he is so free, confident, and Christian. The Lord keep him and let him increase, amen.

I am very idle and very busy here: I am learning Hebrew and Greek and writing without interruption. The housekeeper treats me far beyond my means. 6) The disease I suffered from in Worms has not yet left me, indeed, it has increased; I suffer from extremely hard bowel movements as never before in my life, so that I despair of being cured. The Lord is seeking me so that I may not be without the remnants of the Cross. He is praised, amen.

I wonder what the imperial edict can withstand. I have read my letter 7) addressed to the estates of the empire on my return journey [from Worms] in print, but very

4) St. Louis edition, vol. V, 1252. Compare *ibid.* vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 38 b.

5) St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 204 ff.

6) *vir bujus looi* - the man of this place. The castle captain Berlepsch.

7) No. 581 in this volume.

erroneous. Here it is said that Herr Schifer 1) died and left a million gold florins to [Emperor] Carl. O about the bold Christ, who does not shy away from these mountains of gold! But would God that they would finally recognize that he, the Lord, is our God.

I did not answer the younger prince to his last letter, because the place of his stay] was not known to me, nor do I consider it necessary, so that the secret of my place is not betrayed by too many letters through some cause. You pray for me, this little thing is necessary for me, since I have an abundance of all other things. Everything that happens in public with regard to me does not concern me; I am finally sitting here in peace. Fare well in the Lord and greet whom you can. From the island of Patmos, June 10, 1521.

Henricus Nesicus. 2)

No. 75.

Wartburg.

July 13, 1521.

Luther to Melanchthon.

Luther criticizes Melanchthon for missing him too much, since everything in Wittenberg is going well without him. He is ill and intends to go to Erfurt; he does not want to answer Einsern, but wants to translate Melanchthon's Apology; he is working on the German Postille. He answers the question whether the right of the sword can be justified from the Gospel, which Melanchthon had denied. Luther says that the Gospel approves and confirms secular power, but does not use it. Finally, he urged the Wittenbergers to be more active in proclaiming the Gospel and disapproved of the fact that the court had prevented the disputation on confession.

Handwritten in the Ood. den. b, k. 6; in the Ood. Kolter, vrosd. O. 351, bl. 28d (very corrupted); in the royal

1) This is Onillerino de Orov, vnyne de 8ora, 8eüor de Okevres sOKiövresl, Dn^ue de ^risoot, the imperial minister. Scheurl, Briefbuch, p. 108, calls him daro de 8ekiveris. - His nephew, Wilhelm von Croy, also died at Worms. See No. 567 of this volume.

2) This signature has given rise to various conjectures. Aurifaber and De Wette read: Honrions nesoius, but the original offers Xosious. A conjecture, which can lead to the correct solution, is made by Lindner in the "Studien und Kritiken" 1835, p. 82, namely that vyEöc (islander) is a word formed by Luther himself. If we now add the explanation given by Luther in his "Namenbüchlein" about "Hinric", we get: "The father soder author) of many ^writings) on the island." (See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 729.)

Library at Copenhagen Äis. 1393, p. 39. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 334b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 21 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 189. The text of the letter seems to be corrupted in many places.

To Philipp Melanchthon, the faithful servant of Christ, evangelist of the church at Wittenberg.
JEsus.

Hail! I disliked your letter in two respects, firstly because I recognize that you carry your cross too impatiently and yield too much to your emotions and, as is your way, are too tender; secondly, that you exalt me too much and are greatly mistaken in attaching such great things to me, as if I were so concerned for the cause of God. I am ashamed and tormented by your so high opinion of me, since I am sitting here insensible and hardened in idleness, unfortunately! praying little, not sighing at all for the church of God, rather burning by great fire of my untamed flesh; in short, since I should be fervent in spirit, I am fervent in flesh by evil lust, laziness, idleness, sleepiness, and I do not know whether God has turned away from me because you do not pray for me. You are now taking my place, more significant and lovely in gifts from God.

2) It has already been eight days that I neither write nor pray nor study anything, partly tormented by temptations of the flesh, partly by other complaints. If the matter does not get better, I will have to go to Erfurt in public; 3) you will see me there, or I will see you, because there I will consult physicians or surgeons. For it cannot be that I can bear this affliction longer, since I could more easily suffer ten large wounds than this small sign 4) of an injury. Perhaps the Lord is weighing me down for this reason, so that he can pull me out of this desert and into the public eye.

3) I will not answer the Emser 5);

3) Luther was prevented from doing so by the plague in Erfurt.

4) Instead of indiduni in the outputs, we have adopted indidnm.

5) to his "Quadruplica". But because no one could be found willing to take over the answer, Luther answered a little later by writing "Widerspruch seines Jpcthums" 2c. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 41.

Let someone answer who seems to you to be puffing, for instance Amsdorf; but perhaps he is too good to deal with this miste.

I have decided to translate your "Schutzrede" 1) against the Parisian donkeys together with their frenzy into German, and to add notes. I wish very much that Oecolampad's book of confession would also be translated into German with you, so that the papists burst.

I am working on the German 2) postils about the Evangelio and will send them to the press immediately, as soon as I have ten of them ready.

Since things are going so well with you, you have absolutely no need of me. And I am also displeased with you that you burden yourself with such great work and do not listen to the fact that you should take care of yourself; therefore you let yourself be guided by selfishness. So often I shout this at you, but just as often I tell a dove a fable.

5 I still think the same about the power of the sword as before. For you seem to me to desire from the gospel either a command or a counsel concerning this matter. In this I fully agree with you that such a right in the Gospel is neither a command nor a counsel; nor would it be proper in any way, since the Gospel is a law of volunteers and freemen, who have nothing to do with the sword or the right of the sword.

6 But the right of the same is not denied, but rather confirmed and praised, which we certainly do not read of any of the things only admitted. For even the fasts and outward ceremonies are neither commanded nor advised in the Gospel, nor any care for temporal things. Nor would it have been proper for the gospel to make decrees about these things, since it alone guides the spirit in its freedom; but is it for this reason a right that they should not be used, indeed, does not necessity require them?

of this life such a right and use?

Your reason would be able to make a difference if everyone obeyed the Gospel. For when the sword is taken away (since the wicked are necessarily in the majority), how long will the church of God endure in this world, since because of the licentiousness of the wicked no one can be sure either of life or of the use of his goods? But you do not want to be referred by reasons and [indication of any improprieties that may occur], but by the Scriptures.

8 I have said before that the sword is neither commanded nor judged, as well as many other things, but that it is nevertheless praised and confirmed, as is the right of marriage, which also has nothing to do with the gospel. For you have John the Baptist, Luc. 3:14, instructing the men of war, saying, "Do neither violence nor injustice to any man, and be content with your soldiers." Surely, if they did not have the right of the sword, he should have forbidden them, since they actually raised your question and said, "What then shall we do?" Here you have the warrior state, though not as one instituted, yet as one confirmed. Do you not think that it is much harder for you to answer those who cite this passage against you than for them to answer you? Paul commands 1 Tim. 2, 1. ff. to pray for those who are in authority, according to the example of Jeremiah, who commands [Jer. 29, 7.] to pray for the king of the Babylonians, and does not command to pray against authority, as against a thing that is either forbidden or has no right.

9th But, thou sayest, those were Gentiles; but there was no prayer 3) that they might believe, but that they might be and abide in peace. You will not persuade me that a prayer could be commanded by the apostles and prophets for those things which are only to be left and to suffer, that they might abide and be at peace; otherwise we would pray for the robbers and (as you interpret it) the unjust tyrants, that they might be unjust.

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 960; Luther's German translation of the Detsrminatio of Paris with his Vor- und Nachrede ibendasselbst Col. 932.

2) Instead of veruuoulu, veruaeule or V6rQuouulus should be read.

3) Instead of orabat we have assumed orabatnr.

10 Now I do not suffer that Rom. 13, 1. ff. and 1 Petr. 2, 1) 13. ff. are rejected by you as if they should not serve here or only instruct the subjects. You cannot do that, Philip. These are the words of God, and they mean something great, since it says: "The authority is from God, and he who opposes the order of God opposes the authority, and it is God's servant. You will not find that this is said only of approved things.

(11) He is not a servant of God, but an enemy, who does wrong, or who makes everything possible to be tolerated, nor is a ventilator or a lulled thing a servant of God. It is something completely different that it is sometimes written that he stirred up one nation against another to 2) war [2 Chron. 15, 6. Matth. 24, 7.], like the king of Babylon against Tyre, and in Ezekiel [Cap. 26. Jer. 27, 6.] calls him his servant, and in Jeremiah [Cap. 51, 11.] "awakened the courage of the kings of Medes"; and it is something else that Rom. 13 and 1 Tim. 2 are said that the authorities are ordained for the sake of peace. For here it is said, 3) that it is appointed for the fear of evil works and for the honor of good works; there: 4) for vengeance, and the account is balanced for an evil work already done.

12) What will you do now that you read that Abraham, David and the ancient saints used the sword in the best way, of whom it is certain that they were evangelical men? Although they used it only for a time, 5) it is certainly not godly that evangelical men should deny the use of the thing of which they made commendable use, namely, the right of the sword, especially since it is neither revoked nor forbidden in the Gospel, but (as I have said) confirmed, at least among those who believed, namely, the men of war who asked John.

(13) Since Christ had to use divine and heavenly things in the Gospel, what wonder that he did not use the sword, which is easily ordered by human creatures, and meanwhile treats it in such a way that, if the Gospel did not dispute that it was used by him, he would have wanted to use it, since, after it is used, he praises it and confirms it, even clearly teaches that it is used by God.

14 Peter [2 Ep 2:10] and Jude [v 8] are also angry that the powers and dominions are despised by the Antichrist. But may one not despise unbridled or unrighteous things that are permitted? He wants honor and reverence to be shown to them; but does he want the same for unlawful and ungodly things?

(15) Caught up in these passages of Scripture, I have not what to answer for myself, Philip, and much less will you satisfy me in regard to this piece than I will satisfy you in yours. You have no passage which reprobates or forbids or in any way teaches the authorities to flee. I have it as one confirmed in so many ways, praised to be honored and commanded to GOtte in prayer, only that it is neither commanded nor counseled in the Gospel, which neither marriage, nor the household, nor the discipline of the house or a city, nor any government and care for temporal things [can say of themselves].

16. if you have something that has been revealed to you in another way, show it, but present it in such a way that you prove that it is forbidden to flee or merely permitted. For Christ said that power was given to Pilate from above [John 19:11]; but I hold that these words are to be understood in this place as meaning that God does not give to evil. But enough of this.

17 I wish Amsdorf luck that his fortune is increased, 6) but even more that he gives an apostle in a happy way. You are already full, you rule without me [1 Cor. 4, 8], nor do I see why you miss me so much, or how my work can be so necessary to you. You seem to be thinking to yourself, since it is

6) by the parish of Schmölln near Altenburg. See No. 81 of this appendix.

1) In all editions: 1.26tri 3.

2) Here, according to De Wette's assumption, we have read *ää dslñnm* instead: *Helium*.

3) Instead of *äicit* we have assumed *äieitur*.

4) "there," namely, in the Old Testament passages cited earlier.

5) Only here do the outputs end the previous sentence.

your affairs are better when I am absent than when I am present: you read, Amsdorf reads, Jonas will read. 1) I ask you, do you want the kingdom of God to be proclaimed to you alone? Must not the gospel also be brought to others? Will your Antioch not give a Silas, nor a Paul, nor a Barnabas to any work of the Spirit? [Acts 15:34 ff.]

(18) I say unto thee, Though I am exceeding glad to be with you, yet it would not grieve me (since ye already have abundance) if the Lord would pardon me either at Erfurt, or at Cologne, or elsewhere with a door for the word. I pray you, how great a harvest is everywhere, and no laborers [Matth. 9, 37.]; but you are all laborers. Certainly we must not be taken into account, but our brothers who are scattered everywhere, so that we do not live for ourselves, that is, for the devil, and not for Christ.

(19) Therefore, see that we are not too carnal toward one another, seeking more the presence of the flesh than of the Spirit. I am ready to go wherever the Lord wills, either to you or elsewhere. I know nothing at all about my return. You know in whose hands this lies.

20 Spalatin writes to me that, by order of the prince, there has been no discussion about the part of the theses on confession, which displeases me greatly. I beg you, from now on, always anticipate the advice forged by the court and do not follow it, as I have done so far. Half would not have happened if I had followed their advice. There are people there, too, just as we are.

I will discuss this with Spalatin. These things inflame our adversaries' defiance and prove that we are fearful. Farewell. This letter, which I had already written, someone promised to deliver, but he did not keep his word. Pray for me, I ask, all of you, for I am sunk in sins in this solitude. From my desert, 1521, the day of Margaret [July 13].

Martin Luther, hermit.

1) Jonas was not yet in Wittenberg.

No. 76.

September 9, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther rejects the advice of Erasmus and Capito that moderation and peaceableness must be practiced. About his condition. He wishes that Melanchthon be persuaded to preach.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. The address of the same is no longer available. Printed in Aurifer, Vol. I, p. 355 d; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 48 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 229.

Jesus.

Hail! Neither Capito's nor Erasmus' judgment moves me in the least. They do not act differently than I have long thought of them; indeed, I have also feared that I would one day have to deal with one of them, since I see that Erasmus is far from the knowledge of grace, since in all his writings he has not the cross but peace in mind. Therefore, he thinks that everything is to be treated and carried out in a polite manner and with a certain friendly benevolence; but Behemoth 2) does not care about that, and nothing improves from it.

I remember that when he said about himself in his preface to the New Testament: A Christian easily despises honor, I thought in my heart: O Erasmus, I fear you are mistaken. It is a great thing to despise honor. But he wanted to despise it in such a way that the contempt would not have been inflicted on him by others, but he would have thought the same only in himself. But the contempt of honor, if it be in words, is nothing; much less if it should be in thoughts to me, but, as Paul says, "the kingdom of GOD standeth in power" [1 Cor. 4:20.]. Therefore, I have not yet dared to boast of any thing, nor can I, except the word of truth which the Lord has given me.

(3) Therefore, the writings of those people are all inconsequential to each other, because they refrain from scolding, biting, and giving offense. For when the popes politely reminded

2) Job 40, 10. Siebe St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1729 Luther's marginal gloss.

they think they are being flattered, and, as if they had a right to be incorrigible, they persist, satisfied that they are to be feared and that no one dares to punish them. These people are depicted by your Plutarch in the booklet of flattery; but in a more serious and frightening way Jeremiah's [Cap. 47, 10.]: "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the LORD carelessly," for he speaks of your works of the sword against the enemies of God. And I fear greatly, and am afraid in my conscience, that, yielding to thy counsel and that of my friends, I have subdued my spirit at Worms, and have not shown myself to those idols as an Elias. They would hear other things if I were placed before them again. But enough of that.

The elder Duke John finally knows where I am; he did not know until now. My host has secretly revealed it to him, but he will probably keep it quiet. I am doing well here, but I am sluggish and dull, and as a wretched man I am quite cold in spirit. Today, on the sixth day, I had a bowel movement of such hardness that I almost breathed out my soul. Now I sit in pain like a child beggar, torn, wounded and bloody, and will have little or no rest this night.

5. be thankful to Christ, who does not leave me without the remains of the holy cross. I would be healed from all soreness if the body were open. For what heals in four days is wounded anew when I defecate. I write this not so that you may pity me, but that you may wish me happiness and pray that I may be worthy to be fervent in spirit. For it is time to pray with all our strength against Satan, for he is planning to cause a sorrowful tragedy against Germany, and I fear that the Lord may allow him to do so.

(6) I am still sleepy and idle to pray and resist, that I am very displeased and a burden to myself, perhaps because I am alone and you do not assist me. I beg you, let us pray and watch so that we do not fall into temptation. I have nothing else to write now. You know everything about everything.

7. I am glad that Wittenberg is increasing,

mainly because it grows in my absence, so that the wicked sees it and clenches his teeth, and what he would like is lost [Ps. 112:10]. Let Christ accomplish what he has begun. I would very much like Philip to preach to the common people somewhere in the city on the feast days after midday, instead of drinking and gambling, so that it would become a habit to introduce freedom and restore it according to the form and customs of the first church.

8. for when we have broken all the rights of men, and thrown off their yoke, what care we whether he be not anointed, not circumcised, and a husband? He is in truth nevertheless a priest, and indeed gives a priest, unless the teaching of the word be not the office of a priest. Otherwise Christ would not be a priest either, who taught in schools, in ships, on the shore, on mountains, and even alone in all places and at all hours.

(9) Therefore, since he [Philip] is called by GOD and exercises the ministry of the word, as no one can deny, what is the matter if he is not called by these tyrants, the bishops, not of the churches, but of the horses, and of the courtiers? But I know the mind of man; he will not obey my coaxings. Therefore he must be called and urged by the commandment and the doings of the whole church. For if she demands and requires it, he must not and cannot refuse it.

(10) If I were present, I would certainly work with the council and the people to ask him to read the Gospel to them privately in German, as he began to do in Latin, so that he would gradually become a German bishop as he has become a Latin bishop, and I would like you to make an effort to see that this happens. For the people need the word of God above all. Since this is abundantly present in him [Melanchthon] before others, you also see that, since our conscience urges us to do so and God demands it, we are obligated to call him, so that the Word is not deprived of its fruit.

(11) You will be able to do this very well through Lucas and Christian 1) in the council, so that in this way Christ will also replace my absence and my silence with his [Melanchthon's] preaching and sound, to put Satan and his apostles to shame. Origen taught the women privately: why should he not also undertake something like this, since he can and should do it? especially since the people thirst for it and desire it.

(12) Dear one, do not be moved by his excuses; he will present the most beautiful fig leaves, as is also fitting for him. For he shall not seek it, but he must be urged and called by the church, yea, asked, that he may serve, and not do that which is profitable for him, but for many. I beg you to do this above all things most diligently, and take friends to help you, who will promote this together with you. And now live well, and remember me by the Lord. From the desert, on the day after the Nativity of the Virgin Mary [September 9, 1521]. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 77.

(Wartburg.)

July 15, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther feels relieved by medicine; disapproves of the prevention of the disputation from confession; dislikes the fact that his whereabouts are betrayed, and wants to go to Erfurt because of his illness.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 340 b; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 29 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 199.

His in the Lord, Mr. Georg Spalatin, court preacher of the Duke of Saxony, his friend and master.

JEsus.

1st Hail! I have at last received everything, my dear Spalatin, and have tried the pill medicine, according to prescription, and have soon had opening and a bowel movement without blood and constraint, but it does not yet stand well with the flesh, which is bruised and sore from the former tearing; indeed, I have not

wavy pain suffered because either the vehemence of the pills or I do not know what kind of accident drove out the anus. I want to wait again.

I like everything you write about Wittenberg, 2) and thanks be to Christ, who has awakened others for me, so that I realize that I am no longer needed, only that Philip, who gives in too much to his emotions, bears the cross with greater impatience than befits a disciple, let alone such a great master of such great people. You see to it that you take care of him, that the most illustrious prince does not let him suffer any lack in his hall being. I am displeased that the disputation was prevented by the confession, for it would have been a useful example against the raging of the papists, so that they would know in what fear the Wittenbergers would have fallen through my absence, since they dared such things without me.

Amsdorf writes that a certain scribe of Duke John wrote to a woman in Torgau that I was in the castle at Wartburg (*Wartpergae*), therefore a rumor had arisen, indeed, had been spread everywhere. This rumor will be believed because it came from the court, may the latter have really known it or only suspected it, so that we have kept this matter hidden in vain with such great luck. This is how Satan, who has been chasing us, betrays the matter.

4 But I hear from my landlord that this is all too firmly asserted everywhere, so that the matter can now no longer be concealed, although we are still bravely keeping it secret, unwilling that our faithful and happy effort should be so carelessly thwarted. By the way, I am well in body and quite lively in spirit, so that Philip is vainly dreaming up dreams about me. If the illness does not subside, I will go to Erfurt to use doctors.

5. that Carl is attacked with wars, 3)

2) Spalatin came to Wittenberg with the Elector of Coburg and stayed there for about ten days, until July 4. During this time, reforms were made at the university.

3) Luther means the uprising of the Comuneros in Spain and the war with Francis I of France.

1) "Lucas" is Cranach; "Christian" is Döring.

is not to be wondered at; he will never have anything that goes out to him happily, and he will have to suffer the punishment of foreign ungodliness, the unhappy youth, because at Worms, when he had wicked counselors, he thrust truth so back in his face, and he will also involve Germany in his misfortune, because she consented to his ungodliness; but the Lord will know his own [2 Tim. 2:19.]

(6) I have seen the decree of the Parisian sophists with Philip's protective writing, and I rejoice with all my heart. For Christ would not have blinded them so much if he had not decided to advise them and begin to put an end to the tyranny of those people. I have previously sent the writing against Latomus 1) to the press. I have nothing else to write, I am finally a true hermit, so be well. On the day of the division of the apostles [July 15] 1521.

Martin Luther.

No. 78.

Wartburg.

July 31, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther wants to use a trick to deceive his adversaries about his hidden whereabouts.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 342; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 32 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 203.

To the Lord George Spalatin, Christ's disciple, his most holy in the Lord.

Jesus.

Hail! The plague has prevented me from going to Erfurt in the meantime, my dear Spalatin. And I do not see what danger there would be if there were an opportunity for me to stay there for a while. For this reason, I would not leave Wittenberg; indeed, if I taught elsewhere, it would be the same as if I taught at Wittenberg, since Christ is everywhere, although I am not looking for a chair or a pulpit, nor will I go anywhere with the intention,

unless I have been strongly called to do so. For I know that the teacher is not of God, who comes of his own free will. Until now I have fled the office of teaching; no one expects me to be otherwise minded; I will always flee it. For if I had sought it, I would never have consented to go into this solitude.

Jonas 2) writes that he has good hope with regard to the papal decrees; you see that the spirit can accomplish it by using your cooperation. But it is beyond my powers what you desire, that I alone should prescribe the establishment of the Christian school of learning 3); this matter requires the advice and judgment of many people. You have an abundance of people in Wittenberg who can do this.

It would be best if the entire papal law were completely excluded, then that the princes finally took heart and completely abolished this jurisdiction and the church punishments (*censuras*) in their countries. For something must be dared if we are to do something great and salutary. For if this divinely predatory jurisdiction is not abolished and lies low, who can then exclude the right of the papal poison? Thus my host has begun in the best way by forbidding the church punishments. 4) If the princes do not want to do this in their own name, they should see through their fingers that this is done by their princes and judges, so that it may gradually arise throughout the world that no one can be punished according to the rights of the pope, but that everything is settled according to the customs and traditions of the countries.

4. my health is such that I have had a lighter opening, driven by the strong and powerful medicines, but the nature of the digestion does not change, and the soreness persists, which I suspect will turn into an even greater malady.

2) Jonas, who had now moved to Wittenberg, had already asked the Elector on June 19 to release him from the obligation to read canon law (Kawerau, Jonasbriefe, No. 54 ff.). He was allowed to hire Johann Schwertfeger for himself.

3) It was about the reform of the university.

4) By resisting the execution of the ban against Luther.

1) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 36.

I will be smitten by the Lord according to his truth.

You will see to it that what I send here as the remainder of the postilla is added to the previous one and printed in Wittenberg before anything else. For I will hurry so that we can send out the whole ten Gospels as one book; I will postpone four Sundays and add the rest. I do this so that a book that is too large will not scare off readers and buyers, and at the same time so that in the meantime one has something to learn. Fare well in Christ and pray for me. From the desert, on the day before Peter's chain celebration [July 31] 1521.

Martin Luther.

No. 79.

Wartburg.

May 26, 1521.

Luther to Melanchthon.

News about Luther's works, especially about the writing against Latomus. Statements about events in Wittenberg, especially Feldkirch's marriage. Reassurances and exhortations. Request for news, orders, greetings 2c. Luther sends the interpretation of the 68th Psalm.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 329 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 8 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 162.

To Philipp Melanchthon, the theologian, teacher of the church in Wittenberg, his exceedingly dear brother in Christ.

Jesus.

Hail! What I wrote in this already sealed letter 1) I have forgotten, my dear Philip, but I wanted to answer your letter anew. I do not like to reply to the writing of Jacob Latomus, because I have now turned my mind to quiet studies, and I see that it is necessary for me to reply myself; in addition, there is the annoyance of reading his writing, which is so rambling and badly written. I had decided to translate the interpretations of the epistles and gospels into German, but you did not send me the postils printed there.

I send the psalm, 2) which is in these

1) Perhaps the fragment No. 584 in this volume (De Wette).

2) This is the 68th Psalm, St. Louis edition, vol. V, 656. See the note there.

Holidays has been sung. You can have it printed, if you want, and the presses have nothing to do, and attribute it to whom you want, because I have edited it, because I had nothing to do and was without books. But if it seems good to you otherwise, you can share it with your friends and give it to Christian Aurifaber 3) to read, or give it to Amsdorf.

I begrudge D. Lupinus, 4) that he has had a happy outcome from this life; after all, God did not want us to live in the same. So great is the wrath of God, which I contemplate more and more every day, since I have nothing to do, that I doubt whether He will protect any adult, apart from the children, from this kingdom of Satan; our God has even abandoned us. But I was not a little moved by his departure, because I looked at the word of Isaiah [Cap. 57, 1.]: "The righteous perishes, and there is no one to take it to heart, and holy men are raised up, and no one pays attention to it."

I would like to know who that Franciscus Faber Silesius 5) is, the heroic head. For the play about the Emser's goat 6) sufficiently shows its original authors. I like the Passional 7) in picture and image quite extraordinarily. I see that Johann Schwertfeger helped you with this work. Our Oecolampad has preceded the Sermon of Confession 8) by publishing the very frank Book 9) of the Ease of Confession, which will also be a new plague to the Antichrist and his fighters. If I had not hoped that it had been sent to you by Spalatin, or that it should be sent to you, I would have sent it to you together.

3) Christian Döring, goldsmith and publisher.

4) Actually Peter Wolf von Radheim, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology, canon in Wittenberg, died on May 1, 1521.

5) He is inscribed under the above name in 1520 as poeta in Anis in Leipzig. Later he was a town clerk in Breslau. He wrote: Silva de incendio Luthorianorum ludorum. 1520. 4.

6) Lucius in Oapruin Lmsorianuin, 1 sheet in quarto, published at Wittenberg 1521. In it a conversation between Oapor and Linpusa and various poems on Emser.

7) St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 186 ff.

8) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 814.

9) Huod non sit onorosa odristianis eonkossio, Paradoxon doannis Ooeolamxadii. Lasii. 1521.

with Hutten's letter, which he addressed to the Wiedehopfe with bishop's caps and cardinal's hats at Worms, 1) have themselves sent to you. But I will myself, if I can, also add something about the same [the confession] in German.

The new husband at Kemberg 2) is wonderful to me, since he fears nothing and has hastened even in this turbulent time. May the Lord rule him and mix his pleasures with his bitter salts [2 Mos. 12, 8.], which will also happen without my prayer. I am displeased that your Methodus 3) has not come together as far as it is printed. I wish to know who rules my pulpit. Whether Amsdorf still snores and is idle. May the Lord preserve and increase what you write about the good progress of the studies, amen.

I do not want you to be in the least distressed on my account. If you look at my person, everything is fine, except that the complaint of the mind has not yet disappeared, and that the former weakness of spirit and faith still persists; but my life in seclusion (xxxxxxx) is nothing at all, and since I have never dealt with the action of the Word according to my will, I am now excluded from it to the great satisfaction of my heart. And so it stands as far as I am concerned.

6 By the way, for the honor of the word and the mutual strengthening of others and myself, I would rather burn under living coals than rot alone half-dead and, God grant, not dead. But who knows whether Christ does not want to do more through this counsel, not only in this matter, but also in all matters?

We have often spoken of faith and the hope of things not seen [Heb 11:1]. Well, let us at least try out this doctrine in something, since this happens to us through God's calling, not through our temptation. Even if I perish, nothing will be lost to the gospel.

In this you will far surpass me and follow Elijah as an Elisha with a twofold spirit, which may the Lord Jesus graciously bestow upon you, amen.

8. therefore see that ye be not grieved, but sing the song which the LORD hath commanded by night [Ps. 42:9, Vulg]; I also will sing; let us only be anxious for the word. Whoever is ignorant, let him be ignorant; whoever is lost, let him be lost, if only they cannot complain that they lacked our ministry. Let the Leipzigers boast, for this is their hour [Luc. 22, 53.]; we must go out from our country, from our friendship, from our father's house, and separate from one another for a time, going sund to a land which we do not know [4 Mos. 12, 1.]. Meanwhile, those may worship and praise their N. N. 4). Jacob, the Fleming, 5) it is enough that he sees you, and don't you want 6) him to be overjoyed by seeing everything he would like.

I have not given up hope of returning to you, but in such a way that God will do what is good in His eyes. When the pope will attack all those who stand with me, Germany will not be without unrest, and the sooner he will undertake this, the sooner he himself and also his own will perish, and I will return. GOD awakens the spirit of many, and even the hearts of the common people, so that it is not likely to me that this thing can be subdued by force, or if one starts to subdue it, it will become ten times greater. Germany has many Karsthansen. 7)

10. murner is silent; 8) what that goat will do

4) Duke George.

5) Jakob Probst.

-Flamelands.

6) In all editions vis ne; we have assumed visus. De bet conjicit: vide n6.

7) Karsthansen - peasants. Here it is used with reference to a satirical writing "Karsthans" published in 1520, which was directed against Murner's book to the German nobility. In it Karsthans appears as a representative of all enemies of the clergy. Hütten is considered to be the author.

8) After the writing to the nobility he had let hear nothing more from him, although he had threatened with many writings.-The "Bock" is Emser. - "Ortwin" is the main hero in the Bröfen of the Dark Men; actually Ortwinus Gratius (de Graes), Reuchlin's opponent.

1) No. 566 in this volume.

2) Bartholomäus Bernhards von Feldkirch, provost at Kemberg.

3) The Locieominunes.

I don't know, maybe he will become a second Orwin. There is one thing I do not believe, namely that you write that you are astray without a shepherd. For that would be the most grievous and bitter thing you could hear. Because as long as you, Amsdorf and others are there, you are not without shepherds. Do not talk like that, lest God be angry and we be found ungrateful. Oh, God would that all churches, at least collegiate churches, 1) had the fourth part in the Word and ministers of the Word that you have. Give thanks to the Lord, who has enlightened you. Behold, I have made many words.

11) The Cardinal of Mainz 2) is said to have 1800 sworn enemies against him, and D. Schifer 3) is said to be suffering from a severe fever; others say that he died. A certain bishop 4) has fallen, that is, he has perished at Worms, who was extraordinarily hostile to Luther. I have nothing more [to write], since I am a hermit, a hermit and in truth a monk (*monachus* - living alone), but without plate and cap; you would see a knight and hardly recognize me.

12) Tell Amsdorf that the pastor at Hersfeld, 5) a very good man, as the rumor goes, has also married, so that you do not have your newly married provost alone; then that he suffers that the one in Peter Lupinus' place was preferred to him. Oh about the children of Adam! But it is good that his righteous and free spirit has been the cause of such great harm to him, while another spirit has been the cause of such great gain to him. Our merits are hidden, but allotted. The reward finally reveals the counsel of the heart. For the provost of Kemberg, I fear that he will be

may be driven out and then suffer want with a twofold body and as many bodies as may still come from it. But if he keeps faith, the Lord lives, the shepherd of all, who also does not let a bird go hungry.

(13) You will greet him and cheer him, and I want you to rejoice and boast with all of them. I cannot tell how great a favor you will do me and also please God, but do Satan and Satan's scales the burned sorrow. Your sadness is the greatest evil for me, your joy is also mine. And so be at ease in the Lord, whom I confidently hope you will command me, and I too, as much as I can, am not unmindful of you. Protect the church of the Lord, in which the Holy Spirit has made you bishops [Acts 20:28], not bishops' larvae.

14. greet all in my name, for you are many (the M. Eisleben greet not, nor the "fat Flemmichen", for to these I write): Johann Schwertfeger, Peter Suaven 6) and your whole household, Heinrich von Zütphen, 7) and all brothers; to the prior I have written; Master Lucas and Christian, D. Eschhausen 8) and all who appear to you. Look at the shameful paper that I had to take out of necessity. Again, be well. Among the birds that sing sweetly from the branches and praise God day and night with all their might. On the Sunday of Trinity [May 26] 1521.

Your Martinus.

1) Churches that have a chapter or collegium of canons (canons, canons).

2) Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz had received the cardinal dignity at the Imperial Diet in Augsburg in 1518. See No. 175 in this volume.

3) Guillermo of Croy, Duke of Sora, Lord of Chevres, the imperial minister, died on May 27.

4) Aloisius Marlianus, bishop of Tuy in Spain, died at Worms in early May.

5) According to Hassenkamp, Hessian Reformation History, Heinrich Fuchs.

6) Luther's companion to the Leipzig Disputation and to Worms, a disciple of Mosellan; then reforming in Stolpen in Pomerania in 1522, imprisoned by Duke Boguslaf in 1523, but soon released; then professor in Greisswald, finally secretary and councillor of Frederick I of Denmark, who often used him for confidential missions to France.

7) He had been deprived of his priory at the beginning of 1520 at the instigation of the Dordrecht authorities because of a popular outpouring directed against the Dominicans and sent to the Augustinian monastery in Antwerp, from where, however, he went in November to Cologne and then to Wittenberg to complete his studies.

8) D. Theodor Eschhaus or Eschhausen was a professor of medicine; on Nov. 18, 1524, Luther recommended him to replace the departing Stagmann; in 1527 he was still Luther's family physician; in 1528 Agricola (Sprüchwörter, p. 6) calls him a man of 90 years.

No. 80.

(Wartburg.)

November 11, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther is unwilling that the court wants to prevent him from writing against the Archbishop of Mainz because of the renewed indulgences in Halle, declares his firm will not to be hindered, and sends the finished writing. He refuses the request to write a new consolation writing and announces his writing against the monastic vows.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 364; in De Wette, Vol. II, p. 94 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 246.

To the Lord George Spalatin, the disciple of Christ, his friend in the faith.

JESUS.

Hail! I have hardly read a more unpleasant letter than this last one of yours, so that I had not only postponed it, but also decided not to answer you. First of all, I will not tolerate what you say, that the prince will not suffer it to be written against the Mainzer, nor what could disturb the public peace: I would rather lose you, yes, also the prince and all creatures. For if I have resisted his creator, the pope, why should I yield to his creature?

Do you think that the public peace must not be disturbed, and do you want to suffer that the eternal peace of God will be disturbed by the ungodly and god-robbing effects that this man carries out? Not so, Spalatin, not so, Prince, but for the sake of Christ's sheep, one must with all one's strength resist this exceedingly atrocious wolf, as an example to others. Therefore, I am sending the booklet against him, which was already finished when your letter arrived, by which I was not moved to change anything, although I had left it to Philip's judgment that he might change what he thought good. Be careful, therefore, that you do not withhold the book from Philip or dissuade him from it; it is certain that you will not be heard.

(3) But that we with our own have to suffer evil talk, either from the adversaries or from people who are too worldly wise in divine things, you should not be moved by this, since you know that Christ

and the apostles have not pleased the people. For I do not yet hear that ours are accused of any shameful deed, but only of contempt for ungodliness and shameful teachings; although I do not like the unrest of the young people who have received the messenger of Antony badly; 1) but who can put a rein on everyone in every place and at every time?

4 Do they never commit evil? The disciples also had to bear the disgrace of Judas Iscariot, and the wicked are borne daily in the communities. But we are the ones who are asked not to mock even a dog. I beg you, do not expect us to apologize against all individuals who do not like Wittenberg, because what would be more impossible?

5 For this reason the gospel will not fall away if some of us fall short of moral conduct; but those who turn away from the word for this cause have not clung to the word, but to the glory of the word. He who clings to the word for the word's sake, even if the gates of hell tear him away, will not be torn away from it; he who is turned away, let him be turned away after all. Why does he not look at what is better and stronger among us? why does he look at what is worse and weaker? are Philip and his people accused of this offense? Why do they condemn all for the sake of one part? It is a lesser sin to hiss out an ungodly preacher than to faithfully accept his teaching; this sin is praised, that one is highly exalted as in vain. And these judges, this equity do you fear, that you think the gospel will fall away because of this smoke?

6) I confirm the abbatial Mass by this book, 2) which I am sending. I have not been able to write the consolation, nor do I see that it is necessary, since I have written the same counterpart.

1) When on October 5 and 6 the Antonian court at Lichtenberg sent the so-called Antonius messenger to Wittenberg to collect alms, the students mocked him, threw dung and stones at him, and he could not carry out his mission.

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1068.

Why do you not give it to him to read? Or why do you not rather inculcate in him the Evangelia and the Passion of Christ, which is the most powerful consolation of all? Should I write a new book of consolation for every single case? What would the adversaries say? At the same time I hope that the consolation of Philip 2) will be sufficient, since I assume that in the meantime the affliction of his mind has subsided, so that my consolation writing comes too slowly and is already useless, and also there is no danger of ungodliness, so that it would not be safe to postpone it or leave it undone; but here there is present danger and ruin of souls in the subject on which I am working.

For now I intend to attack also the monastic vows 3) and to free the young people from the hell of the celibate life, which is most impure and damnable by rut and rivers. Partly I write this as a challenged one, partly as an indignant one; you will interpret it for the best. For it is not One Satan with me, or rather against me, that I am alone, but at times not alone. Farewell, therefore, and greet all of us. I had previously written the last letter to Gerbel and everything was locked up and sealed. On the day of St. Martin's [November 11, 1521. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 81.

Wartburg.

[July 13]⁴) 1521.

Luther to Amsdorf.

Luther wishes Amsdorf luck in increasing his income and indicates to him that he wants to leave solitude because of illness. He instructs him how to answer the Emser.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 338 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 26 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 195.

Jesus.

I wish you luck that your income has been increased by the priesthood at Schmölln 5), my dear Licentiate, and may you prosper. But that that scribe has started the rumor that I am at Wartburg (*in Wartperg*), let that go. For the princes themselves do not know where I am, much less that scribe. By the way, I will be in Erfurt soon, and perhaps before this letter comes to you, for the sake of my illness. There I will appear in public, if they will tolerate me at least for a while.

Philip has written that you will answer Emser, 6) if it suits me; but I fear that he is not worthy to have you as an answerer. Again, I fear, since he is full of Satan, that he would laugh and mock if one of the young people answered him. For the spirit that rages within him does nothing but seek words to mock at, while he sets aside the matter itself. Whatever happens, when you answer him, be on your guard, so that you know that you are talking to a completely unworthy spirit, not to a human being. For he himself understands nothing of what he speaks, but the spirit that drives him to rage through a long disease of spite, and he speaks everything only to provoke and mock.

3. Therefore it is necessary to write against him in the most simple way, and to fortify everything in advance with caution, so that Satan may not get hold of words or an occasion, so that, even if not he himself (of which one must despair), nevertheless everyone, no matter how unlearned, may see that he has spoken nothing to the matter, since he proves by sayings of the fathers that there are priests, 7) while I had brought forward the Scripture, namely, that he is babbling in vain: "Step forward, you holy one" 2c. For I have in my little book

1) Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. X, 1816.

2) In the second half of September, Spalatin had asked Melancthon to write a consolation text for the Elector (Oorx. I Lsk. I, No. 135), but the latter rejected it and referred him to Luther.

3) In the writing "of the spiritual and monastic vows," St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1500.

4) This letter was probably written and sent at the same time as the one in No. 75 in this appendix, because Luther, as the end of that letter shows, had written it earlier, but dated it only when he sent it.

5) near Altenburg.

6) This did not happen, but Luther himself had to answer by the scripture: "Widerspruch seines Irrthum" 2c. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 1352.

7) Emser had sought to prove the difference of the priests and the laity from the Fathers.

claims that from the fathers the kind of people are called priests, which he tries to point out in vain. 1)

Therefore the passage of Peter [1 Ep. 2, 6-10], likewise Revelation 5 [v. 9 f.] and 20 [v. 6] must be treated with the foregoing and the circumstances] 2) and made a mockery of the devil, that he brings forward a passage of Scripture in which it is proved that they are called priests, as I also mocked before in the same book. Then this must be ridiculed, that he wants the priests to be proved by the word [Matth. 5,13.]: "You are the salt of the earth", 3) as if salt and priests were the same thing, which is known by the children in the schools who read the *Vocabularium Ex quo* 4). Next, that the prestige of the fathers is clearly nullified by the apostle [1 Thess. 5,21.]: "Test everything"; likewise by Augustine, *dist. IX, c. Noli*; likewise by the word of Jerome on Matth. 23: "What is not valid from Scripture is as easily despised as it is put forward. But that 5) you should not believe the fathers further than they themselves wanted to be believed, that is, only the passages of Scripture that they have cited.

5 Therefore the foolish mind does not even understand the subject of his book, since it is argued, not what the fathers said, but why they said it, so that the reader may know that it is something else "to say" and something else "to believe"; and

that we do not argue from the saying, but from the believing of what the fathers have said: so far be this blasphemous mouth from its own aim (*scopo*).

6. other things ye shall see; only doubt not that the evil spirit speaketh out of him as out of his buttocks, which he hath rightly possessed, who alone dealeth by departing from the matter, and multiplying his blasphemies by many books. It is clear the evil spirit, but this one thing is lacking in his wickedness, that he possesses and occupies a stupid, dull and unlearned vessel, although he likewise, as unworthy as he is, by his raging impetuosity sufficiently demonstrates how he is decided by the Scriptures and has nothing that he can duly bring forward for his kingdom in the parishioners. And that hurts this Satan.

(7) I say this so that you may write against him with a contemptuous and calm mind, and not be provoked as against a man. For by this contempt (but in such a way that you provoke him by mockery and convict him of foolishness) you will provoke and torment the hope of the exceedingly proud spirit in an unbelievable way, so that he will spew out much more blasphemies and give himself away.

If I had known sooner that he was possessed by an evil spirit, I would have cast out the devil quite nicely, even though I have plagued him enough so unawares. But if he should write in Latin, as he promises, then I will do what I have not yet done. It seemed to me that Peter Suaven was suitable for this, but because he had already been dragged around by the Leipzigers before, it seems to me that one should not give the devil an opportunity for the old rage against him, because the sneering devil would certainly bring up this example against him again.

(9) Praise be to God, who has not only given us this battle against the evil spirits, but has also revealed to us that it is not flesh or blood by which we are attacked in this matter. Therefore be of good cheer and rejoice. He who threw out the prince of this world does not fear the one who was thrown out, whom he despised when he was to be thrown out. He reigns and will

1) For understanding, compare the beginning of Luther's writing, St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, 1354.

2) Set by us instead of a gap. Aurifaber has on the side: Ossunt MLsdLM verka.

3) See Luther's "Contradiction" 2c. St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 1356 f.

4) The *Vocabularium Lx yuo* is a much-used textbook at the time, an excerpt from des 4obauui8 6s 4auua (John Balbi of Genoa c. 1286), orckiuils praockieatoruii, 8ururua, yuas vocatur Oatbolicou. MoZunt. 1460. it takes its name from the opening words of the preface: üx yuo vocabularü varü autontici etc.. The content is lappish, e.g. to sal it says: „8a1 saltz. Lt äicitur a salio, quia galtst in iZns. 8al iä 6kt gaxisntia Weyßheyt. unäs aeeips 8al 8apisntis." To gaesräog: „8ae6räo8 ^uagi gaera "lang vsl (ioeeng, huia larZug äsdst esse a priest, aaesr<loti88a uxor 6jug." 5) Aurifaber: quo<Z. De Wette and after him the Erlanger Briefwechsel: quo.

reign in us sinners and his fools, while Satan rages in the wise and his righteous.

10. I now desire to be a disciple in Hebrew 1) but also of Philip in Colossians. Thanks be to Christ who has made us so rich through the unspeakable gift of his word. I rejoice so much in your abundance that I can easily bear my absence. For I see that I am not in need of you, but that I am in need of you. Farewell and pray for me. An unpleasant and distressing rumor has come to us about Günther Staupitz 2), but I hope that there is nothing to it. May the Lord avert such evil from this house, amen. From my desert, 1521.

Martin Luther.

No. 82.

Wartburg.

December 18, 1521.

Luther to Joh. Lang.

Luther wants to translate the New Testament. Lang is already busy with it, and Luther encourages him to continue.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 295 d (with the wrong year: 1520); in De Wette, vol. II, p. 115 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 256.

To his extremely dear Johann Lang, Augustinian friar, Christian ecclesiastical priest at Erfurt, Martin Luther. 3)

I do not approve of this noisy departure 4); they could have parted from each other peacefully and in friendship. You will be at the meeting 5); see to it that you do not

1) Aurogallus taught Hebrew at that time.

2) Compare No. 44 of this appendix, § 7.

3) Here, Aurifaber also omits the usual caption: "JEsus", which De Wette and the Erlangen edition, from their second volume on, have omitted in order to save space. Soon after the beginning of the year 1523, Aurifaber also leaves it out.

4) It is meant the departure of the monks from the Augustinian monastery. Kolde, Augustinercongregation, p. 375, note 3.

5) Around Epiphany 1522, a convention of Augustinians from Saxony, Thuringia and Meissen met in Wittenberg under the presidency of Link, at which the vows were declared no longer binding and the resignation from the monastery was made optional. The resolutions of the convention are found in Corpus Reformatorum, Vol. I, p. 456 (but find to be set only at the end of Decembers). .

You favor and defend the party of the gospel. I will remain hidden here until Easter. In the meantime, I will compile the postils and translate the New Testament into German, which I hear you are also engaged in. 6) Continue as you have begun. If only God would have every single city have its interpreter, and only this book would dwell in everyone's mouth, hand, eyes, ears and heart. You will hear other things from the Wittenbergers. I am well in body and well provided for, but I am plagued by sins and also by temptations. Pray for me and live well. From the desert, Wednesday after Lucia [18 December] 1521.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 83.

Wittenberg.

March 30, 1522.

Luther to Spalatin in Lochau.

Luther is working with Melanchthon to polish the translation of the New Testament that he made, and asks Spalatin's help, especially for the names of the gems. He has the writing "to take of both forms of the Sacrament" under his hands.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 55; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 176 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 324.

To Georg Spalatin, evangelist at Lochau.

JEsus.

1st Hail! Here you have the letter you wanted, my dear Spalatin. But what I wrote to Duke John Frederick, 7) I do not fully remember, only that I am certain that I taught that he would not make innovations in anything, unless this could be done without the annoyance of the weak, so that he would prefer love to all things. I have also written the same teaching to Duke Carl 8).

2. I had not only the Gospel of John, but the whole New Testament.

6) Longitudinal translation of Matthew had already appeared in June, but Luther had not heard anything about it.

7) In the letter Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 2226.

8) Duke Carl von Münsterberg. Compare No. 662 in this volume.

in my Patmos, but now we, Philip and I, have begun to polish everything, and it will (God willing) become a worthy work; but we also want to use your help from time to time to put the words in a suitable way. Therefore, be ready, but in such a way that you give us simple, not castle and court words, for this book wants to be made bright through simplicity. And, to begin, see that you give us both the names and the colors of the precious stones of Revelation 21, and, God grant it, give us the sight of them from the court or wherever you are able.

The work of evangelical communion 1) is in my hands. But if this matter should cause me much trouble, I fear nothing; Christ lives, and for His sake one must not only become a good smell, to some to death and to others to life [2 Cor. 2:16], but also be killed [Rom. 8:36]. Farewell and greet all at court. From Wittenberg, Sunday Lätare [March 30] 1522.

Martin Luther.

No. 84.

(Wittenberg.)

May 10, 1522.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends a sample of the Bible translation, awaits the sending of the gems, and asks to use them because of a domestic matter of the monastery.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 63; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 195 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 358.

To the learned and godly man, Georg Spalatin, ducal evangelist, his [friend] in Christ.

Jesus.

Hail! I am sending you the sample of our new Bible, 2) but in such a way that you keep it so that it will not be spread. I am waiting for the gems 3); they are to be faithfully preserved and sent back. By the way, I ask that you will

1) The writing "to take of both forms of the Sacrament" 2c., St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 62.

2) The first sheets of the so-called September edition of "Das Neue Testament. Deutzsch. Vuittemberg".

3) See No. 83 of this appendix, § 2.

Bernhard Hirschfeld that he intercede for me with the most illustrious prince for some malt (I do not know how much) which our prior owes, and for which I have become guarantor, that he may not collect it before we can pay, because the interest is not given to us, and we, having given up begging, have now become poorer by 300 florins annually. "There is nothing left here but love and friendship." We live on the future, on the future we will die. 4) Fare well and respond well. On the Saturday after Misericordias Domini [May 10] 1522.

Martin Luther.

No. 85.

(Wartburg.)

January 13, 1522.

Luther to Amsdorf.

Luther expresses his opinion about the sleep of souls and about purgatory, which he still accepts in a certain way. He is pleased about Carlstadt's wedding, announces his Bible translation, and, in order to finish the Old Testament, wants to stay in hiding in Wittenberg. Last of the Zwickau prophets.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 44 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 122 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 269.

To the reverend Nicolaus Amsdorf, licentiate of sacred theology and canon of Wittenberg 2c.

Jesus.

I have nothing reliable to answer you about your souls. I am inclined to agree with your opinion that the souls of the righteous sleep and do not know where they are until the day of judgment. To this opinion I am drawn by the word of Scripture: "They sleep with their fathers" [2 Sam. 7, 12.]. And the dead, who were raised by Christ and the apostles, testify to the same thing, since they woke up from sleep and did not know where they had been. In addition to this, there are the raptures of many saints. And I have nothing,

4) Due to defaulting debtors, namely Günther von Staupitz at Dabrun and Christoph von Bressen in Mutterwitz, the economic conditions of the monastery were often very bad.

with which I could overturn this opinion. But whether this is generally valid for all souls, I do not dare to claim, because of the rapture of Paul, Elijah and Moses, who in any case did not appear on Mount Thabor for appearances. For who knows how God deals with the departed souls? Can He not let them sleep in turn, or as long as He wants, just as He puts those living in the flesh to sleep? Now the passage Luc. 16, 19. ff., about Abraham and Lazarus, although it does not enforce [a feeling] in general, nevertheless attributes a feeling to Abraham and Lazarus, and it is clumsy to interpret this to the day of judgment.

(2) I think the same of the damned: that some can feel the punishments immediately after death, but some remain secluded until that day. For the reprobate [Luc. 16, 24.] confesses his torment, and the Psalm [Ps. 140, 12. Vulg.] says: "The unrighteous man shall be seized with evil in his doom"; unless you also want to draw this to the day of judgment or to the temporary frights of bodily death. Therefore my opinion is that this is uncertain, probably however that with few exceptions all sleep insensibly. Now see who the spirits in prison were, to whom, as Peter [1 Ep. 3, 19] writes, they were preached by Christ, whether they too were not able to sleep until that day. Jude [v. 7], however, says of the sodomites: "They suffer the eternal fire," speaking of the present.

(3) But of purgatory this is my opinion, not that I think it is a certain place, as the sophists invent, or that I think that all who remain outside of heaven and hell are in purgatory, for who could say that? since they can sleep between heaven, earth, hell, purgatory and all, as happens to the living in deep sleep, but that I hold that it is the torment called the foretaste of hell, which Christ, Moses, Abraham, David, Jacob, Job, Hezekiah and many others suffered. For since this is similar to hell, but temporal, it may now be called hell apart from

If it takes place in the body or in the body, then it is a purgatory for me, because we attach such a chastisement to purgatory. But since it is admitted in the body and is certain, it cannot be denied outside the body, although it cannot be proved, so that you will not be mistaken, whatever you may believe here. For even if you deny purgatory, you are not a heretic for this reason, because you do not deny that this pain is felt in the body and can be felt outside the body, but you deny that it [purgatory] is a certain place and that it is certain that it [pain] is felt outside the body. This I also deny; for those who feel it in the body are already not in the body at all, as far as life itself is concerned, for they are dead. Therefore it cannot be that you deny that this punishment is in this way outside the body. I have that much; if you have anything more, teach me.

4 Carlstadt's marriage pleases me greatly, I know the girl. May the Lord strengthen him as a good example to resist and reduce papal fornication, amen. I will deliver my small gift myself at his time after Easter. In the meantime, I will translate the Bible, although I have taken upon myself a burden beyond my strength. I see now what interpreting is and why it has not been attacked so far by anyone who confessed his name in it. But I will not be able to reach the Old Testament if you are not there and cooperate. Yes, if it could happen that I could have a secret room with any of you, I would come as soon as possible and with your help translate the whole thing from the beginning, so that it would become a worthy translation that would be read by the Christians; for I hope that we will give our Germany a better one than the Latins have. It is a great and worthy work, which we would all like to work on, since it is a public one, and should be dedicated to the common welfare. Answer about this what hope there is. I do not wish to be completely and totally hidden, since this is impossible, but to be known to want to be hidden, or not to know that I am

to show myself [publicly]. For I believe that in this way both the fearful and the wicked will be satisfied when they realize that I want to be hidden.

The prophets of Zwickau 1) do not let yourselves be moved soon. You have the holy scriptures, Deut. 13 and 1 John 4,²) 1. which make you sure that you will not sin if you put them off and first test the spirits to see if they are of God. In the meantime, the Lord will tell you what to do. Of course, at first sight it is very suspicious to me that they boast of having conversations with the Majesty [of God]. More about this to Philip. Fare well and pray for me. On the eighth day after Epiphany [i.e. on the Octave, January 13] 1522. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 86.

(Wittenberg.)

(After May 16, 1522.) 3)

Luther to Spalatin.

This letter contains, besides some small matters, the answer to several exegetical questions.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed by Aurifaber, Vol. II, p. 108; by De Wette, Vol. II, p. 273 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 365.

Seinein [Friends] in Christo, Georg Spalatin,
Evangelists at Court.

JESus.

Grace and peace in the Lord! The petition of the pastor at Segren, which I have newly-

1) See about the same St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, p. 10 d f.

2) In the Latin text: 1 Ioliumi. 5) That I John 4 is meant, however, is certain from the letter written to Melanchthon on the same day, No. 103 in this appendix, § 2.

3) On May 15, the requested gems from the Electoral Treasury had not yet arrived (De Wette II, 197 at the end of the letter). Here, at the beginning of the letter, the assumption is expressed that they had already arrived there again. Therefore, there must be at least several days between the two letters. De Wette has placed our letter "at the end of the year 1522", but it is not likely that the gems should have remained in Wittenberg from May to December. That this letter belongs to the time indicated by us is confirmed by the mention of the wounded forester and by the treatment of the passages from the Evangelio Johannis, which are mentioned in the above-mentioned letter. De Wette has erroneously placed the postscript to the same in the year 1523. Cf. SeidemmannDe Wette, vol. VI, p. 621; Burkhardt, p. 68.

I have forgotten, I send now. Of that wounded man in Resen, your locksmith has been told. The gems have also either come back, or Lucas, who has them, will bring them back.

About the questions:

a) 4) "To ask in Christ's name" [John 16:26.], is not to ask through ourselves, but through Christ as the Mediator. For thus Paul always asks urgently *δι' αὐτοῦ* [through Him, for His sake], for he excludes presumption on our merit. Then everything must be asked, and everything is granted, because every request includes the first three requests in the Lord's Prayer. Therefore, there can be neither asking nor giving where the name, the kingdom, the will of God is not preferred. Then, where it is doubtful whether it is according to His name, kingdom and will, our answer must be placed in the hands of His wisdom. Incidentally, where first of all one asks for his name, kingdom and will, it is impossible that all that is asked will not be heard for the sake of Christ.

2. b) "Do not touch me", writes John [Cap. 20, 17], who likes to deal with secret things, while others [Matth. 28, 9. Luc. 24, 39] write that she touched him. But Christ is touched in faith alone; because Magdalene was not yet touched with this, he does not suffer to be touched, as a sign of this unbelief. This is what he himself says: "For I have not yet ascended," that is, just as I have not yet ascended, so you do not yet believe that I am now living in a life different from the previous one. But elsewhere, where this mystery is not acted upon, he suffers to be touched.

3. c) The time when he does not speak in proverbs and when they will ask [Joh. 16, 25. 24.] is the time after the coming of the spirit. If you pay attention to the purpose (*scopum*), you will easily be able to answer many such things yourself. But this is the purpose, that the disciples before the suffering both asked and believed, and experienced all that they did afterwards, but the faith of the ascend-.

4) Here we have been forced to use letters instead of numbers in the original.

They have not yet had the first resurrection and have only known the mortal Christ. You see, this is how it is in my case. Many have believed, since I alone handled the indulgence, and did not know that I would handle the papacy, the celibate state and everything that followed; therefore, many have resented the whole thing. If I could have predicted the future to them, I would have done what Christ does in this whole sermon of their future faith, prayer, knowledge and work 2c. He speaks of the faith to be perfected and the perfect faith and its works, that is, not of the milk (which they had before), but of the solid food.

4. d) The flight on the Sabbath and in the winter [Matth. 24, 20.], we think, is spoken literally, that is, that they do not want to flee at an inopportune time, as the flight was not permitted to them on the Sabbath [2 Mos. 16, 29.], and in the winter it is not appropriate.

5. e) This also resolves the fact that the disciples believe before the suffering that He came forth from the Father [Joh. 16, 30.], namely with the milk faith, but the glory of the resurrection they do not believe yet.

6. f. "To go forth from the Father," that is, for the Son to become man and appear in the world.

7. g) That "signs follow those who believe" (Marc. 16, 17) is certain when it is necessary. For even the apostles did not do signs everywhere and presumptuously, but in the need to establish the gospel, and even now, if we truly believe, we have the power to do signs. For that text alone implies that signs may be done, but does not command that they be done.

8. h) So also they received the Holy Spirit before the suffering and after the resurrection; as I said above about faith and prayer, I also answered about this matter before.

9. i) "Preach the gospel to all creatures" Marc. 16,15.), is to preach publicly to the whole world. See my postillon in the first epistle on Christmas Day. 1)

Fare well, for I am very swamped with business. Martin Luther.

I ask you to help what this Wenceslaus asks, that in Grimma the licentiousness of our bad Christians be controlled, who only want to be Christians by despising superstition.

No. 87.

(Wittenberg.) (About the beginning of June 1522.) 2)

Luther to Spalatin.

After several matters have been mentioned, he moves on to answering exegetical questions.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 135b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 279 (set too late: "Probably in January 1523") and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 390.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, evangelist and servant of Christ, his [friend] in the Lord.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Regarding the payment of the malt, 3) our prior and I ask that you give thanks to the most noble prince for us, but in such a way that he still has a place left for the heavenly recompense, although this is also given for free, and we owe everything for free.

I want you to know that the gems have been returned to Lucas, the painter, from whom I received them. 4)

2. to the questions: a) 5) "I have yet many things to say unto you" 2c. [Joh.16,12.) that he spoke only a few things to the disciples afterwards, this is the reason that they could not bear it. But after that he spoke through the Holy Spirit in their hearts what he had told them when he had

2) This letter is to be put approximately in this time. For firstly, thanks are expressed here for the payment of the malt, because of which Luther had turned to Spalatin in the letter of May 10 (No. 84 in this appendix). Secondly, Luther comes back again to the gems, of which he had written in No. 86 of this appendix, that they had been handed over to Lucas Cranach for return. Third. This letter, like the previous one, is one of those in which Luther answers questions about the Gospel of John. The letter of Kronberg will be the one of April 14, 1522, No. 508 in this volume.

3) Instead of drasii Aurifaber and after him De Wette offers: Brävü.

4) According to this sentence, it is also permissible that this letter is placed before No. 86 of this appendix.

5) Again, we have put letters instead of numbers in the original.

himself was present did not say, because they could not carry it at that time.

d) And it is fulfilled: "The Holy Spirit will declare to you the things that are to come" [Joh. 16, 13.], since the apostles preached about the last times, and about the judgment and about eternal life, as you see it in the letters of Paul and Peter. For there is no doubt that they said more than is written, as 2 Thess. 2:5 indicates, where it says, "Remember ye not that I told you these things, when I was with you?" But what Peter and Paul said, no doubt all the others also said.

c) Although Christ said the same then, as afterwards, the apostles, before the spirit came, did not understand it at all, but, as he says [Joh. 14, 26.]: "He will remind you of all that I have said to you"; and again: "He will transfigure me" 2c. For they were ignorant, that they thought his kingdom would be a temporal one, Apost. 1, 6. and Lucae 24, 21. otherwise they would not have been so vexed at his suffering and would not have been so dismayed. "For they did not yet know the Scriptures," says John Cap. 20:9, but he said these things beforehand, that they might remember them afterward, and believe more firmly and assuredly, seeing that the same things were taught by the Spirit, which he had taught, as he saith, These things have I spoken, that, when they were come to pass, ye might believe. 1) So then, what Christ said briefly and obscurely, the Spirit afterwards taught clearly and extensively, just as a spiritual man also taught Moses and the prophets obscurely at first, but then clearly.

3. ä) "It is good for you that I go" 2c. [For the carnal and crude opinion of the kingdom of Christ could not be removed, nor could the faith of Christ become omnipotent, if he did not go to the right hand of the Father, that he might fulfill all things, and that he might be known to save in all things. For those at that time wanted the kingdom of Israel to be preserved by the sword and in the flesh alone, according to the example of the kings of old, which would have been of no use for salvation. But now he reigns and sustains forever through his spirit and his flesh.

4. e) So also the word: No one asked him about this entrance, where he was going [Joh. 16, 5.], because they did not understand it. But they asked in an incomprehensible way where he was going, because they thought that he wanted to go somewhere in the world bodily through Oerter, where they wanted to follow as they measured themselves [Joh. 14, 5].

5. f) That He blew on them [Joh. 20, 22.] also belongs to the promise that He would give the Spirit, which they did not yet understand until the Spirit came, as we said above in the third question about the words, so that they were certain and firm that this was the Spirit, which Christ also promised and offered at that time by a visible sign.

6. g) Through this, after the resurrection, they finally received the full knowledge of the Spirit and all things, of which they had only received a dark knowledge before the resurrection through word and sign and promise. And it was necessary that right at the beginning of the church the spirit be given by a manifest sign and a great miracle, since so many things had to be done in the law, so many innovations had to be made in the whole world, so that it would be believed that the thing was not led by human but by divine power. Now that this innovation has been established, and the gospel is the same as it was then, and no innovation will occur before the judgment, we stand still at that first bodily revelation of the Spirit, and there is no need for such a revelation, which will continue throughout the ages. This I have been able to offer you among very many transactions, you will judge about it.

I have not yet looked for Kronberg's letter among my papers. But you will get it printed from Strasbourg, which he himself wrote to me at the same time. Farewell and pray for me. Martin Luther.

No. 88

(Wittenberg.)

(After May 29, 1522.) 2)

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther insists on his recommendation of Gabriel Zwilling, sends the whole Matthew in German translation and interprets the passage Is. 11, 2.

1) Compare John 16:4.

2) That this letter is to be placed in the period indicated, but not with De Wette in March, is shown by Luther's

The original is in the Oo6. dotkau. 122, toi. 19. printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 50; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 170 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 381.

To the learned and godly man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, evangelical ecclesiastics, his [friend] in the Lord.

JEsus.

Grace and peace in Christ! I have the same opinion of Gabriel as before, my dear Spalatin, and I am not in the least moved by your reason, which asserts that no one should hope that a fallen brother can be improved, or if he falls again, cannot rise again. Christ judges differently than you, since he forgives the brother seven times seventy times [Matth. 18, 22.], and also you could not suffer that you are judged in this way by God.

I hope that you have received the whole German Matthew, 1) with the other things, because it seemed good to us to honor you alone in this way, because we presume that the prince will also be shown such things. A copy will also be sent to Duke John; apart from him, no one will be allowed to see even one sheet, not even those who work in the printing house. I wish to know how this work is liked.

2. Isaiah 11, 2. is written according to the Hebrew: "The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and strength, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. Therefore it is clear that the seventh (namely pietatis, et replebit eum spiritus) 2) has been added. Setting aside the antics or the serious things of all [Aus- leger], I hold that the life of a godly man is to be divided into three pieces:

3. that the first to the life of the soul

Zwilling's emphatic defense against the objections that Spalatin had made against Luther's recommendations in the letter of May 29 (in this appendix, no. 109). Second, that the translation of Matthew is printed, while Luther, on March 30 (No. 83, § 2 of this appendix), only set to work with Melanchthon to polish the translation he had made.

1) Not as a special book, but as the first arc of the New Testament.

2) The last part of the saying in the Vulgate is called thus: Spiritus soioutins et Metatrs st6Anr spr-.
turuoris Domini.

3) wisdom and understanding; wisdom, because through faith it knows God and what is God's; understanding, through which day by day it investigates more and more what belongs to wisdom, so that understanding is, for example, the custom, the practice, the investigation, the increase, the strength, the growth of wisdom, or whatever else you want to call it. For in Hebrew $\delta\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$ [XXX], that is, understanding, is actually keen and careful observation and (as it is called) inventive and investigative knowledge, and expresses more a movement of the mind (*affectum*) than an activity of the mind (*mentem*), as Daniel 8, 15. [4] "He will not pay attention to women and to some God" (*non intelliget*--he will not direct his understanding), that is, he will not make an effort to recognize and know.

The second is: since the understanding and wise man possesses wisdom and understanding, he now begins to testify to this outwardly, thus living, speaking and teaching; then persecution and the cross begin, because the world does not suffer faith and the words of wisdom and understanding. Here the spirit of counsel and strength reigns, that a man may be wise in what he does, and may excel in tribulations, which also flow from wisdom and understanding as from a fountain. Furthermore, strength or power belongs to the disposition of the heart (*ad affectum*), that a man may endure and overcome in persecutions. Therefore, like wisdom, you must also relate counsel to the activity of the mind (*mentem*); like understanding, you must also relate strength to the attitude of the heart.

5) The third is the outward contact with people; here the knowledge prevails.

3) Inserted by us according to the analogy of the second" and third piece, where roZnat is set.

4) De Wette and the Erlanger Briefwechsel make the remark to Daniel 8: "Not Dan. 8, but II, 37. stands the attracted passage." Although this is correct, we believe that Luther also wanted to quote Dan. 8,15, because there NP2 is found, which is to be understood as the face of Daniel's wish and desire; Luther only omitted to insert the passage which we have completed, where not the noun, but the verb is found.

and the fear of the Lord; the knowledge that man knows that everything is free, and it serves against hypocrisy and superstition in food and drink, clothing and everything that either men set or that nature devises for itself. And it deals only with taming and governing the body freely, yet with moderation, that is, with discernment. The fear of the Lord governs the attitude of the heart, so that the strong do not hope against the weak, and do not turn freedom either into an opportunity for the flesh or into an annoyance for the brother, but use freedom in the fear of the Lord, modestly and in a wholesome way. These meanings of the words can be proved with many testimonies, which you may consider yourself when reading, and (I know) you will approve this opinion of ours. Flee, therefore, the dreams of those who have dealt, nay, torn, this passage exceedingly inconsistent from the gifts of the Spirit. Send, I pray thee, these little books into the kingdom of the birds, to him whom thou knowest. 1)

Now farewell. Greet the court in the Lord. Your Martin Luther.

No. 89.

Wittenberg.

August 11, 1522.

Luther to Spalatin in Nuremberg.

Luther sends to Spalatin things from the Netherlands, and says his opinion about the good works.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 64b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 182 (with the incorrectly resolved date: April 14) and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 440.

To Georg Spalatin, at the court of the Duke, Elector of Saxony, in Nuremberg, his [friend] in the Lord. Grace and peace in the Lord! I send here what was brought from the Netherlands by Jacob, the prior of Antwerp, who was freed by God's miracles, 2)

1) Hans von Berlepsch at the Wartburg..

2) He was freed from prison by a Franciscan, who then escaped with him. See Kolde, A. "sleda, p. 41, where line 2 reads: liberstus instead of: literatur.

and is now here with us. I believe that the New Testament is leached to you up to the last bow (ternionem) 3) of John, and others. Likewise, I also think that Amsdorf 4) has answered your question about good works. For that saying alone is sufficient: "An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit." Therefore, just as fruit never makes a tree, so works never make a good man. But conversely, when the tree has become, the fruits necessarily follow; so, after a good man has first become, the good works follow; not that they make him good, but that they testify that he is good. Therefore, everything that is said in Scripture about good works must be understood in such a way that through them a man does not become good, but is judged, recognized, proven, and testified that he is already good. Therefore, in the judgment, Christ will also put on the good works, because through them he can prove that they were and are good. Be well and pray for me.

Here is nothing new, but the book of the chancellor of Baden, 5) which was published against me, because he had been rebuked in a certain book because of the false report about my opinion to the bishop of Trier, as you know. Wittenberg, 1522, on the day of St. Tiburtius 6) [August 11].

Martin Luther.

3) A ternio consists of three interleaved folios. Cf. no. 92 of this appendix.

4) Amsdorf, since May 1 Rector, had put disputirsätze about the good works.

5) The chancellor of Baden, Hieronymus Vehus, had published a writing in which he apologized widely for his reviled behavior at the Reichstag. Until now, no printed copy of it has been found, but Seidemann published it from the original in the Zeitschrift für historische Theologie 1851, p. 83. The book, against which Vehus turns in his writing, is the document No. 592 in this volume, namely 8 47.

6) the 8th Diburtii cannot be 6th Didurtii, Valsriani st Maximi (April 14), but it is ä. Diburtii 6t 8usanuu6 mart, the 1t. August. This is proven by the fact that Probst, present in Wittenberg at the time, escaped from prison only in June. Furthermore, Spalatin stayed in Nuremberg from July 2 to September 3 (nine weeks, Kolde, ^nsl66ta, p. 40) in the entourage of the Elector, who had gone there for the imperial regiment.

No. 90.

Wittenberg.

August 20, 1522.

Luther to Spalatin in Nuremberg.

Luther is busy explaining the parable of the unjust steward and intends to publish some foreign writings.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 69; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 242 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 446.

To his brother in the Lord, Georg Spalatin, the faithful evangelist, Privy Councillor 1) of the Prince of Saxony, his best friend. At Nuremberg.

JEsus.

Grace and peace in the Lord! I have done to this man 2) everything that you have requested, my dear Spalatin, as I was able, but he requested some work which I have not been able to finish; however, I have decided to send it either to you or to him, because I am so busy. For I am working on the postillon on the unrighteous steward, 3) where it is necessary to overturn the reasons of the adversaries, because this passage causes considerable trouble with regard to the works, the reward and the service of the saints. There I will also deal with your questions, at the same time about good works and how to help the dead, which is desired by many every day. I liked the defense writing of Gallus 4).

1) We assume that ad aure is a title formed by Luther according to the analogy of a l1dri8 (librarian), a 8aeri8 (court preacher), a 6on8ilU8 (council), a 86eret8 (secretary): "who has the ear of the prince", thus his Geheimrath.

2) According to letter No. 93 in this appendix, last paragraph, it is a bookseller. Seidemann-De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 671 assumes Gabriel Kanz von Altenburg.

3) It will be the sermon which Luther preached on August 17, 1522, Walch, St. Louis Edition, vol. XI, 1446.

4) Gallus Korn from Nuremberg, a Dominican, preached in the Dominican monastery on Friday after Ascension Day 1522 against papal abuses, especially against monasticism, and repeated the sermon on the following Sunday in the Catharine Church. His prior now forbade him to preach. On the day of Pentecost he read in the monastery library the interpretations of Cyprian and Ambrose on 2 Thess. 3.6. and made the decision to leave the monastery, in which he was encouraged by Johann von Schwarzenberg on the same day. Already on

If it is possible, it will be issued. Yes, also the general resolution of the Carthusians pleases me, that it should be free to resign and leave the monastic life, and will be published, so that by the example of such a great order our cause and our resolutions will be supported. Remember that you have a double copy of the New Testament, up to [the signature] O and P, one for you and the other for the prince. We also wish to see the new coin of our prince, which is praised and received with such great acclaim. Please, send one to me. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1522, on Wednesday after the Assumption [August 20].

Martin Luther

No. 91.

Wittenberg.

July 4, 1522.

Luther to Spalatin in Nuremberg.

Luther indicates to him that he is obliged to answer the King of England, Henry VIII. About his negotiation with the Picards or Bohemian brothers. He wishes that Melancthon be relieved of grammatical instruction.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 78 d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 216 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 426.

To Georg Spalatin, court preacher to the Duke of Saxony, his [friend] in Christ.

JEsus.

Grace and peace in Christ! I hope, my dear Spalatin, that the Gospel of Marci and the Epistle to the Romans have come into your hands, with the letters of the friends; now the Gospel of Luke will be finished soon and the two letters to the Corinthians. I am compelled to give the extremely poisonous Lee 5)

Thursday of the same week, June 12, he had completed his "Apology". It went out under the title: "A plot, how it went to a preacher Munch at Nurmberg with his brethren of because of the evangelical truth." "Given on June 12 in our elmden hostel, 1522." He found refuge with Schwarzenberg and was still with him in 1524.

5) In the original l.so; in Aurifaber and De Wette: leoni. But Luther gives the name "lee" in Latin: l*6U8, i.

who has transformed himself into the King of England. The ignorance in this book is worthy of the king, but the toxicity and deceitfulness belong to none other than Lee. 1) How Satan rages! But I also want to provoke him more and more every day and have started this in the booklet against the bishop's larvae. 2)

The Picards have had emissaries with me 3) to seek counsel about their faith; I have found almost everything sound, except that they use dark and strange language instead of the language of Scripture. Next, what moves me is that they claim that the baptism of infants has no faith and no fruit, and yet they run and rebaptize those who come to them from among us, then also set seven sacraments. For the celibate state of the priests with them pleases me, since they do not make it a necessary one, but leave it free. Nowhere else in the world is the purity of the Gospel like this. Whether they have a sound opinion of faith and works is not yet clear to me, for I doubt it very much. With regard to the Lord's Supper I see nothing wrong, unless they deceive with words; so also not of baptism. Farewell and pray for me.

How I would like you to finally see to it that Philip is relieved of the grammatical lesson, so that he would be free for the theological one; for it is quite unreasonable that he (as I have written before) earns a hundred guilders for grammar, while in the meantime he can give two theological lectures of immense value. We have enough teachers who can teach grammar just as well as Philip, and for his sake must be idle. God destroy that Bethaven, 4) so that the income that the screaming priests have usurped may be turned to the use of those who are

who teach well, amen. Wittenberg, 1522, Friday after the Visitation of the Virgin Mary [July 4]. I commend this Nuremberg Prior 5) to you. Martin Luther

No. 92.

July 26, 1522.

Wittenberg.

Luther to Spalatin [in Nuremberg].

About Gabriel Zwilling's removal from Altenburg; Luther's apology for his harsh writing against his opponents. He sends a part of the New Testament and gives news about the completion of the whole.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 88; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 235 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 435.

To Magister Georg Spalatin, ecclesiastics and servant of Christ, his [friend] in the Lord.

Jesus.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Ludwig Dietz, 6) secretary [of the king] in Poland, was a very pleasant guest and was received by us according to our ability. But I am glad that Christ is still reigning in so many places: everywhere people are thirsting for the gospel, from everywhere people are demanding evangelists from us. It is quite bad that Gabriel 7) has been removed from Altenburg, because Wenceslaus 8) has written for the second time and praised man in such a way that I cannot believe it to be true.

5) Wolfgang Vollpracht (as Seidemann writes him in De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 701; "Volpracht" the Erlangen correspondence; "Volprecht" Kolde, p. 40), who is who had stayed in Wittenberg for three weeks in matters of the order, must have been the bearer of this letter to Spalatin in Nuremberg. See the last note to No. 89 of this appendix, which is also found in Erl. Briefw., Vol. III, p. 441. The information, which the Erl. Briefw. here, p. 427, note 1: "Spalatin had now returned to Lochau", will be based on an error.

6) 10ä06U8 Imäövieu8 Deei8, Dietz, from Weißenburg in Alsace, is the well-known historian who was secretary at Siegmund's court in Krakow for a long time. - Misled by the wrong reading I)u6i8 instead of I)eeiu8, reports Seckendorf, Hi8t. ImtU., lib. I, p. 241, K139, that Margrave George of Brandenburg sent his secretary from Poland to Luther in matters of religion (reU8ioLi8! oau8").

7) Gemini.

8) Link.

1) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 3d.

2) "Wider den falschgenannten geistlichen Stand des Pabsts und der Bischöfe," St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 668.

3) Johann Roh and Michael Weiß.

4) The monastery at Wittenberg. Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 5lf.

if it was not written by such a great man, for I myself did not know that Gabriel was such a one as this one, this one and that one praise him. You therefore see to it, as much as is in you, that those people are not deprived of his service. For I do not think that Wenceslaus will be there long.

I have deliberately wanted my booklet attacking the bishops' larvae 1) to be so harsh, but I will not be milder against the King of England either. I see that I humble myself in vain, soften, plead and try all ways that can serve peace, therefore I will be harder against the angry people and those who daily put on their horns more and more, and let out my horns on them to irritate Satan until he, after his forces and attacks are exhausted, collapses in on himself. Therefore, do not fear, but do not hope that I will spare those people. If they should also suffer troubles and innovations, they will not suffer them through us as the originators, but through the instigation of their tyranny, as fate so wills it.

So far I have sent you a copy of the New Testament piecemeal up to the Gospel of Luke and the letter to the Corinthians; now I am sending the rest; if it should not have come to you, then ask where it must be asked, or write again if it is lost, so that I do not continue also to waste the following sheets (terniones) 2). In addition, I send another, complete copy, as far as it is printed, what I have received from them for the prince; for this reason they conscientiously preserve the impressions (*chartas*). The work progresses slowly. For now you have only half, there are still eighteen other sheets (terniones) left. It will not be finished before Michaelmas, even though they print ten thousand pages 3) every day under three presses with enormous

Work and diligence. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, Saturday after Jacobi [July 26] 1522.
Martin Luther.

No. 93.

September 4, 1522.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther intercedes for a prisoner, he gives thanks for a booklet sent to him by Hirschfeld, in which he finds a reference to the King of England. In the postscript of the Anabaptist Claus Storch and some news.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 91 d and 92 (he made a special letter out of the postscript); by De Wette, vol. II, p. 244 and in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 1. Walch, who followed Aurifaber, also has the postscript as no. 106 of this appendix. We have transferred it here.

To the learned and godly man, Mr.

Georg Spalatin, preacher of the Word (*a verbo*) to the Elector of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

Jesus.

Grace and peace! I knew that whatever I wrote against the King of England, the tasteless and poisonous Thomist, would annoy many. But I liked it that way, and it was necessary for many reasons. What I do, one does not know now, but will find out later.

Only one thing I bring forward, namely that I wish to know, indeed I ask, that you procure, if it can in any way be obtained from the prince, for that poor man, the Bohemian, who has now been imprisoned with us for sixteen weeks in a vile and filthy dungeon, that he be taken out and kept in the upper vault, with

kaories, page. Now two pages are produced by one print at the same time, e.g. with A1 at the same time the page A 6d opposite to it; with A1d at the same time A 6a 2c., so that thus a ternio was finished in six prints, but the single sheet of two sheets or four pages in two prints. The "ten thousand pages" thus represent five thousand impressions. This will also be the opinion of the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 436, note 5. - Köstlin, Martin Luther (3), vol. I, p. 808 aa. p. 600 says: that the above words are unclear; "because in reality, according to the judgment of experts at that time, could not be printed so quickly".

1) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 668.

2) A *tkruio* consists of three mutually laid folio sheets, which are provided with the same signature, usually only on the first page of the first three sheets, because then, if they were correctly laid from each other, the signature for the three following sheets of itself.

3) Thus *edartarum* will have to be taken here; not, as it is usually taken, as "bow," but as.

I want him to be kept in the strongest and safest way possible, bound in iron and chains, as he can only ever be, so that he can have a little air and light. I am very sorry for the man, and they drag the matter out, so that it is quite unreasonable that he should be tortured so cruelly for such a small fault. Do it, therefore, if you are able, and answer. The castles dare nothing without the prince's command, nor do they want to.

By the way, I thank Hirschfeld for the booklet he sent us, which elicited a laugh from many of us. But they criticized that the first king, who carries the coat of arms of the red heart, is missing. This I point to the foolishly confident king who boldly attacked me, and behold, he does not appear, and is made nothing by the pomposity and arrogance of his heart, according to the words [Luc. 1, 51]: "He scatters those who are confident in their hearts." Now there is no need for you to send me any more of the new coins; Lucas has brought me one as a gift from the prince. Fare well in the Lord. The New Testament will be finished on the day of Matthew [September 21]. Wittenberg, the fourth day of September.

Martin Luther.

There has been with us the prince of the prophets, Claus Storck, 1) who went along in the manner and dress of the men of war, whom we call "Lanzknecht", and had another with him in a long skirt and the Doctor Gerhard 2) of Cologne. And the man disagrees almost in all things with Marcus 3) and Thomas, and has dealt with nothing but infant baptism, and he seems to be driven by a reckless spirit, which does not even greatly esteem what he holds. Thus Satan has his game in men.

Count Georg von Wertheim 4) asks me for an evangelical preacher (*evangelistam*),

1) See St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, p. 10b f.

2) Gerhard Westerburg. He remained a raving enthusiast even later. See Brismann's letter to Luther of Nov. 29, 1542, in Krafft's "Briefe und Documente," p. 84 f.

3) "Marcus" is Stübner; "Thomas" is Münzer.

4) He had been a member of the commission at the Diet of Worms, which demanded Luther. See Document No. 591 in this volume, Z3.

to whom he wants to give a hundred gold florins and feed him at his table. A very good example!

Gabriel, 5) who had put on his cap again in Neustadt, has now taken it off again and is staying in Düben.

To Philip was born one Hannah 6), a beautiful girl. Johann Pomeranu's engagement has been canceled; 7) now he looks for another.

Let this sermon be given to the man whom you recommended to me the other day, the bookseller, namely to the one who delivered to me from you the Defence of Gallus, because I promised him at your request to give him this. Farewell.

No. 94.

Wittenberg.

November 3, 1522.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther's sermons in Weimar and Eisenach, one of which he intends to publish; the translation of the Old Testament, of which the books of Moses are to appear at the beginning of the new year.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 94; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 254 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 22.

Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ and evangelist at the court, who is highly esteemed by the Lord.

Jesus.

Grace and peace! I have nothing of the sermons preached in Weimar and Erfurt, nor is it necessary; you already know and have everything beforehand, since I have taught nothing but faith and love everywhere; only once in Weimar I spoke of the kingdom of Christ and temporal power, and have been asked to publish this, which I have also been eager and anxious to publish for a long time.

5) Zwilling had gone from Altenburg to Neustadt an der Orla to the Augustinian monastery, and from there he went to Düben, where he had stayed before.

6) Anna Melanchthon married Georg Sabinus on November 6, 1536 and died on February 26, 1547 in Königsberg.

7) The Dominican Peter Anspach, Catholic court preacher in Dessau, gives us the reason for this: "because the maiden resented the purchase, because she did not want to be a priest's wife."

go under the name of Prince John the Elder, 1)

The passage of Hosea, Cap. 2, 19: "I will betroth myself to you" 2c., means nothing else than this: that we will not become brides by works, but by faith in the merciful, pitying, forgiving, justifying God under the kingdom of Christ through the gospel.

With regard to Stagmann 2) and Pomeranus we will do what has to be done.

In the translation of the Old Testament I am now at the third book of Moses, because it is unbelievable how letters, business, companies and many other things have prevented me so far. But now I have decided to lock myself up at home and hurry, so that Moses can be sent among the press by January. For this we shall publish especially, then the Histories, and last of all the Prophets. For the size and price of the books require us to divide them up and publish them one after the other. Fare well in the Lord and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1522, Monday after All Saints' Day [Nov. 3].

Martin Luther.

No. 95.

Wittenberg.

December 19, 1522.

Luther to Wenceslaus Link in Altenburg.

All sorts of news; of Heinrich von Zütphen's deliverance and reception of the gospel in northern Germany; of the determined response which the

1) Luther reworked the third and fourth sermon held in Weimar at the castle on October 24 and 25 into the writing: "Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei," which appeared with a dedication to Duke John of Saxony on New Year's Day 1523. This writing is found in Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 374, the introduction to it there in the "Preface of Walch". Col. 52 ff. - The sermon held in Erfurt on October 21, the day of the eleven thousand virgins, is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. XII, 1500, and reworked, expanded and moved to the day of Catharina (25. The sermon delivered on October 22, St. Severus' Day, at Erfurt is found in Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1766. The two Erfurt sermons were published in 1522 from postscripts.

2) Stagmann was, as we see from the letter to Spalatin (Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 816; De Wette, vol. II, p. 257), a physician who wished to take the place of Doctor Augustinus Schürf. - Bugenhagen had received an invitation to come to Erfurt at that time (Oorx. Lok. I, 581).

Grand Master in Prussia to the Papal Legate; of the bad performance of a monk in Wittenberg, and of the translation of the Old and New Testaments.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 98; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 265 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 39.

JESUS.

Mercy and peace! I send the promised dog, so that the stick of my driver becomes superfluous, but it is necessary that you clean it daily or every other day with the comb. I do not understand Staupitzen's letter, only that I see that it is completely empty in spirit, and he does not write as he used to; may the Lord make him right again.

I believe that you know what happened in Antwerp, how the women freed Henry by force. The brothers have been expelled from the monastery, some are imprisoned in other places, others have been let go after denying Christ, but those who are city children have been put into the Beghards' house. All the equipment of the monastery has been sold, and the church together with the monastery has been closed and locked, and is finally to be destroyed. The sacrament has been transferred with great pomp to the church of the Holy Virgin as from a heretical place, and received with honor by the Lady Margaret 3). Some citizens and women were martyred and punished. Henry himself, who wanted to come here, arrived in Bremen, where he stayed and taught the word at the request of the people; the council approved, but the bishop did not want to suffer it. The people are moved by an extraordinary desire and longing [for God's Word], indeed, recently some have deputized their own bookman to bring to them books from Wittenberg. Heinrich requested a letter of obedience 4) from you, but we could not reach you so soon. Therefore we have given him one in your name, under the seal of our prior. If you want, you can confirm our actions. The Hamburgers also seek the word of God, after the Official is expelled with his own, who had tempted,

3) The Governor of the Netherlands.

4) *litrās obsclisittiales*, written permission for monks to travel or go to another monastery.

to prevent this, and Friesland also desires servants of the Word. Thus Christ is sought among the heathen, while it is condemned among us Jews. Franz Sickingen has declared war on the Palatine, which will be a very bad thing. Duke George is doing what is worthy of his folly and foolishness, along with his Merseburg idol. 1)

2. it repents me that I have made" [Gen. 6, 7], has also Philip interpreted in such a way that it has the meaning "to change"; it repents me, that is, I will change what I have made before. However, I do not reject the view that the Scriptures speak of God in the way the godless or the godly think of Him according to the emotions of their hearts, so that it is said that He is angry when we feel anger, and repentant when we feel that we are changed by His action.

What we write of the answer of the princes to the papal legate was done by the Grand Master in Prussia, Margrave Frederick 2). For he had said that he would gladly assist the Church, but that this was not the way to help the Church, that one condemns the revealed truth and burns books, and it is said that he is not ill-disposed toward the Gospel. May God grant that your glorious vicariate may leave you, but it will soon leave you, as Mr. Spangenberg thinks of it and also opposes it. 3)

Johannes P. escaped from here after he had committed a great shameful deed, to the disgrace of us all. He has been found by the *licitoribus* in a whorehouse, very drunk and in lay clothes, and also wounded in some part, as I have heard; but I have learned this only belatedly.

1) On November 7, 1522, "Duke George of Saxony's mandate to hand over the New Testament translated by Luther" (St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, 488) had appeared, and by order of Bishop Adolf of Merseburg, the Rector of the University of Leipzig had to forbid the reading of Luther's books and the New Testament, also the going out to the preachers of neighboring places, in a public display, under penalty of life and limb. (Seidemann, Beiträge zur Reformationgeschichte, p. 59.)

2) This name is erroneous. Frederick had died in 1510 and Albrecht, his successor, had been won for the gospel in that year at Nuremberg by Osiander and Spengler.

3) Spangenberg became vicar when Link resigned the vicariate, but also resigned around 1530.

after his escape. Of course, I had announced to him beforehand that if he committed something again after that misdeed in Zerbst, he should not come before my eyes again; he kept his promise. But pray for the wretched man, of whom you know how miserable he is after his evil deeds, so that he will not despair and do even worse things. We sit in shame. All of us greet you and ask that you finally visit us.

5 Be at ease in the Lord and pray for me. I have finished the translation of Moses. Another edition of the New Testament is finished, now they will tackle Moses. It is astonishing how much one needs yours here in the German language. Whether your bookseller has paid, I do not know. He certainly gave me nothing, and I instructed him to give it to Lotther; whether he gave it to him, I cannot find out, because he does not know either. You should know that the letter was given to Mauser 4). Wittenberg, on Friday before Thomas [19 December] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 96.

12 December [?] 5) 1522.

Wittenberg.

Luther to Spalatin.

By Franz Lambert (Lsrranus). Luther does not want to answer all of the questions posed to Herr von Schwarzenberg. In the postscript, Luther asks for the translation of the Old Testament because of several animal names.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 170d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 263 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 37.

For the attention of his [friend] in the Lord, Georg Spalatin, court preacher at Lochall.

1. grace and peace! John Serranus 6) seems to be a good man, but

4) A Sebastian Mauser from Wrnberg was inscribed in the summer of 1522. (*Idum, p. 112.)

5) This letter will be written on the same day as the one to Count Joh. Heinr. von Schwarzburg, Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI. 29.

6) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 260 s., note.

My advice is not necessary. He may not know the prince's ways, so it seems to me that he should be left in Eisenach or where he can be, so that he can teach those he can. For it is not necessary for him, any more than for us, that he be given a so-called safe conduct. May God defend him, as well as us, but may he not be chased or driven away.

It is not possible for me to answer everything in detail to Mr. von Schwarzenberg 1). It is a very large book, as I have previously written to him as well as to Philipp von Feilitzsch, then a large part of his questions have been answered in books that have been published in the meantime. Only the question of the power of the sword remains, which, when Moses is finished, Christ willing, I will treat in a sermon 2). Meanwhile, you will send what I answer to the Counts of Schwarzburg to Anshelm von Tettau. Farewell.

[Postscript.]

I ask you to help us by describing these animals and naming them according to their species:

From birds of prey: Of wild, huntable animals:
"Harrier" V /goats I "chamois" <
"Vulture" / And what "ibex" "forest goat" or
"Goshawk" > belongs to their silvestris hircus -
"Sparrowhawk" gender, for
k" t "Sprinz" / example.

Of crawling animals:

/Whether Ltellio correctly
! "A newt" is called, s Eidechses
/ lüwara
>"A toad".

With the Hebrews and the Latins and the Greeks, all this is quite confused, so that from

1) In the original, by confusion of the ram, here 8e1i^art2dnrA, whereas in the following we read: Oorutidus LetivartMdurMnsiduz. But it is clear from the letters Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 26 and 29, that here Schwarzenberg, but in second place Schwarzburg must stand.
2) This was already done on New Year's Day 1523 by the writing: "Von weltlicher Obrigkeit" 2c. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 374.

Therefore, I would like to know the names, species and nature of all birds of prey, all huntable wild animals and all harmful creeping animals, if I could. And, to show what I have of noxious creeping animals, they are these:

"Weasel" Thisand counts
"Mouse" she calls even brazenly
"toad" 1 our s Crocodylon 1 under the "toad" > slatei-
< Mygalon > creeping "newt") nical (Chamaeleon)
animals.
"Audex" 3) Over-- 3 Mos. 11,
"Snail" setter^29 . f.
"Mole"
/ "Cule"
Now so many t "night raven" names of<
"eagle owl"
Night owls: / "Stick owl"
s "Käuzlein" (Küzle).

Of game I have: Of birds I have: "deer"
vultures " i although I have
"Deer" "Consecration " 1 their
appearance
"chamois", which gives "hawk" j not exactly our
translator "sparrowhawk" (know.
Bubuluw.

Because that he dreams that I Tragelaphum don't
Mos. 14, 5.] I Pygargum are among the edible j know.
Orygem baren wild i. Camelopardum 4) animals

And would God that you would take this piece upon yourself, consult the Hebrew Bible, and by careful research of all things see to it that something certain is brought out here. I do not have so much time. Be well and pray for me.

Martin Luther.

3) Instead Aurifaber and De Wette have: "Eidechs", which will probably be correct. We assume that also here has been read: Audex instead of: Aidex; as in the following: NvMloi and Ludulum instead of: [after the Hebrew a large, strong species of lizard] and BubuluiD [buffalo) in the Vulgate. - The parenthesis goes from "weasel" to "audex" in the original, but the remark refers only to the three words we have bracketed.
4) These are: The buck deer, the antelope, the gazelle and the giraffe.

No. 97.

(Wartburg.)

September 9, 1521.

Luther to Amsdorf.

Luther speaks out about his theses from the vows he sends along; he rebukes Carlstadt and expresses the wish that Melanchthon explain the Bible in public German.

Handwritten in Ooä. L. 24. n, k. 182. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p.358; in De Wette, vol. II, p.52 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, 232.

JEsus.

(1) I am sending the sentences of the vows. 1) Although there is nothing new in them that you seek, yet when they come out they will be new and terrifying to the adversaries. Philip relies on the fact that a vow should be annulled because of the impossibility. I have not dealt with this, nor do I believe that it can be dealt with now, as something on which consciences could confidently and safely rest, for that is what we have in mind.

(2) I have here treated the cause which is reliable and sufficient to make consciences secure and free from the vow, namely, ungodliness and godliness. I will also send other sentences in which there is a more extensive discussion about lawful and godly vows, how far they are to be kept, but which are derived from the same cause of godliness and ungodliness.

3) I suffer because of Carlstadt. 2) Although he can be easily resisted, our adversaries will be given cause to boast because of our internal disunity, to the great annoyance of the weak.

4 I have written to Spalatin that he should make it possible for our Philip to recite the Gospel in German to the common people in some place, such as a lecture hall (*collegio*), on feast days, so that you will gradually return to the old way of reciting the Gospel.

1) This is the writing: "Luthers kurze Schlußreden von den Gelübden und geistlichen Leben der Klöster", St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1480. The other sentences promised in the following paragraph can be found there Col. 1490.

2) namely because of the poor substantiation of his theses.

to preach the gospel. You have a beautiful reply if someone wanted to prevent a layman from speaking the gospel in the corner, namely, that he does so in the place of the university and on his own authority. Then who can forbid that he speak German and that the common man and the women hear him? Who could prevent the whole city from hearing his lectures if they understood Latin or if he read German?

I would not want this advice to be despised, especially since there is no hope for my return to you. 3) Who knows what God wants to do through me? Fare well and pray for me. I give thanks for the song. On Monday after [the] Nativity of Mary [September 9] 1521. Yours, Martin Luther, D.

No. 98.

Wittenberg. Approximately between December 5 and 8, 1521.

Luther to Spalatin.

This letter appears twice in Walch's old edition, namely in the 19th volume and here. Since we have already included it in the 19th volume of our edition, Col. 560, we leave it out here. In addition to the locations given there, we can add the Erlanger Briefwechsel Bd. III, p. 252, which has been published in the meantime, and which places our letter between December 4 and 9, 1521. Luther's writing, which we indicated in the last note, can be found in Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 360.

No. 99.

(Wartburg.)

1. August 1521.

Luther to Melanchthon.

(Fragment.)

Luther's opinion on the vows of chastity of the clergy and monks; he wants the former to be abolished, about the latter he is still uncertain. On the consumption of the Lord's Supper in both forms.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. I, p. 343, with the remark that this fragment was found in Spalatin's library; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 34 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 205. In the latter two there is incorrect proof of Walch, namely XV, appendix CCIX instead of XOIX.

3) The remark that the Erlangen correspondence makes about this passage: "Our passage contradicts the statement in the letter addressed to Melanchthon on the same day" (St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 1794) is invalid. There it is about a short secret meeting to discuss a theological question, but here it is about Luther's permanent return to the administration of his preaching ministry.

JEsus.

1) "Namely, that you must know and can solve only those sins which are confessed to you; but which are not confessed to you, you must neither know nor solve; that is too high, dear sirs."

You cannot yet persuade me that the same is true of the vows of priests and monks. For I am very much moved by the fact that the priesthood is instituted by God as a free one, but not that of the monks, who have voluntarily chosen the state and offered themselves to God, although I would almost like to conclude that those who are before the years of manhood or in the same, and have entered this maw, can leave without any qualms of conscience, only that the judgment of those who have already grown old and have spent a long time in this state still holds me back.

2 Incidentally, since Paul speaks quite freely about the priests [1 Tim. 4, 1. ff.] that their marriage is forbidden by the devils, and the voice of Paul is a voice of the divine majesty, I do not doubt that they must rely on him to such an extent that, even if they had consented to this prohibition of the devil when they were admitted, now that they have recognized the matter with whom they made this contract, they can quite confidently cancel this contract.

This prohibition of the devil, which is clearly shown by the word of God, is very urgent to me and compels me to approve the actions of the bishop of Kemberg 2). For God is not deceiving nor lying when He says that this is a prohibition of the devil. But if a contract has been made with the devil, it must not stand, since it was made in ungodly error against God, and since God rejects and condemns it. For he expressly says [1 Tim. 4, 1. Vulg.] that those spirits are of error who are the authors of the prohibitions.

1) These words may go to the first eight theses of Carlstadt's disputation of July 19, which dealt with sin and repentance. The second eight theses concerned the Lord's Supper, which may be referred to below. In total, there were 24 theses. Cf. Jäger, "Carlstadt," p. 202.

2) The marriage of the provost of Kemberg, Bartholomäus Bernhardt von Feldkirch.

4 Why are you afraid to join this divine judgment even against the gates of hell? This is not the case with the oath of the children of Israel, which was taken by the Gibeonites [Jos. 9:15], for they keep in their commandments that they should offer peace and, if it were offered to them, they should accept it, and then they should also accept the proselytes and those who would join their customs. All this was done among the Gibeonites. Nothing was done against the Lord or on the advice of the spirits of error. For though they murmured at the beginning, yet afterwards they approved it.

(5) Add to this that the celibate state is a mere human statute, which a man who has established it can abolish again; therefore any Christian can also do this. This I say, even if it were not ordered by the devils, but by a pious man. Since I do not have such a saying of God about the monks, it is not safe to say the same about them. For I would not dare to follow, therefore not even to advise a monk to follow. Would to God that we could do this, so that no one would become a monk or retire in the years of lust. For one must avoid aversions where there is not a revealed scripture for us, however much they may be permissible things.

6) That also the good man Carlstadt quotes from Paul [1 Tim. 5, 9. 11.]: 3) one should let the younger widows go and choose one of sixty years, - God would that this would be proving. For someone will easily be able to say that the apostle has ordered this with respect to the future, while with respect to the past he says [v. 12] that they are condemned because they have transgressed the first faith. And so that saying is nullified, and cannot be a reliable rock for consciences. For this we seek. Further, this reason, that it is better to be free than to suffer rutting [1 Cor. 7:9], or, that the sin of fornication may be avoided [1 Cor. 7:2], to enter into marriage in the sin of the broken faith [1 Cor. 7:9].

3) In his writing "Von Gelübden," Jäger, "Carlstadt," p. 195.

1) What is this but pure reason? We want the Scriptures and the testimony of the divine will. Who knows whether he who burns today will burn tomorrow?

(7) For I would not have given marriage to the priests for the sake of burning alone, if Paul had not called the prohibition an erroneous and devilish and hypocritical one, and condemned by God, so that even without burning he compelled them to leave this celibate state for the sake of the fear of God alone; but it will be useful to discuss these things in more detail. For I, too, would like to help the monks and nuns beyond measure. I lament so much for the wretched people, the young men and girls who are plagued with stains and burns.

(8) Regarding both forms of the Lord's Supper, I do not prove it with an example, but with the words of Christ. For he [Carlstadt] does not prove that those who receive one form have sinned or have not sinned, but I am moved by the fact that Christ did not require either, just as he does not necessarily require baptism if a tyrant or the world should resist the water. So also the violence of persecutions separates the man and the woman, whom God forbids to be separated, because they do not agree to be separated either. Nor do godly hearts consent to be deprived of the one form, but those who consent and approve, who will deny that they are papists, but not Christians, and sin?

(9) Since He does not require it by necessity, and here the tyrant presses, I do not see how those who receive only one form can sin. For who can take something away by force if the tyrant does not want it? Therefore, there is nothing here but reason, which asserts that the institution of Christ is not kept; but the Scripture does not establish anything, without which we cannot declare it to be sin. It is the institution of Christ, but left free, and cannot be imprisoned, either in whole or in part.

(10) For what would become of it if what happened to the martyr Donatus happened, that since the cup was broken or [the wine] spilled, some could not partake, and that no other wine was at hand, and many similar cases? In short, because Scripture does not enforce that there is sin here, I claim no sin.

11 But it pleases me very much that you restore the institution of Christ. For that was what I intended to do above all things when I returned to you. For we now have the knowledge of this tyranny and can resist it, so that we are not forced to receive only one form.

12 But I will not hold a private mass anymore in eternity. Rather, we want to ask God to hasten to give us his spirit more abundantly. For I suspect that the Lord will soon punish Germany as her unbelief deserves, her godlessness and her hatred of the gospel. But this punishment will then be given to us, because we as heretics would have provoked God to it, and we will be a mockery of the people and contempt of the people. But those will take excuses in their sins and justify themselves, so that He may prove that the hardened do not become pious either by kindness or by anger, and many will be angered. Let it be done, let the will of the Lord be done, amen.

(13) If you are a preacher of grace, preach not a fictitious grace, but the true grace. If grace is true, you must also bear true sin, not fictitious sin. God does not make blessed those who are sinners only in a fictitious way. Be a sinner and have strong sins, 2) but trust even stronger and rejoice in Christ, who is the victor over sin, death and the world. We must sin as long as we are here; this life is not a dwelling place of righteousness, but we are waiting, says Peter [2 Ep. 3:13], for a new heaven and a new earth in which righteousness will be established.

2) This is indisputably the opinion of Luther with the words: *pecca fortiter*, which needs no further proof for a Christian; but the papists make a reproach out of it against Luther.

1) Carlstadt says: "It is true that one does wrong when one breaks the law. Jäger, l. o. p. 195.

dwells. It is enough that through the riches of God's glory we have known the Lamb who bears the sin of the world; from whom no sin can tear us away, even if we hurl or kill a thousand, thousand times in one day. Do you think it is a small price and a small payment for our sin given by such and such a great Lamb?

Pray strongly, for you are an exceedingly strong sinner. On the day [of the chain celebration] of Peter the Apostle 1) [August 1] 1521.

No. 100

(Wartburg.)

3. August 1521.

Luther to Melanchthon.

Luther speaks out about Carlstadt's writing on celibacy, and finds some things to reprove. He is not yet of the opinion that monastic vows should be abandoned per se.

The original is in the Rhediaer collection at the Wrocław City Library. Printed by Aurifaber, Vol. I, p. 346 (incomplete); by De Wette, Vol. II, p. 37 (also incomplete and according to Aurifaber's poor text); completed and improved according to the variants and additions given in Kolde, *^valeeta*, p. 33 ff, in Erlanger Briefwechsel, Vol. III, p. 210.

JESus.

Hail! I have read the two quatrains of our Carlstadt about the celibate state 2) which have been delivered to me at this hour, and although I wish that the passage about the seed sacrificed to Moloch [3 Mos. 18, 21. 20, 2.] had not been twisted on the flow of nature (for the adversaries will laugh at the twisting of this passage, since it is clearer than light that it was said of the sons and daughters burned and sacrificed to the idol), nevertheless I like his effort and diligence very much. 3) [The matter is proved by the fact that he compares the sissies to Onan, the son of Judah, since the latter did not sacrifice the seed out of suffering-.

1) Not on the day of Peter and Paul, as Veesenmeyer, *Luthers Briefsammlung*, p. 158, assumes. For this letter presupposes the disputation held on July 19.

2) Carlstadt's writing 1)6 enSlidatu, naouadratu 6t Vi6uitat6 lid6r, with which he explained his theses of June 20 (p08triäi6 66rva8ii is not June 19, as Jäger, "Carlstadt," p. 176, and the Erlangen correspondence has).

3) The following words enclosed in brackets are in the margin in the original.

but out of malice, and it is not yet certain whether softness is something greater or lesser than fornication or adultery].

(2) At the same time, I am also annoyed that Paul's passage to Timothy is too obscure, so that it seems that it does not command anything about the celibate state, as well as about the feeding of widows from the alms of the church. He says [1 Tim. 5:16]: "Let the church not be burdened," and it is truly shameful if they want to be free afterwards, after they have become horny while standing in the alms of the church. From this he would not want it to be inferred that he had expelled the younger ones from the marriageless state. For he speaks only of widows, and excludes them from the alms of the church if they are young and horny.

(3) Again, what I wrote in the previous letter (4) leads to the opposite opinion, that Paul seems to warn against future things, but does not invalidate the past, so that this passage about virginity and dishonorable status proves nothing at all. For it is another thing for a widow, after her husband has died and she has been abandoned by all others, to be accepted for common maintenance, and it is another thing for virginity and the marriageless state to be accepted. I say this because I do not want anything to come from you that is based on dark and doubtful scriptures, since light is required from us that is brighter than that of the sun and all the stars, and even then they hardly see.

(4) Who then will enforce that the word [1 Tim. 5:14 Vulg.), "I will that the younger should be free," should apply to widows, and not rather to a general exhortation of all young women, except those rejected widows, as he had also admitted the younger [women] as sisters 2c. [1 Tim. 5:2]. For he did not say, I will that the younger widows be free, since he rejected those who wished to be free.

5. this drives me very much into a corner, that he says [v. 12.), these younger widows are ver-.

4) In the previous number of this Annex, § 6.

morsen, because they have committed the faith; how this could be interpreted correctly, is doubtful to me. It certainly follows that the younger ones have pledged this faith (*fidem ligasse* - to keep faith), however young they may be immensely, if they are rejected for the sake of it. Again, this is also something, that this was such a kind of widow, chosen not by a personal vow, but by the common vote of the church. For he says [v. 9.], "Let no widow be chosen," and here the power to reject has a place in whom it seemed good, but those chosen have no liberty to resign.

(6) But the extremely strict testimonies of the old law about the payment of vows do not move me at all, since it is impossible that they can be understood from or applied to this vow of chastity, since everyone knows that they were given to the people who were not allowed to live chastely, much less to vow [chastity], under the most severe penalty of curse and disgrace.

(7) And this I have fully established for myself, that it is not proved from Scripture, either by law or by example, that chastity falls under a vow. It only remains that this is left in the will of man according to 1 Cor. 7, then that it cannot be decreed by laws and statutes of men, unless by inspiration of Satan. This is certain with me, let it follow what it can. It is therefore a dangerous thing to vow chastity; but who can say that it [the vow of chastity] is not valid for its own sake, since he could also have lived chastely in a free way, based on the counsel and examples of Scripture?

(8) However, by thinking of many things, I see that Peter Apost. 15, 10. In the freedom of the spirit Peter also threw off the unbearable burden of the law, to which he was subject, and claimed nothing but its impossibility, and the whole church agreed with him, and he himself ate with the Gentiles afterwards. But again, this is opposed by the fact that he did not come from his own

He had the commandment from heaven [Acts 10:15] and should not consider anything unclean, that is, the law was not necessary for the Gentiles. But this he concluded without a revelation, that it was not necessary either for him or for the Jews, by attaching this freedom also to himself, who was burdened with the law, according to the example of the Gentiles.

9 Again I think of Christ, who made the daughter of Abraham, who had been bound [by Satan] for eighteen 1) years [Luc. 13, 11. 16.], well on the Sabbath: how, if they had also here been taken by Satan, and at least a large part of the pledgers, in that, since the spirit had not yet been tested, they had made the vow out of their or Satan's devotion?

(10) I am entirely of the opinion that there is some very easy solution to all these things, but it is not yet apparent to us. For if Christ were present, I have no doubt that he would dissolve these bonds and cast off all vows, and let no one be oppressed by the compulsory yoke of vows, since he is the Savior and bishop of souls, so that it almost seems to me that the freedom of the spirit must be used here and torn through everything that stands in the way of the salvation of souls.

For he himself has not yet shown by any revelation, by any sign, by any testimony that this vow, made of his own will, is pleasing to him, and it would be a very dangerous thing to follow him, of whom it is not certain that he approves it in any way, especially since we see that so many souls are lost against their will and with necessity, who otherwise could have been advised very well, if it were not for this vow, the merit of which is uncertain. Doesn't that mean running into the unknown? Isn't that making air pranks? Yes, that is why we take up the matter [the race] again. 2) And I

1) In the original: "80"; in Aurifaber and De Wette: "60".

2) After these words: Huin rtzvooamus eursuru, the editions have a question mark. The old translator offers: "Do we not run back in such a way?" Whether the word or^snnr belongs in the text is not clear to us.

I would like us to deal with these things later in conversations with each other, namely, verbally; perhaps Christ would like to give us more spirit and knowledge, then also more freedom. But I ask that in the meantime a richer spirit enlighten you.

(12) To this I add another strong reason, namely, that even among men this vow has never been approved if it was made under fourteen years of age, so that, of course, a vow for the whole life is forbidden. But who makes us certain that the vow after fourteen years is ever valid for the whole life? God is silent, man does not know. We wretched people, who are thus led to uncertain things and follow them as certain ones, so that it seems sacrilegious and displeasing to God, who is a God of counsel and knowledge, not a God of audacity and ignorance or uncertainty. You see by how great emotions I am moved, and yet I cannot yet determine anything in these matters in a fruitful way, only that I very much wish to come to the aid of your effort.

13 Furthermore, I have sometimes taken the vows that were made up to the age of twenty without any qualms of conscience, and I would still take them, because everyone can see that they were made without counsel and knowledge. But I have done this only with the vows of those who had not yet changed their status or dress. But with regard to those who have already become chasubles in the monasteries, I have not yet done anything, even if they had vowed twenty years ago. I don't know what cloud of this pomp and human delusion plagues me here.

The Lord Jesus instructs and frees us by his mercy to our freedom. Surely we are the people on whom no law should be laid, especially for the whole life, but everything should be left free. It is to be feared that what happens otherwise,

not out of a good spirit. Enough of that.

¹⁾ Spalatin writes for the second time that in the sermon on confession I interpret the word of John [Cap.20,23.] more broadly: "Whom you keep them, to them they are kept." ²⁾ If it has not been interpreted by me, I wonder about it, since I had impressed it on my memory, that this is to be treated mainly for the sake of the adversaries, if he is not moved by what moves you, that this is dark. But now it will be difficult for me, since I do not see the preceding and the following, to send you a piece to be inserted on the off chance, but I will try it, if it should be necessary, so that you may insert it, where it can be, in a suitable place, after what must be changed has been changed. He also complains against me about your slowness in printing; therefore I chastise you, yes, I rebuke you in time and out of time. Behold, what more can I do? I am told that you have six presses, and I alone, as I calculate, employ four, the textbook ³⁾ three, and Carlstadt two. I am surprised, however, that my Magnificat ⁴⁾ is not yet finished. However, I would like the Postillen to be printed with good and correct typesetting.

I do not want you to be distressed about my health, or if I find out that you are distressed, I will confess nothing more to you. Who knows if this will not be the end of my ministry? Have I not caused enough trouble for some people? I have not lived in vain; God would have wanted me to live to please God! I see that your spirit increases so much that my spirit seems to decrease. I am also full of praise for this, and yet God wanted me to become nothing, but you to become everything. Only pray for me that my trust in the Lord will not fall away. Answer me, I ask, whether it is advisable to

1) The following up to the end of the letter is missing in the older editions, but according to Kolde it is added to the Erlanger Briefwechsel.

2) Luther complied with this wish. See No. 73, § 7 in this appendix.

3) Liktkoaeus -Melanchthon's I^ooei.

4) St. Louis edition, Vol. VII, 1372. Compare in this appendix No. 74, Zl and No. 73,815.

that I answer the oaks and the Belgötzen (Belis) of the Sorbonne 1). For this matter concerns me, that my name also makes an attack against them, whether with the truth a more extensive defense must be given. For I see that I have to get advice from your spirit.

Spalatin has also written to me about the establishment of the Christian school of learning, but I have answered that this exceeds my powers, as I am a unifier. 2) See to it that you give the man enough; you can give him this letter to read, if you want. 3) Be well. On the day [of the invention] 4) of the first martyr Stephen [August 3] 1521.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 101.

Wittenberg.

March 28, 1522.

Luther to Johann Lang.

Luther disapproves of Längs' departure from the monastery, and in general of the too quick use that many make of Christian freedom. He announces the publication of a missive to the Erfurt congregation and recommends the life of the Elector to Längs' intercession.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 54; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 175 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 323.

To Johann Lang, theologian and evangelist of the church at Erfurt.

JEsus.

Hail! Of course, I believe that your leaving the monastery was not without cause.

1) There were mainly three men who had brought about the Paris verdict of condemnation (St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, 932 ff.), namely Li. Noel Beda, syndic of the theological faculty there, Wilhelm a Hukreu or Oucchlnk (of the oak) and a certain Christophorus. As we can see from a letter of Glarean to Zwingli, July 4, 1521 from Paris (2^{vi}Lkll opp. VII, 176), the mocking names Lelna, Ltkreus and Okristoinus were attached to them.

2) No. 78, ?? in this appendix.

3) This that Melanchthon, as we know from Oorp. Rec. I, 448.

4) There are three St. Stephen's days, namely the actual St. Stephen's day, on December 26 (this has Kolde 1.6. erroneously assumed), KtsMani translatio, on May 7, and Ltkplavi invkntio, on August 3. That the latter is to be placed here is beyond doubt according to the contents of the letter.

but I would rather that you had been above all causes; not that I should throw away the freedom to go out, but that I should want the opportunity to be cut off from the adversaries, just as Paul cut off the opportunity from the false apostles, since he preached the gospel in Achaia without pay, 5) and had put apostolic law, freedom and power in the back of his mind. But now I will strive for this too late and in vain. If I have time, I will write a letter to the church at Erfurt 6), although I see that both you and ours have grown beyond my measure in the knowledge of the word, and everywhere the word is fulfilled [John 3:30]: They must grow, but I must decrease.

But the power of the word is either still hidden or all too ringing in all of us, about which I am very surprised. For we are the same as before: hard, unreasonable, impatient, reckless, drunken, lustful, devout: in short, that characteristic and the glorious love of Christians nowhere comes to the fore, and it becomes the opposite of Paul's words [1 Cor. 4:20]: We have the kingdom of God in words, not in power.

I must not come to you, for it is not right that one should tempt God and seek danger of one's own free will, since I have to expect dangers enough here, as one who is excluded by papal and imperial ban and completely exposed to all men to be beaten to death, safe by no other protection than the heavenly. I see that many of our monks leave for no other reason than that for which they entered, that is, for the sake of the belly and carnal freedom, through which Satan will raise a great stink against the good odor of our word. But what shall we do? They are idle people and they seek their own, so it is better that they sin and perish apart from than in the cap, lest they perish twice when they are punished in this life. Greet all of ours, because I do not know which ones are

5) In the editions: "sine S." This has De Wette resolved by sulario according to 2 Cor. 11:9. In the Vulgate the preceding verse reads ^stapsuckinn.

6) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 962.

may now endure with you, and be at ease in the Lord, amen. I ask you to command in your prayers our cause GOtte, also the life of Duke Frederick. If we do not restrain him by our prayers, I fear that he will not remain with us long. And when this head is taken away, then also the salvation will be taken away, which God has given and still gives to our Syria [2 Kings 5:1]. Wittenberg, Friday after Oculi [March 28] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 102.

(Wittenberg.)

July 11, 1523.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther answers an exegetical question, expresses his displeasure about the monks leaving, as well as about the publication of his letters without his consent. He completed the writing "Wider die Verkehrer und Fälscher des kaiserlichen Edicts" and was working on the interpretation of the 7th chapter of the first letter to the Corinthians.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 139 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 356 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. IV, p. 177.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, servant of Christ, evangelist at Hese, his [friend] in the HERN.

1. grace and peace! It is a long time since I answered you to the passage of John [Cap. 14, 31]: 1) "Arise, and let us depart"; I am surprised that you did not receive it. I do not think much of secret interpretations, but it seems to me to mean the exit from the constraint of the law into the freedom of grace, just as the dining room was in a closed house and a closed city, but the garden under the open sky. But this freedom brings persecution, and Christ suffers because of the word of freedom.

I know no monk from Zelle except Thomas, the apothecary, 2) who has long since left for Eisenach. I do not see why they should flee if they rightly offer themselves, as I do; moreover, if they want to snatch those or me away by force, then ge-

May the will of the Lord be done. It is indeed very troublesome to me that runaway monks fly here in such large numbers, and what is even more annoying to me is that they soon marry, although they are a kind of people who are quite unfit to acquire anything. I am thinking daily about a council to put a measure on this matter.

My letters written in German have gone out of print through no fault of my own. I wanted to send them closed and sealed, but D. Hieronymus has published one, namely the one to the virgins 3), the other one Amsdorf. Indeed, I wish nothing so much as to publish nothing, for I am tired of writing such things. But the press of Lucas 4) needs money, so I have explained the mandate of the emperor 5) and now I am editing the 7th chapter of the Corinthians. -I have become a servant of foreign profit or even of greed; how gladly I do this, since I am so busy, you can easily believe. I have not yet published anything at all, nor will I publish anything, unless I am looked over by others, so that I keep the order.

I send Hadrian's bull 6) against Prince Frederick, but send it back immediately. It is thought to be Hadrian's own style and wisdom, but it has been withheld because of the Cardinals' threats and meanwhile secretly left out. Farewell and greet all of ours. In haste, on Saturday after Ciliano [July 11] 1523. Martin Luther.

No. 103.

(Wartburg.)

January 13, 1522.

Luther to Melanchthon.

Luther is not satisfied with the answer of the Archbishop of Mainz and with Capito's letter; he wants to answer the latter. He speaks at length about the Zwickau prophets and defends the infant baptism they rejected.

3) The letter published by D. Hieronymus Schürf is found in Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 1930; the other one is found there, Col. 706.

4) Lucas Cranach and Döring jointly owned a print shop.

5) In this volume no. 733. - The interpretation of the 7th chapter of the first letter to the Corinthians is found in the St. Louis edition, vol. VIII, 1026. It was published by Lucas Cranach and Döring.

6) The bull of Hadrian VI is found in this volume No. 716, the answer of the Elector to it No. 717.

1) This letter is missing.

2) There was a pharmacy in the Alten-Zelle monastery.

Handwritten in the Ood. Kolter zu Dresden, O. 351, Bl. 36; in the old royal library at Copenhagen, HL". 1393, x>. 53 (orthographically very faulty) and in the Ood. den. d. 14. Printed by Aurifaber, vol. II, bl. 41; by De Wette, vol. II, p. 124; by Seoksuäorl, lib. I, s 118, x>. 192d the U 2 and 3 (according to Aurifaber, but under the date: the ^utonii 86U 17.1) dun.) and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 272.

To Philip Melanchthon, Christ's faithful servant and steward, my brother.

JEsus.

1. Hail! If the letter of Mainz 2) had been alone, he would have won, but now that that of Fabricius has been added, they show their deceitfulness and falsehood, which I dislike extraordinarily in Fabricius. I wanted an end to ungodliness, and that orator leads the cause of ungodliness by teaching the bishop to confess his personal sins, and thinks that in this way Luther is well deceived. I will also keep to myself that I do not treat man as he deserves in the first letter, but I will give an indication, so that he knows that man has breath in his nose [Is. 2, 22].

(2) I come to the prophets, (3) and first of all, I do not approve of your timidity, since you have both a greater spirit and greater learning than I do. And first, since they bear witness to themselves, they need not be heard immediately, but according to the counsel of John [1 Ep. 4, 1] the spirits are to be tested. If you cannot test them, then you have Gamaliel's advice [Acts 5:38] to postpone it; for I do not yet hear that anything is said or done by them that Satan could not also do or imitate. But you may inquire for me whether they can prove their profession. For God has never sent anyone unless he is either called by a man or proven by signs, even the

1) On January 17, Luther answered Capito's letter. Seckendorf's error may be due to a confusion of the date of this letter with that of the next one (No. 104), which is written on the same day and deals with the same matter.

2) St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 552; Luther's reply to Wolfgang Fabricius Capito's letter *ibid.* there, Col. 554.

3) namely the Zwickau prophets.

Son. The prophets had the right from the law and the prophethood in former times, as we have the right now through men. I do not want them to be accepted if they claim that they were called by a mere revelation, since God did not even want to speak to Samuel, unless Eli gave him the order to do so and knew it [1 Sam, 3, 4. ff.]. This belongs first to the public exercise of teaching.

(3) Now, in order to find out their special (*privatum*) spirit, ask them if they have experienced spiritual afflictions, divine birth, death and hell. If you hear that everything is pleasant, calm, devout (as they call it) and spiritual (*religiosa*), you should not approve of them, even if they say that they have been raptured into the third heaven, because the sign of the Son of Man is missing, who is the proving stone, the certain tester of Christians and the certain discernor of spirits. Do you want to know the place, the time, the manner of the conversations with God? Hear: like a lion he hath broken all my bones [Isa. 38, 13.], and [Ps. 31, 23.], "I am cast out of thine eyes," and [Ps. 88, 4.], "My soul is full of woe, and my life is nigh unto hell." The Majesty (as they call it) does not speak so directly that man sees it, rather [Ex. 33:20.], "No man shall live that seeth me." Nature cannot bear even a little glimmer (*stellam*) of his speech. For this is why he speaks through men, because when he speaks, we all cannot bear it. For the angel also frightened the virgin [Luc. 1, 29.], so also Daniel [Dan. 8, 17.]. So also Jeremiah laments [Cap. 10, 24.], "Chasten me with measures," and [Cap. 17, 17.], "Only be thou not terrible unto me." And what shall I make many words? as if the Majesty could speak confidentially with the old man, and need not first kill him and dry him up, lest the exceeding evil odors of the same should offend, since He is a consuming fire [Deut. 4, 24.]. The dreams and visions of the saints are also terrifying, at least after they are understood. Therefore, do not even hear the glorified Jesus, because you have seen him crucified before.

You will say: What is the point of this? For this is to refute others, not to prove ours. But how can I speak of it, being absent, not knowing what they plead? If they assert nothing else than this [Marc. 16, 16.]: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," and that the little children cannot believe for themselves, this does not move me at all. For how will they prove that they do not believe? Because they do not speak and do not show their faith? How nice! If this reason is valid, how many hours will we Christians spend sleeping and doing other things? Can't God in the same way keep faith in them during the whole time of childhood, as in a constant sleep? Quite well, you will say, this refutes the adversaries with respect to the faith already infused. But this is enough for the time being, that they are found to be such people who prove nothing, and are driven by a false spirit. But what do you say about the faith that is to be infused? There is absolutely nothing left but the foreign faith. If we cannot receive it, there is nothing left to argue about, but the baptism of little children must simply be rejected.

You say that the examples of the foreign faith are exceedingly weak. I say that nothing is firmer. Let them show, or all the devils, that an example of the foreign faith is weak. For that you say that Samuel prayed for Saul is nothing. He suffered for Saul [1 Sam. 15, 35.], he did not pray; or if he prayed, he did not pray in faith, that is, he did not believe that what he asked could be obtained, but put it in doubt and in the will of God, as David did when he asked for his babe [2 Sam. 12, 16.], and many for many others. For if he had thought it certain that he would receive it, he would have obtained it in any case. For the promise of Christ must be certain, Matth. 21, 22.: "All things whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive them", and Matth. 18, 19.: "Where two of you shall become one on earth" 2c. It must therefore be unshakably certain that it is impossible for this not to be the case.

Otherwise the whole doctrine of faith will be shaken, and even one's own faith will be worthless, since it is based on the promises of the same. Yes, the faith of another is our own, but it is alien to another; nevertheless, it is necessary that what he believes should be done to another. All the examples of the Gospel belong to this category. For Christ also never rejected even one who was brought to him through alien faith, but accepted all. And what more can I say? The testimonies and examples of the whole Scripture are on the side of foreign faith, that is, on the side of one's own faith, which obtains faith for the other and all that he wants.

6 Now there remains the question whether the church believes that the faith is poured into the little children. For perhaps this question is raised with reference to the church, not with reference to the foreign faith or its efficacy. What the foreign faith is able to do cannot be disputed, since everything is possible to him who believes. But this question is of fact, not of right. For we cannot dispute whether the church must believe that faith is infused into infants, since she has the power not to baptize infants at all, and there is no passage of Scripture that could compel her to believe this, as they [Scripture passages] are there for other articles. Now what shall we do here? We do not prove the right. Who sees the faith? Therefore we must go to confession, since confession is made with the mouth for salvation. Now what does the church profess to believe in this article? Is it not this, that the children also are partakers of the benefits and promises of Christ? But it is objected: How if Augustine and those whom you call the church, or even think that they are, have erred in this article? Who will make us certain, since we cannot prove that they must believe so? But this objection may be thus rejected: If not the law, yet the fact is there that [this] is actually believed in the church. For who can be sure that Augustine does not believe the three-

What is the truth that he believed in unity when his confession is not believed? I am certain that his confession agrees with Scripture, but that he believes as he confesses, I am uncertain. But I see that by a strange miracle of God it has happened that this article alone, that even little children must be baptized, has never been denied, not even by the heretics: so that no confession of anyone 1) is against it, but on the contrary the constant and unanimous confession of the whole world for the present cause. But if one denies that this is the confession of the true and right church, then I consider this to be an exceedingly great impiety. For this seems to me to be the same as denying the church, for if this were not so, that church would doubtless at times have made the opposite confession, since the faith of the church has never ceased, and it has never been without confession of what it believes. You, as a man of understanding, will be able to deduce more from this.

(7) Since bringing a child to baptism is nothing else than bringing him to Christ, who is present on earth and opens the hands of grace, and since he has shown by all examples that he accepts what is brought to him, why do we doubt here? At least this we have taken from these prophets, that they cannot prove their own, since they lack an example and testimony, but we have examples and testimonies, so that even their testimony does not contradict us. For who can conclude thus? One must believe and baptize, so the children are not to be baptized. For they cannot draw this conclusion from this passage, since it does not prove that the children do not believe. They presuppose this, and must prove it elsewhere, but cannot. Now what is not contrary to Scripture is for Scripture, and Scripture for the same. With the same subtlety they could also annul circumcision and say: The little children do not have the faith of Abraham, therefore they must not have the sign of the same faith, while it is certain for us,

1) We have assumed ullius with the Copenhagen manuscript instead of illius in the Aisgaben.

that circumcision had the same power as baptism. Therefore, I do not see why infants should not be baptized according to the word of God and according to this example; only that baptism is free, not forced, like circumcision. Therefore, it did not have to be restricted to certain times, ages, ages and other external things, since it is completely free in itself. What was then said to one people for the eighth day is now said to all people of every age: "He who believes" 2c.

8 But more orally. I have always expected Satan to touch this boil, but he has not done so through the papists. Among ourselves and among ours he undertakes this exceedingly severe division, but Christ will tread him under our feet in a little while [Rom. 16:20]. I would also like to know how you take the word 1 Cor. 7, 14. "Otherwise your children would be unclean, but now they are holy," whether you want this to be understood of adults alone or of the holiness of the flesh? For I would like this to prove that the little children were baptized according to apostolic custom and in the time of the apostles. Although I see what can be said about this sanctification, I would also like to hear your judgment about it. For why should he speak of infants alone, since all things are holy to the saints, and all things are pure to the pure?

9) Keep the booklet against the bishop of Mainz, 2) so that it can go out and serve as a general punishment, if others should be nonsensical. Prepare an inn for me, because the translation [of the Bible] will require me to return to you, and ask the Lord that it be done with his will. But I wish to be hidden as much as possible; meanwhile I will continue with what I have undertaken. Farewell. On Octave Epiphany [January 13] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

2) For this, compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XIX, Introduction, p. 27.

No. 104.

Wartburg. January

17, 1522.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther counsels leniency against the Zwickau prophets. He is determined to return to Wittenberg, and wishes that the Elector may be calm about those enthusiasts. Similarly, with respect to Duke George, who assailed the Dukes of Saxony with complaints about the Wittenberg innovations (Seckendorf, nist. iMtü., 11b. I, §130, p.217).

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 40b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 135 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 286.

To Georg Spalatin, Saxon secretary (ab epistolis), his most trusted friend in the Lord.

JEsus.

Hail! I have received everything, my dear Spalatin, even the sack, although later than the other. Of course, I do not come because of the Zwickau prophets, nor do I change, for they have no influence on me. But I would not like them to be thrown into bonds, especially by those who praise ours. The people of Eilenburg 1) have innovations either imposed on them or imputed to them in regard to the use of the sacrament. In the past I was disturbed by rumors, so that I went to Wittenberg myself and watched, 2) but now I hear greater things every day. I will certainly return in a short time, God willing, and, if not to Wittenberg, certainly elsewhere either remain or stay as a stranger. For that is what the matter requires. I do not want the prince to be concerned about me, although I would like him to have my faith or I his power. I do not doubt that without bloodshed and sword we would laugh at these two smoking fires [Is. 7, 4]. The most unfortunate Duke George does in this matter what he has decided to do about him, who is terrifying in his advice about the children of men [Ps. 66, 5. Vulg.]. This is the hatred that he has long had for

He does not see that this is hatred. The Lord look at him, if he should be worth it; I cannot do anything else. You also see to it that our prince does not stain his hands with the blood of those new Zwickau prophets. Farewell and pray for me.

Neither the bishop's [of Mainz] nor Capito's letter 3) pleases me, because of the unfortunate and all-too-revealing falsehood. I have answered Fabricius, not the bishop, until I recognize his spirit. From the desert, 1522, on St. Anthony's Day [January 17].

Martin Luther.

The Bible I await with impatience, 4) because my word has been committed to it.

No. 105.Wittenberg¹²

. April 1522.

Luther to Joh. Lang in Erfurt.

Luther warns against violent innovations in Erfurt and urges vigilance and steadfastness. He complains about the apostasy of some of his followers.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 59; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 180 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p.330.

JEsus.

Hail! Above all, beware that the people of Erfurt do not imitate the tempestuous nature of ours in the removal of images, masses, one figure, and all other things. Only through the Word must all the aversions be removed, so that they fall away of their own accord and are destroyed without hand, just as the idols were removed by the apostles. They should also teach and insist on faith and love; the rest is known by itself. I do not have time to write to your preachers. If you take offense at the private mass, why do you not abstain from it? For what need is there to keep it? Can you not take the word of the mass without the form of the sacrament? or communicate somewhere?

1) In Eilenburg, the Augustinian monk Gabriel Zwilling, who had come there from Wittenberg, reformed in a stormy manner around New Year's Day 1522. Compare Seidemann, "Erläuterungen," p. 35 ff.

2) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 560.

3) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, 661 and 663.

4) The Erl. Briefw. reads excepto, whereas the other editions read exopto; the former is probably a typographical error, since no variant is given for it; also not in Burkhardt, p.43.

with your comrades. But my book, 1) which is already under the press, will expose my opinion more widely to the whole world.

You have my opinion of the widows' faith in the apostle in the booklet of the vows; I have nothing else. You ask me for notes on Isaiah, thinking that I, like you, would have good leisure and rest all day, while I should ask such from you. Why you should not go to chapter 2) I do not see, especially since you are called, since you can also do this safely and it is held among friends; why do you fear where there is nothing to fear?

By the way, I ask you to pray diligently for me and this matter. Satan attacks us with the highest, yes, from all forces. The enemies boast in a published booklet of the "recantation of two Lutherans," 3) our Jacob and a certain Hermann. Melchior Mirisch did not recant, but writes that he acted wisely to gain their favor, that is, he worshipped Satan and pretended to know Christ, 4) the fine boaster! Many others have been forced to sign Jacob's recantation. I have seen Mirisch's handwriting to Spalatin, which tells in many words the lamentable and terrible story of Jacob's recantation. Command also all of yours this matter and tell them in my name that they should pray humbly with constant prayer before God. They are to teach humbly and quietly among men, and then also to be courageous and steadfast against Satan. The matter is no longer a joke or a game, but will become serious and demand life and blood. The Lord Jesus, who has once again

1) "Luther's Opinion of Both Forms" 2c. St. Louis edition, vol. XX 62.

2) which was to be held at Grimma on Pentecost.

3) Namely Jakob Probst, the former Augustinian prior in Antwerp, and Hermann Garrits (Geradäus), a Utrecht and sub-priest at the Jacobi church there, who had to recant on January 13 in the Cecilia church.

4) Melchior Mirisch, von der Heyde, Augustinian prior in Dresden, preached the Gospel in Magdeburg. See Seidemann, "Erläuterungen," p. 148; Seckendorf, List. Luth. lib. I, 240 b and 246 a.

let his gospel shine, strengthen the hearts of all of us to the praise of his grace. Amen.

Of the evil that God does, why do you argue about it? I see that you are idle, with such great disturbances of Satan. He has no need of a work, nor is it a work about which you dispute, but it is an omission of a work on the part of God. For this is why we do evil, because he ceases to work in us and lets nature in its wickedness do what it does. Otherwise, when he works, nothing but good follows. And this omission of God is called "hardening" in Scripture. For evil cannot be done by God], since it is nothing, but therefore it happens when good does not happen or is hindered. But underneath be well. Wittenberg, given on the day before Palmarum [April 12] 1522.

Martin Luther.

The prophet Marcus 5) together with the Zwickau prophets were punished and reminded by me; unwillingly they left. One of them was completely angry, so that I have never seen a more angry person. So impatient was this spirit against a friendly and brotherly admonition. But Satan we met quite obviously.

No. 106.

Luther to Spalatin.

This number at Walch is not a special letter, but the postscript to No. 93 of this appendix, which we have transferred there.

No. 107.

Wittenberg.

March 19, 1522.

Luther to Wenc. Link.

Luther informs Link of his return to Wittenberg, rebukes Carlstadt's and Zwilling's violent proceedings. He praises the resolutions of the Augustinian Convention; he is full of courage against his enemies, especially Duke George, but fears that they will incite the people to revolt by their foolish actions.

5) Marcus Thomä from Elsterberg was also called Stübner, because his father had a bathhouse in Elsterberg. He was inscribed in Wittenberg on May 26, 1518. About him see St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, p. 10 df, Ibid. Vol. XXII, 1010 f., 1822, No. 125.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 9 (with the wrong year: 1521); in De Wette, vol. II, p. 156 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 315. In Seckendorf, Hist. lmtl., lib. I, p. 177d is an excerpt (§§ 3 and 4) with the wrong date: "a. 27. l'sdr."

JESUS.

Hail! In order that you may know that I am at Wittenberg, my venerable Father in Christ, I have written this to you with my hand. Satan has made an incursion into this hurdle of mine, and has taught to make the liberty of the spirit an occasion for the flesh, and, setting aside the ministration of love, to confound all things by the most obstinate robberies. Carlstadt and Gabriel were the authors of these abominations. Gabriel recognizes himself and has changed to another man, but what he will be and do I do not know. It is decided to forbid him the pulpit, which he has climbed out of his own presumption, without profession, against the will of God and men. Therefore, as he did not come from God, so he did not teach from God; and the fruit itself proves whose word he spoke and whose honor he sought. He whom God sent speaks the words of God [John 3:34], again, he who seeks the glory of Him who sent him is true [John 7:18]. This cause has forced me to return, so that, if Christ wills, I may destroy this game of Satan.

The statement of your assembly 1) has pleased me extraordinarily. For the Holy Spirit never seems to have been on the assemblies of the monks, except on this one. I hope that the Lord has begun to ridicule and mock Satan and his servants. Certainly, Satan is defeated, the pope with his abominations is also defeated, his last and least power must be overcome (as I see), namely the wrath of the water bubbles, which are perfectly inflated among you. We believe that Christ, the Son of God, is the Lord of life and death: who therefore should we fear? We have the firstfruits of victory and triumph over the papal tyranny.

1) At Wittenberg at the beginning of the year. There, it was decided to abjure the corner masses and the freedom to leave the monastery.

rannet, which before oppressed kings and princes; how much more shall we overcome and despise the princes themselves! He is not lying who said [Ps. 8:7], "Thou hast put all things under his feet." That he said: "all things", does he not understand in this also the anger of this water bubble at Dresden 2) and of all who have now been to Nuremberg? They may certainly try it and continue to push Christ down; in the meantime we will surely see that the Father can keep the Son at His right hand before the face and the tail of this smoking fire.

I am very much afraid, however, that if the princes should continue to listen to the foolish brain of Duke George, there would be an uproar that would corrupt the princes and authorities in all of Germany, and at the same time the entire clergy would also be affected; for this is how this matter appears to me. The people are agitated everywhere and have eyes; they do not want to be oppressed by force, nor can they be. The Lord is the one who does this, and he hides these threats and imminent dangers from the eyes of the princes, yes, through their blindness and violence he will accomplish this, so that I think I see Germany swimming in blood. Therefore, for the sake of Christ's mercy, my dear Wenceslaus, I ask you to pray with us, together with your own, and we will stand as a wall against God for the people on this day of His great wrath. The matter at hand is serious, and that foolish head in Dresden does not care about the people's cause if he can only exercise his nonsense and ingrained hatred.

4. then, if you are able to do something, make an effort that through your councilors the princes will be moved to make and act decrees modestly and without violence; they should consider that the people are no longer such as they were before; they should know that the sword in their own house (domesticum) is certainly near their necks. They are going about to destroy Luther, but Luther is certainly going about it so that they may be preserved; not Luther, but they are facing destruction, which is

2) Duke George. - "Die zu Nürnberg" is the Reichsregiment to which Duke Georg belonged.

they intend, so much is missing that I should fear them. I certainly believe that I speak this in the spirit. If then wrath is determined in heaven, so that it cannot be prevented either by prayer or by good counsel, we want to obtain it so that our Josiah 1) may fall asleep in peace, and the world be left to its own Babylon.

What Christ remembers I do not know, but this I do know, that I have never had so stout and proud a spirit in this matter as I have just now. And although I am exposed at every hour to the danger of death in the midst of the enemy, without all human protection, I have never in my life despised anything so much as these foolish threats of Duke George and his kind. And this spirit (do not doubt it) will be master over Duke George and all who are of the same foolishness. I write this soberly and early in the day, in full confidence of a godly heart. My Christ lives and reigns, and I shall live and reign. Farewell, dearest Wenceslaus. Wednesday after Reminiscere [March 19] 1522.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 108. Luther to Caspar Güttel.

This letter is duplicated in the 15th volume of Walch's old edition, namely No. 663 and here. Because we have already included it there, we leave it out here.

No. 109.

(Wittenberg.)

May 29, 1522.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther refutes the Anabaptist teachings of Thomas Münzer. Then about the employment of Zwilling in Altenburg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 67; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 201 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 377.

His friend in the Lord, Georg Spalatin,
ecclesiastics at the court of Saxony.

JEsus.

1. grace and peace in Christ! That the doctrine of Thomas (Muenzer) of the infant-

1) The Elector Frederick died in peace (on May 5, 1525), like Josiah [2 Kings 22:20], at the beginning of the Peasants' War. The battle of Frankenhausen was on May 15.

I know that baptism has driven its roots very deep, and yet one does not take care that it is torn out of all hearts, because there has been no ungodliness or error that has not finally adhered to the greater part all the more stubbornly. Would to God that it could be torn out of the hearts of some! But their reasons of proof do not force anything.

First of all the one of Marcus 2) [Marc. 16, 16.]: "Whoever believes and is baptized" 2c. How do they want to prove that the little children do not believe? By the fact that they do not show their faith? But according to this way 3) we would not be believers either, while we sleep, eat, work, or do something else than believe. What sleep is for us, we consider childlike age for them, and that Satan is summoned by the word of God with the prayer of the church, we believe, because the word of God does not go out of his mouth in vain, as Isaiah testifies, Cap. 55, 11. With me it makes no difference whether an adult or a child is converted by the word; indeed, with an adult there is more opposition to the word, namely reason, wisdom, experience 2c. But to be baptized with fire and with the Holy Spirit is the same thing, that is, that the Holy Spirit be given to believers, so that by him all sins be drowned, and if any remain, they be accounted sunk for his sake. Read Philip's *loci communes* of water baptisms. John by his baptism only gave a sign and signified the teaching of the law. Christ gives both the sign and the thing, which is the grace of the Holy Spirit imparted by the doctrine of the Evangelii; therefore we say that as the children believe, so they are baptized with fire.

But the fact that the children of Israel were circumcised on the eighth day contradicts them. This circumcision was the sign of faith in the future Christ who was in Abraham. Therefore, when they also say here

2) Marcus Thomä Stübner.

3) In the Erlanger Briefwechsel oratione, in the other editions: ratiatus. The former seems to us to be a printing error.

If they would say that the children did not believe, so they were circumcised in vain, then Christ will meet them Matth. 19, 14. When little children were brought to him, that he touched them and prayed for them, and the disciples resisted them, he said: "Let the little children come to me, for such is the kingdom of heaven. Here Christ does not have to lie or speak figuratively, since he speaks of these little children brought to him, and the kingdom of heaven can only belong to those who believe.

Baptism, then, is the sign of faith in Christ who reigns at the present time; therefore the infants who receive it must be held equal to those who were circumcised. If circumcision gave them the kingdom of heaven, why not also baptism? Especially since here sanctification is added through the word and prayer and through the faith of the church, which brings these infants to Christ and asks that he lay his hands on them and intercede for them. But we will do this more widely when they begin to press us publicly.

I am sending here the petition of the Altenburgers, who request me to write for them, so that they may obtain Gabriel; but I have already written about him before, and I fully believe that the letter has been handed over to the prince. I am of the opinion that Gabriel is called there, and have therefore commanded him not to leave until the prince has sent another there and thus expels him by force, and he should not leave there either on my advice or with my help, for he will be forced. I know what the prince fears; I also know that we are still in the flesh and fear many things where there is nothing to fear. In short, the prince and the court may do what they want in this matter; I will not resist the Holy Spirit, they may watch for themselves. My opinion is that I do not approve, nor do I agree, that Gabriel should be removed from there; again, I do not intend to recommend him further, or to protect him in that place against force; you may see. Fare well in the Lord. Hurry, on the day of the Ascension [May 29]. 1)

No. 110.

(Wittenberg.)

July 10, 1522.

Luther to Gabriel Zwilling in Altenburg.

Luther writes to him that he is now free to leave Altenburg after the Elector has appointed someone else to take his place. Expert opinion in two cases of betrothal.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 80; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 219 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 428.

JESUS.

Grace and peace! Since the prince has thus, according to God's will, put another in your place, you are free to go away and return either to us or to your former place; 2) therefore do what pleases you until you are called elsewhere, and in the meantime, like Elijah, be guided by your will [1 Kings 19:3].

In these betrothals, freedom must be used according to the parents' determination, so the former betrothal may be null and void if the parents so wish and consent, even though they sin, one against the other, 3) with lies and deceit. This is also my opinion in the second betrothal case, after the mother has absolved the young man and the girl has finally consented. But they are to be punished because of their recklessness, inconstancy and lies. Fare well in the Lord. 1522, Thursday after Ulrich [July 10].

Your Martin Luther.

No. 111.

(Wittenberg.)

April 21, 1822.

Luther to Spalatin.

Intercession for a poor man for employment. Carlstadt's plan to have Wider Luther printed. _____

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 60d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 186 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. III, p. 343.

2) Ellenburg.

3) In the editions there is a comma between alteri alter, which does not seem right to us. Consequently, the old translator offers: "although the others sin, since one part lies and deceives".

To the Lord George Spalatin, the court (aulico),
that is, a wonderful evangelist.

JEsus.

Hail! Send these little books to my host in the kingdom of the birds, I beg you, my dear Spalatin; I did not have time to write a letter now. There is also Mattis Buchbinder, whom I promised to intercede for, if he could perhaps become bridge master in Wittenberg, since this office is done. For he is poor and suffers from lack; but if a more suitable man is available, I would not insist on it, but that he be helped in some other way; do what you can and must. I will send back Mirisch's letter.

I privately asked Carlstadt today that he would not publish anything against me, otherwise I would be forced, although unwillingly, to put on my horns against him and to fight with him. But the man almost sacredly prays that he will not write anything against me, even though the sextons speak quite differently, who are already under the hand of the Rector 1) and the judges. It is certain that I will not suffer what he has written, after he has scorned the offense. 2) But they deal with it, that he either recants or suppresses the booklet, which I do not insist on. For I do not fear Satan himself, nor an angel from heaven, much less Carlstadt. Fare well and pray for the glory of the Gospel. May Christ keep our prince for a while longer, for I pray for this daily. Again, be well. On the second day of Easter [April 21] 1522, Martin Luther.

No. 112.

Wittenberg.

January 2, 1523.

Luther to Spalatin.

About the abatement of the ailments in the monastery at Wittenberg. Request for venison for a doctor's feast and for a salary for Bugenhagen, who was forced to take payment for his lectures.

1) The Rector was M. Joh. Hessus (Eisenmann, Llantarns) from October 18, 1521.

2) On this matter, see St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 17 b f.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. III; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 283 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 53.

To the learned and pious man, Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the court of Saxony, his brother in Christ.

Grace and peace! How our Bethaven 3) can be changed without annoying the neighbors and causing offense to the living, who can easily say that, my dear Spalatin? especially if you want to call it an annoyance or an offense, which annoys the papists and the godless. If you do not know it yet: the priests, almost all of them, not only act ungodly there, but also fornicate almost every night with hardened hearts as despisers of God and man, and say mass early with an insolent and hardened brow. Even Amsdorf witnesses that, with the exception of perhaps three, all of them are public fornicators. Now consider what this abomination deserves from God for the prince and his people, at whose expense it is obtained. Who knows whether our gospel does not prosper less because of this, since we not only tolerate ungodly people, but also that publicly wicked people serve the divine holy acts, which are to be administered with timidity, only for the sake of shameful gain? I have preached, of course, that even if they should be left in their ungodly ways, it is the office of the authorities to prevent their fornication or to force them to marry. For even if no one is to be forced to godliness and faith, public deeds of shame must be stopped. Would God that the prince would at least stop the masses that he maintains out of the salary of the chamber, so that some start would be made in the renewal of things. But I will talk more about this matter with Amsdorf.

By the way, when I wrote the other day for Johann Pommer because of Wildprets for his wedding, you feared that the prince would be accused of publicly showing favor to the priests who had been prayed over, and you gave me the same thing. Now something else is before the

3) The monastery at Wittenberg; compare St. Louis edition, vol. XIX, introduction, p. 51 b.

Hand. Two very good fathers with us, Johann Westermann and Gottselig von Hervord, 1) will receive the papal doctorate in theology within a month, and will glorify the last part (*caudam*) of this prerogative, if you will be an intercessor for us with the prince because of Wildpret. For although they know the matter very well, they yield to their superiors and become fools; who knows to what fruit finally for wisdom? Therefore, there is no danger here now, if the prince gives it, yes, an opportunity for hypocrisy, by which he can lift the former suspicion. Therefore, do this service of love here and serve this foolishness with us.

Nor do I want this to be hidden from you, that up to now it was a praise for our high school that through the generosity of the prince the lectures could be heard for free. But now, Pomeranus has diminished this fame through his lecture 2) out of an unavoidable necessity, namely, because he cannot teach for free, and yet the audience complains to buy what

1) Johann Westermann from Münster, Augustinian at Lippstadt, had already studied in Wittenberg in 1510, but was sent there again by his convent in 1521. He graduated *pro l'issnsia* on Oct. 31, 1522, and as a doctor on Feb. 3, 1523. In 1524 he returned to his monastery in Lippstadt and was active there for the Reformation. As a result, he was attacked by the Archbishop of Cologne, Duke John of Eleve and Count Simon of Lippe. In 1526, the Cologne theologians sent the heretic D. Joh. Host de RomberZ there; however, he refused to debate with Westermann in Lippstadt, while Westermann refused to debate in Cologne; because Host 'condemned his doctrine before the people here, he also wanted to defend it here. When the Latin mass was abolished in 1531, the princes demanded his expulsion, but could only force the citizens to let him go in 1533 by cutting off the supply of food. From Münster, where he had gone, he had to give way to the Anabaptists already in January 1534. Then, on the recommendation of Antonius Corvinus to Landgrave Philip, he came to Geismar as pastor, where he died at an advanced age. - "Gottselig von Hervord" is after the Wittenberg *^ldnm*, p. 108: *l'satsrl Ootsstalsns Orop. l'sstsr ^UsoloAias* in the Augustinian monastery at Hervord, inscribed on October 4, 1521. He graduated *pro l'assncua* November 28, 1522, and as Doctor of Theology February 3, 1523. He went to Eimbeck in 1525, where he introduced the Reformation with other Augustinians. He was expelled by the local canons and council in 1526, but was soon called back and became pastor of the Neustadt church. He died in 1540.

2) about the Psalms.

They do not want to do without them, while those who have salaries either do not read or cannot be compared with Pomeranus in any respect. They therefore do not grumble against Pomeranus, to whom, as they know, the salaries of those sows belong, but because they do not have free lectures. In this hope, those who have fewer means have come here. Therefore, if you can, give this to the prince; it might please him that these things are also advised. Although the lectures of Philip and Carlstadt, as they are very good, may be plentiful enough, I would not like that those of Pomeranus were missing, because those of Carlstadt take place irregularly (*sit⁹ incerti temporis*). This for you in confidence. Farewell and pray for me. I ask you to answer about the game pretis, so that we know what they can do. Wittenberg, on the Octave of Stephanus [2 January] 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 113.

April 8, 1523.

(Wittenberg.)

Lucher to W. Link in Altenburg.

Luther reports that he will come to Link's wedding with several Wittenberg friends, and that nine nuns who had left in Wittenberg had arrived.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 130d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 318 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 126.

Grace and peace! I, Philip, the provost [Jonas], D. Hieronymus [Schurf], Pommer, our prior [Brisger] and Jakob [Provost], and Joachim [Camerarius] will certainly come, if the Lord does not make it in special

3) It seems to us that instead of *sit* we should read: *sint*, referring to *l'sstions*. - This sentence, according to the original, reads thus: *^naniHnain ktilippi 6t Oarlstaci! l'sstions*, *ut 8unt optiwas*, *ita st abnnusnt*, *tarnen st kornsrani noli adssss*, *ynoü Oarlstaüii sit insrti tsinporis*. Aurifaber and De Wette read *kornsrano*. After that, the old translator offers: "Obgleichi Philippi und Carlstadts Lectiones sind sehr gut, und viel haben, so wollte sich] doch auch nicht, dass Pomeranus das miste, was etwa Carlstadt auf ungewissse Zeit haben möchte." Jäger, "Carlstadt", p. 299, summarizes the words: *ita st adnnusnt so*: Luther only regrets that Carlstadt does not hold the lectures regularly, "since they are very well attended".

way, which we did not want to do. 1) Carlstadt is not at home. Then Hieronymus Krappe 2) and Master Lucas [Cranach]. Then there is whether the wives of the provost and Jerome will come along at the same time, about which no decision has yet been made. Yesterday I received nine nuns from the convent at Nimpschen 3) from captivity, among them the two Zeschaus and the Staupitzin. Fare well with your bride in the Lord. On Easter Wednesday [April 8] 1523. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 114.

Wittenberg.
1522. 4)

Towards the end of

Luther to Christoph Hofmann.

Luther warns Hofmann, who had presented certain questions to Carlstadt, against such opinions as the Zwickau prophets had harbored, which even Carlstadt had not yet sufficiently resisted.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 308; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 276 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 50.

Grace and peace be with you! From the friends who are well-disposed toward you, best Christoph, I have learned of your questions, which you submitted to Doctor Andreas Carlstadt, about the

1) Link married a daughter of the Altenburg advocate Suicerus on April 14 and 15. Luther married him in the Bartholomew Church and preached a sermon in praise of marriage. For fear of the canons, armed citizens escorted the bride and groom home from the church (Seckendorf, Nist. l'utU., lid. I, p. 214d).

2) Melanchthon's father-in-law and his brother-in-law had the same name.

3) The Cistercian nunnery in Nimpschen near Grimma was founded in 1251 by the landgrave Heinrich the Illustrious of Thuringia. Among the nuns who escaped was Catharina von Bora. She could not return to her family, because her father was subject to Duke George because of his property Hirschfeld, and remained until her marriage with Luther in the house of the town clerk, later mayor, in Wittenberg, M. Philipp Reichenbach. For similar reasons, the other nuns did not return to their home, but to Wittenberg.

4) This letter has the obviously wrong date of 1525 in Aurifaber. It belongs to the year 1522, which is clear from the fact that Carlstadt is still mentioned in a friendly way, also Luther's conversation with the Zwickau prophets is remembered. Jäger, "Carlstadt", p. 298 f., places it "towards the end of the year 1522". - Hofmann was later a pastor in Jena. Cf. St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, p. 18 n.

^personal] Assurance of election, on the fall and rising again of the righteous, on alien faith, on infant baptism, on the persistence of the Spirit in the saints 2c. They have also demanded that I, though an unknown to an unknown, should indicate my opinion to you in one word, and I cannot and must not refuse them anything. Therefore, I ask that you also accept my efforts for the best. But I ask you for Christ's sake to beware of these new teachings, for they belong to the prophets who were interrogated from Zwickau in my presence, 5) who are not like themselves in anything and are completely without scripture, speaking from their spirit alone. If I had not seen them myself, I too, moved by the pompous pretensions of others, would have thought that they were something significant. Even Mr. Carlstadt does not yet resist them bravely, either out of guilelessness or good-naturedness. My opinion is this: that we must trust in the grace of God, but remain uncertain about our and other people's future perseverance or providence, as he says [1 Cor. 10:12]: "He who stands there may well see that he does not fall," although there is no doubt that the apostles were certain about their salvation. But, I pray you, how often David fears and cries that he may not be rejected from the presence of God! Finally, we have many examples and passages of Scripture that testify to the fact that it is certain that the faith of others cannot cause me to be blessed through this same faith of others, for each one believes for himself or does not believe; nevertheless, he makes and obtains that I also believe with my own faith. For otherwise what would be the prayers of the believers for the unbelievers, that the name of God may be sanctified, that His kingdom may come? Thus we hold that the infants are given their own faith in baptism, while the foreign faith of the church obtains it and prays for the infant in Christ's Spirit. So we hold that the righteous [Proverbs 24:16] fall seven times and

5) Compare in this appendix the postscript to No. 105 (of April 12, 1522) and the postscript to No. 93 (of September 4, 1522).

get up again, as long as their mistake is hidden from them. And what shall I speak many things to you? You yourself, since the occasion is given to you, will take more from it. Then the friends wanted only my opinion to be written to you, and I have done so. But Christ keep thy heart and thy mind in the simplicity of Christ, amen. Pray for me. Wittenberg.

No. 115.

Wittenberg.

January 14, 1524.

Luther to Spalatin in Nuremberg.

Luther expects German hymns written by Spalatin; reports that Carlstadt is publishing books in a new printing house in Jena. From one of Eck's writings. An envoy of Ferdinand had visited him in Wittenberg.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 180 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 460 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 277.

To Magister Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the court, his most trusted friend in the Lord.

Grace and peace! I have nothing new to write, my dear Spalatin, only that I await your German poems 1) of which I wrote to you the other day.

Carlstadt, after his fashion, does not stop; in a newly established printing house at Jena he has published books and, it is said, will publish eighteen more. 2)

Eck seems to all, not only to me, not worthy of being answered; 3) it is believed that the sophist, full of wine, 4) and drunk, is making this slobber among the lapiths.

1) Spiritual songs, of which the letter Walch, old edition, vol. XXI, 920 is about. In De Wette, it is without date and placed at the end of the year 1524, vol. II, p. 590.

2) Carlstadt's printer in Jena was Michael Buchführer. For the writings that Carlstadt had printed in Jena in December 1523 and later, see Jäger, "Carlstadt," p. 301 and pp. 369, 381 and 393. See also St. Louiser Ausgabe, Vol. XX, Einleitung, p. 19 ff.

3) He had a protective writing for the book of the King of England against Luther go out, which had been printed in Rome in May 1523.

4) Cf. Ovid. iVstaworxU. 12, 120.

have spat. The King of England, the defender of the church, is worthy of this defender, and he in turn is worthy of Emser's 5) as defender, therefore they may defend themselves.

I send the seal 6) of the provost Justus Jonas.

Ferdinand's legate, or something else, came to me to see what kind of person I was and what I was doing. He said that I had been rumored by his lord to go armed and surrounded by a guard, to spend my time with whores, playing dice and in taverns, and to shine with I don't know what other honors at the same court. But I am sufficiently used to lies. Farewell in the Lord and pray for me. Wittenberg, Thursday after Octave Epiphaniä [January 14] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 116.

Wittenberg.

March 14, 1524.

Luther to Spalatin.

The first part of the book is a description of Carlstadt's writings and undertakings at Orlamünde, and of the error of those who claimed the validity of the Mosaic rights for the Christians.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 185; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 488 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 305.

To the venerable man, Magister Georg Spalatin, servant of the Gospel at the Court of Saxony, his [friend] in the Lord.

1. grace and peace! Lucas has brought the packages of your letters, my dear Spalatin, from which I have learned everything I wanted in abundance. Incidentally, I have heard with sadness the monstrosities of Carlstadt 7).

5) Emser had translated Henry VIII's book into German. Emser had translated Henry VIII's book into German. See St. Louis edition, Vol. XIX, 134, note.

6) Probably the song: "Wo GOtt der HErr nicht bei uns hält", No. 438 in our hymnal, about the 124th Psalm.

7) This will refer to the violent innovations that Carlstadt intends to put into practice (in the letter to Hausmann under the same date it says: wovstruund executed in April, not to Writings).

But God resisted the Jews for a long time, so that they would not kill His Son; at last, since they would not desist, He gave Him up, so that they would not only kill Him, but also condemn Him to the most ignominious death, and thus, after the iniquity of the Amorites was fulfilled [Gen. 15:16], wrath would be executed upon them. And through us Christ has long resisted Carlstadt, but he does not desist, and continues to bring upon himself a swift destruction, and I fear that by compelling us to pray against him also, he will at last merit to be permitted to do harm to his destruction. May Christ prevent him from doing so by his grace, amen. Thus man is inflamed by the unrestrained desire for honor and great name. Pray also, I beseech you, for them. By the way, in the name of the university, we will first call him away from the place where he is not called to the service of the word that he owes here in Wittenberg; finally, if he should not come, we will sue him 1) before the prince. Perhaps I will also admonish him by letter. But this is also another part of the cross and the right destiny of the word, that he who ate his bread should lift his foot above Christ; but Christ lives, who is also the master of Satan.

Those who exalt the administration of justice of Moses must be despised. We have our civil rights under which we live. Thus neither Naaman the Syrian, nor Job, nor Joseph, nor Daniel, nor any other Jews kept their laws outside their country, but those of the nations among whom they were. The laws of Moses alone bound the Jewish people in the place which he had chosen; now they [the laws] are free; otherwise if the judicial things must be kept, there is no reason why we should not also be circumcised and keep all ceremonial ordinances. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, Monday after Judica [March 14] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 117.

Wittenberg.

October 27, 1524.

Luther to Amsdorf in Magdeburg. 2)

Luther apologizes for his late writing. Says that he did not handle translating Melanchthon's *Loci*. He reports that Reinhard in Jena published the events in Orlamünde to Carlstadt's honor and Luther's disgrace. Of Carlstadt's letter to Orlamünde after he had been expelled from there. About Egranus, about the pastor of Kahla, and Reinhard's dismissal.

Handwritten in 60ä. L. 24. Printed by Auri faber, vol. II, p. 237; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 55V and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 38.

Grace and peace! I am answering late, my dear Amsdorf, because there is a lack of messengers. Now tell Johann Lohr 3) and his wife that they need not worry about any danger from me. I have nothing wavier in mind than that I want to translate Melanchthon's *Loci*. Although this was requested of me a year ago and accepted by me, I have dropped everything that has to do with this work because I was overwhelmed with other work, since I can hardly do enough for our presses by daily and continuous work.

Martin Reinhard, preacher at Jena, has published the prelims in Orlamünde in an unworthy manner to my disgrace and to Carlstadt's honor. Therefore, I do not answer, so that I do not seek my own and strive to take away his glory, since nothing of the matter is dealt with there. Carlstadt meanwhile wrote to the Orlamünders, and it was also especially the signature added: Andreas Bodenstein "Unheard and unconquered, driven out by" Martin Luther. You see, since I, who should have become a martyr, have reached the point of making martyrs myself. Egranus also boasts of martyrdom, writing that he was "persecuted" by both the papists and the Lutherans.

2) The Magdeburgers had requested Amsdorf from the Elector of Saxony, initially for one year, as a preacher. Around September 24, he entered as a preacher at the Ulrichskirche.

3) Hans Lohr was a city councilor and the only important bookseller in Magdeburg, and was at that time the city's envoy to the Imperial Regiment in Esslingen to defend the city against the charge of introducing the Reformation.

1) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 19 f.

expelled. 1) You can hardly believe how far Carlstadt's teaching on the Sacrament has already spread. The priest at Kahla has turned back and asks for mercy, since he had also been commanded to leave the country; I have written for him, but do not know whether I will obtain it. Martin of Jena has received the order to leave the country; weeping, he has said goodbye in the pulpit, and since he asked for mercy, he has received five florins as an answer; after that he has begged through the whole city and received twenty-five pennies. I believe that this is for the good of all preachers, so that at the same time their spirit may be tried and they may learn to preach and act with fear. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Thursday after Crispinus [27 October] 1524.
Martin Luther.

No. 118.

(Wittenberg.)

October 30, 1524.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends letters from Araula von Staufen, recommends a certain Frau Mocha, whom a churfürstlicher Schösser was harassing, and mentions Carlstadt's departure from Orlamünde.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 235d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 558 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. V, p. 42.

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant at the Court of Saxony, his godly and faithful, in the Lord most trusted [friend].

Grace and peace in the Lord! See, there you have the letters of Argula, 2) which she wrote to me and to Philip. She remembers some answer which she gave against the Ingolstadters, 3) but I have not read them.

1) Johann von Schwarzenberg, together with his colleague Vogler, prevented a supporter of Carlstadt, Sylvius Egranus, from receiving the pastorate in Culmbach. At the beginning of 1525 he had already completely left Luther's party.

2) Argula von Staufen.

3) Argula had been attacked by an Ingolstadt student with a crude mocking poem because she had stood up for Arsacius Seehofer in Munich. Against this she published: "Eyn Antwort in gedichtis weiß, ainem auß d' hohen Schul zu Ingolstat, auff amen spruch, nemlich vö jm außgagen.... Anno M.D.XLiii." This writing may be meant here.

not yet seen. Incidentally, the other day I had instructed Lucas that he should intercede with the prince on behalf of poor Mochin 4), who is being harassed by the shepherd because of ten bushels of wheat that she borrowed from the prince's storehouse, four of which she has returned, but which he denies, and urges her to return them all, although she can prove that they have been returned. Then she promises to return the remaining six in the next year, since she cannot do it this year. It is also known to him that, since the Elbe has raged so much, also her seeds have perished this year: unless he wants her to be completely deprived of bread and seeds also for the future year. She is a good and righteous woman, but a wretched woman, who is joined (as you know) to a man who is of no use. Therefore, you will do right if you do this thing for her instead of the wicked Lucas.

Carlstadt wrote letters to Orlamünde, one to the men, the other to the women, which, after the people were called together by the bells, were read out publicly while everyone wept with each other. But the signature was this: "Andres Bodensteyn unheard unconquered by Martinum Luther expelled." So much the Rector C[aspar] Glatz 6) from Orlamünde writes to me. Farewell. On the Sunday after Simonis and Judä [October 30] 1524.

Martin Luther.

No. 11S.

Wittenberg.

December 29, 1524.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther asks for a book by Urban Rhegius and reports that Carlstadt has written to him about a meeting and settlement.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 299; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 586 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 89.

4) Perhaps the wife of the miller Mocha in Segrebn (Walch, old ed., vol. XXI, 148).

5) Instead of 6i8, which seems to us to be either a typo or a reading error, we have assumed ei.

6) The Rector of the University of Wittenberg, D. Glatz (Olstius) was sent to Orlamünde; later he was pastor there (Köstlin, Martin Luther, Vol. I, p. 729 and p. 763).

To the noble (optimo) man, Mr. Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at his gospel at the court of Saxony.

Grace and peace in the Lord! In any case, send me the booklet of Urban Rhegius, 1) my dear Spalatin, so that I may see what others assert against such a spirit. I do not trust Martin Reinhard's letter, nor the man himself at all; I did not want him to be at Nuremberg either. 2) I will serve Jodocus Kern 3) as best I can. I will report news about Carlstadt when he arrives, which I expect. I have written to him 4) in the hope that we will meet and negotiate peace, if Christ wills. He is (as I suspect) pressed by the banishment, or rather by the evil consciousness, that he has offended the good name of the princes of Saxony. There are people who have told us this from his mouth. Christ do what is good. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, 1524, 5) Thursday after Christmas [Dec. 29].

Martin Luther.

No. 120.

Wittenberg.

March 23, 1525.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther approves of the fact that Carlstadt's escort was refused and complains about his behavior. About the inability of D. Glatz in Orlamünde to raise the income for the canons in Wittenberg. From Luther's council regarding the preceptor at Lichtenberg, Wolfgang Reußenbusch, marriage.

1) "Wider den neue irrsal Doctor Andreas Carlstadt, des Sacraments halb, Warnung. D. Vrbani Regii." At the end: "M.D.XXiiij."

2) After being expelled from Jena, Reinhard had turned to Nuremberg, but was soon expelled from the city with his wife and child "because he was an all-city fanatic."

3) He had married a nun in Nuremberg who had left the convent, but she did not accompany him to Saxony right away, but wanted to follow him after he had found a place to live there. In the meantime, her former prioress made her conscientious objections, so that when Kern became Münzer's successor in office in Allstädt, she only followed him at the urging of her relatives when he came to fetch her. The marriage was and remained an unhappy one and was finally separated.

4) This letter does not exist.

5) In the original "1525" after the way to start the new year with Christmas.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 277 d (with the wrong date: feria 2.); in De Wette (with the wrong date: March 20), vol. II, p. 634 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 140.

To Georg Spalatin, evangelist at the Saxon court, his brother in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! It pleases me that the Prince has refused the escort for Carlstadt; therefore, I will send your letter to him 6) so that I may be freed from this miserably lost person. You read and hear wonderful, yes, wonderful things from D. Glatz, so that I am sorry that I have had any dealings with this man, who does everything with deceit and trickery. And when will I finally become wise, who by my simplicity present myself to everyone for play, laughter, trickery, deceit and mockery? but they do not deceive me, but themselves. You will stand by D. Glatz, because in truth he cannot pay the interest in this new time, which was set at another time. The new time certainly requires new laws and new customs; if those who owe it to do so do not establish them with diligence, those who do not deserve it will introduce them by force. But why should I not advise the preceptor 7) that, when he has married, he should by no means leave the house of Antony and his position, because he will be expelled, or another position will call him away? For he will not live anywhere more properly or better. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Thursday after Oculi [March 23] 1525. Martin Luther.

6) Spalatin's answer of March 20 (Burkhardt, p. 81) to Luther's letter of March 4 (Document No. 692 in this volume).

7) Wolfgang Reußenbusch, preceptor of the Antonite monastery in Lichtenberg. As early as March 27, 1525, Luther addressed to him an admonition to marry in spite of the vows of the order. Walch, St. Louis Edition, Vol. X, 674. (This writing was originally written in German, therefore not in the Latin Jena edition, and translated into Latin by Obsopoeus. According to this, the preface, vol. X, 73 is to be corrected). On April 25, he became engaged to Hanna Herzog, the daughter of a poor tailor's widow in Torgau, and married her the day after. He remained in his position as preceptor and administrator of the Antonite estates under the electoral name, but was also used as electoral councillor.

No. 121.

(Wittenberg.)

October 27, 1527.

Luther to Melancthon in Jena.

Of Melancthon's illness, Carlstadt's removal, a passage in the visitation order, Luther's melancholy, Erasmus's rebuttal 2c.

Handwritten in the Zwickau Rathsschulbibliothek, vol. XXXIV. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 355 b; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 215 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 109. A part of this letter, namely the last two paragraphs, without indication of the recipient, is found in German in the Wittenberg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 238 b. (here still a piece, concerning Melancthon's condition and Carlstadt, is placed between the two paragraphs mentioned); in the Altenburg edition (1569), vol. IX, p. 238 b. (here still a piece, concerning Melancthon's condition and Carlstadt, is placed between the two paragraphs mentioned). 238 b (here, a piece of the first paragraph, concerning Melancthon's condition and Carlstadt, is placed between the two paragraphs mentioned); in the Altenburger, vol. III, p. 795 and then in Walch, St. Louis edition, vol. X, 1720; however, the editors there have pointed out that the letter is complete in the appendix of the 15th volume.

Grace and peace in the Lord! For lack of a messenger, this letter has remained hidden from me, my dear Philip, until it could be brought to you through this gentleman George 1). I am sorry that you are so afflicted with colic, and I pray to Christ, as much as I can, to make you well and keep you well. For that you survive me, I wish very much in such great turmoil of the church, so that against the unspeakable raging of Satan there may be some left, who in this day of the wrath of the Lord, who (as befits) punishes our ingratitude, will stand as walls for Halls Israel. O Christ, what times will these be in the future, which have such a terrible beginning! Carlstadt has been absent from his place for several weeks; he has traveled to his people, and it is believed that he is looking for a nest. 2) He is going to his place after all, because he cannot be set right by any labor of love.

2. you write that you are being scourged by a conscience 3) because in your visitation.

1) Seidemann-De Wette, Vol. VI, p. 678 leaves it undecided whether D. Gregorius here was D. Georg Major or a "Mr. Georg".

2) Melancthon wrote (about the beginning of November 1527, 6orp. Rsk. I, No. 519) that Carlstadt had secretly left Saxony for Silesia, and expressed his fear that he would cause a new tragedy. In Silesia, Krautwald and Schwenkfeld were Carlstadt's kindred spirits. But for the time being, he still returned to Kemberg. Cf. St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 25 b ff.

3) Perhaps Caspar Aquila in Salfeld.

you have taught that repentance sucks with the fear of God. Almost the same thing was written by Magister Eisleben, but I do not respect this dispute about words very much, especially among the common man. For how the fear of punishment and the fear of God differ, is more easily said with syllables and letters, than it is recognized according to the matter and heart position (affectu). All the wicked may fear punishment and hell; God will help His own to fear God with punishment at the same time. And it is impossible for the fear of God to be without the fear of punishment in this life, just as the spirit cannot be without the flesh, although the fear of punishment is useless without the fear of God. Therefore, if one teaches the fear of God, I believe, one causes the same thing that one causes by teaching the freedom of the spirit, namely that some draw it to the security of the flesh, but others draw it to despair or the fear of punishment. But who can resist these? Christ hears us and graciously softens our plague. We will take care that when your visitation is sent to us for printing, we will do what you remember.

Pray for me, a wretched and despised worm, who is plagued by the spirit of sadness, according to the good will of the Father of mercy; to Him be glory even in my misery! My honor is only this, that I have taught the word of God purely, and have not distorted it because of any desire for honor or riches. I hope that He who began it will also show Himself merciful to the end, since I seek or thirst for nothing more arid than a merciful God as He presents Himself, and demands that He be so received even by His despisers and enemies. Greet all brothers and command us to their prayers. Christ, who taught us to teach his gospel against the raging Satan, give us through his certain and joyful Spirit to believe and persistently confess this very thing in the midst of this wicked and perverse generation.

4. I believe that Zwingli is exceedingly worthy of a sacred tribute, since he was so impudent and

acts unworthily with the holy word of God. I have not yet read the *Hyperaspistes* 1); and what should I read, since I, the weak one of Christ, am hardly alive, let alone able to do or write anything? Does not God thus let all His floods pass over me? And those who should have mercy even kill the martyred one. May God have mercy on them and convert them, amen. On Sunday, the day before Simonis and Jude [October 27], 1527. Yours, Martin Luther.

No. 122.

Torgau.

November 28, 1527.

Luther to Brenz in Schwäbisch-Hall.

Luther praises Brenz, the author of the Swabian Syngramma, for his faithfulness to right doctrine.

Handwritten in Heilbronn, manuscript of the KarlsGymnasium; in the Ooä. Uut26nb.; in the Ooä. Isn. L. 24. n. I. 160. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 361; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 230 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 124.

To his exceedingly dear brother and Lord in Christ, Johann Brenz, Christ's sincere disciple and faithful preacher of the city of Hall.

Grace and peace in Christ our Lord! My very dear Spalatin showed me your letter addressed to him, which I read with great joy, my dear Brenz, because I see the grace of God dwelling in you through Christ, His Son, and that you so constantly and loudly preserve and teach the word of Christ in the midst of this wicked and perverse generation. Praise be to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who allows me, among so many evil things that surround me, to see at least some brothers as the true and right seed of Israel; otherwise there are nothing but monsters raging and raging everywhere. Until now, we have lovingly nurtured Carlstadt in our bosom, in the good hope that he would return to the right path, but the wretched man hardens himself more and more every day, and is forced by his pusillanimity to remain silent.

1) Erasmus's rebuttal to Luther. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 67.

He also still holds on to his Tuto, even though it has been rejected by his own. So great is the wrath, if someone once considers the word of God. I pray to Christ to keep you and your brothers with us in his purity and simplicity until the day of his glory, amen.

Your Spalatin wrested this letter from me (although I did it gladly and willingly), so that I might bring about your friendship by writing the letter, while we are already united in spirit and unity (by God's grace). Pray with your brothers that Christ may make this joy in us complete and constant. Greetings from Pommer, my only comrade, since the others are absent for fear of the plague. Command us, especially me, a wretched sinner, to your church, for Satan has let loose against me and is trying to snatch Christ from me secretly (privately) with his attacks, after he sees that he can snatch nothing from me publicly and in the confession of the Word. I wonder what kind of man Zwingli may be, who is so unlearned in grammar and dialectics, to say nothing of other arts, and yet dares to boast of victories; this honor is too much of a disgrace. Thou, my exceeding joy and my crown [Phil. 4, 1.], be at ease in Christ, our! Master and Lord, with all the brethren. Torgau by Spalatin, 2) 1527, November 28.

With all your heart, your brother Martin Luther.

No. 123.

Wittenberg.

September 19, 1523.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther sends a letter to Weimar; he expresses his displeasure about the marriage of the court preacher there with a rich old woman.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 156; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 409 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 232.

2) Luther was in Torgau on November 27 and 28, by order of the Elector, to settle the disputes between Agricola and Melancthon. See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 47.

To the learned and godly man, Georg Spalatin, Christ's servant.

Grace and peace! I take advantage of your courtesy and service, my dear Spalatin, namely that you have this letter to Greffendorf 1) delivered soon. For it concerns a matter that is important to me. I hope, however, that messengers are to be had from this court to that either always or frequently, while I have none.

I dislike Wolfgang's marriage, 2) which you indicate, to the old and rich Vettel. It is a disgrace to the gospel to seek mammon and to despise offspring; I would have approved if he had married a girl in the hope of offspring, but now the teacher of faith is making an evil name for himself and us by the example of unbelief. Farewell and pray for me. Wittenberg, Saturday after Lamberti [September 19] 1523, Martin Luther.

No. 124.

Schweinitz.

March 8, 1523.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther writes from Schweinitz, where he was with Jonas and his wife. From the answer given at Nuremberg by the imperial estates to the Pope's envoys (Document No. 720).

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 127; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 310 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 96 (with the postscript from Burkhardt, p. 55).

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, ecclesiastics and evangelist at court and with the prince, his [friend] in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! I could not help but write to you, since I was so close to you that I even saw Lochau, so that you would know that I was or had been here, my dear Spalatin. But I have been here and have seen a new cousin baptized who was born of Bernhard 3) and Christ. We have also with Isaiah [Cap. 5, 1.]

1) Hans von Greffendorf was chamberlain to Duke Johann von Sachsen.

2) M. Wolfgang Stein, court preacher at Weimar.

3) Bernhard was a baptized Jew who married Carlstadt's maid in July 1522.

the song of the cousin and in a fat place sang to our dear. Of course, we drank good and pure wine from the princely cellar, and we would be quite evangelical if the gospel fattened us like that.

We have at Wittenberg the resolutions which are delivered by the great men of the empire at Nuremberg to the embassies of the pope, 4) which are extraordinarily free and quite pleasing to us; but we have them, printed in Latin and German; these will be sent to you if you do not also have them. Maurus, 5) that cantor at Worms, whom you know, has come to us with a certain other learned canon, Frederick, to lie with us for a time on the sacred Scriptures. You know that he is a very good man. Farewell and apologize to the prince that we have sipped so much Grüneberg 6) (Gornbergici) wine. Jonas greets you with his wife, who are godfather and godmother with me, and there stood [as godparents] these three virgins, 7) certainly at least Jonas, who is called a virgin with us, because he begets nothing. From Schweinitz 8) on Sunday Oculi [March 8].

Martin Luther.

I recommend this priest of Cranach 9) to you, first of all, that you only hear this man's cause, then, if you can, help him. For it seems to me that he does not desire entirely unreasonable things from the prince, although, if it cannot happen, the prince himself will know best. But I believe that in him a service to the Gospel is being done.

4) No. 720 in this volume.

5) M. Nicolaus Maurus from Goarshausen, later pastor at St. Catharinen in Frankfurt a. M. in 1536, later superintendent at Groß-Gerau, died before 1553.

6) According to Seidemann-De Wette, vol. VI, p. 655 s. v. Cornbergicuru.

7) namely Luther, Jonas and his wife.

8) Schweinitz is a town located 3^{1/2} German miles from Wittenberg, in which there was a churfürstliches Schloß, in which Churfürst Johann died on August 10, 1532. - Lochau (now called Annaburg) is about half a German mile from Schweinitz.

9) Johannes Grau or Cassius was pastor at Kronach (Cronach also Cranach, hence the famous painter Lucas Sünders, born here in 1472, called himself Cranach) in Upper Franconia, was expelled by Bishop Wigand at Bamberg, who became bishop in 1522. He came to Wittenberg, where Luther first recommended him for pastor to Oelsnitz and later brought him to Weimar, where he died as the first pastor and superintendent in 1539.

No. 125.

(Wittenberg.)

3. August 1523.

Luther to Spalatin.

Luther has not yet decided to write against Hadrian's breve (Document No. 716). About the Leimbach affair; about the appointment of Crotus to the monastery in Wittenberg; about a petition by Franz Lambert; about the persecution of Heinrich von Zütphen and the activities of Münzer in Allstädt.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 151 b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 378 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 200. In Schütze, vol. II, p. 48, only the last piece is listed as a special letter, dated Stephau (December 26).

To the Lord Georg Spalatin, Magister, servant of Christ, his [friend] in Christo.

Grace and peace! I have not yet decided on a writing against the breve of Master Hadrian. If it comes to my mind, I will write in such a way that I alone lead my cause.

I see that Leimbach's matter is entangled, 1)

1) In a letter, which is printed in Walch, old edition, Vol. XXI, 848 ff, is found in the Ood. Ootk. zV 122, f. 23 a list of Leimbach's debt claims to the Elector, which is first printed by Burkhardt, p. 58 and then in the Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. IV, p. 154 ff; we make the corrections to the latter, because without them the account is completely incomprehensible. P. 155, line 22 instead of: "ufs 110 old Schock" read: ufs-100 ten old Schock. Ibid. p. 39 instead of: "the 19 year 530 florins" read: the 19 year 570 florins. For every year there were three markets in Leipzig, and for each one Leimbach charged himself ten florins for provisions. Ibid. Z.43 instead of: "Summa Summarum 30,798 Gulden" read: Summa Summarum 33,798 Gulden [12 Gr]. That this is correct will be shown immediately. In earlier years, the Elector had made two different loans of 6000 florins each, on which no interest had been paid for quite some time, nor had the principal sum been repaid. Now Leimbach made the following calculation: for the one 6000 gulden he would have had to receive 3300 gulden in 11 years in interest, calculated "five to a hundred", but in order to continue his trade he would have had to borrow at 10 per cent and pay 6285 gulden 15 groschen *) in interest; for the other 6000 he would have received 2700 gulden in 9 years, but would have had to pay 5142 gulden and 18 groschen in interest. His "earned wages" for 19 years (G 200 florins) and "Zehrung" at the annual three Leipzig markets (@ 10 fl.) amounted to 4370 florins. The main sum was 12,000 florins. For this the Leimbach calculated in interest 5A, in damage watch 10 H and in labor management fees 3'A (for the year thus 18zA), in sum 21,798 florins 12 Gr" with the main sum of 12,000 florins thus 33,798 florins fund 12 Gr.j.

*) This payment had to be made in gold. The sum comes up like this: for each borrowed florin of si groschen (or in gold exactly so^ groschen), which was called an old shock, had to be paid back after 6 months one gold florin or SS groschen, which makes about 5 A for the half year, so 10 A for the year.

therefore it is of little concern to me, only that I could not refuse the intercession. Certainly, the copy of the manuscript that you recently sent me is such that I would not want it to have been accepted by the prince, since it seems to me that a certain force or violence can be felt in it. Again, I know that it is a matter concerning unjust mammon; I am easily persuaded that either party is of such a nature that it is not entirely washed of its dirt. I will not concern myself with these matters, they may watch for themselves; but if they should answer anything, I will send it.

It has been requested of me that I may ask you, since our prince in our Bethaven 2) does not allow a married man to be accepted, that you may propose the Crotus for appointment, who would be suitable for such a custos, who could wisely renew and promote things; so it has appeared to Philip and me and some others. For I hope that these abominations will not be perpetual, but that when suitable men are appointed, both the doings and the salaries will be turned to a better use.

Franz Lambert 3) asks through me that you pay him an allowance from the prince, may you call what he now receives a gift or a salary. He complains about the ingratitude of the listeners that they do not pay anything; therefore, he is forced to ask that he receive 10 [florins], while he receives six from the prince. You understand well enough what he wants. He is poor and good, then from foreign lands, and will not stay here long, as they say.

The Dutch Baalites 4) have brought it about with their Jezebel that she should demand the brother Henry as a prisoner of the emperor from the Bremen. We do not yet know what the Bremeners will do.

2) the Wittenberg Abbey

3) See St. Louis edition, vol. XIV, 260 ff, note.

4) The "Baalites" are the heretics; "Jezebel" the governor Margaretha; "Brother Heinrich" Heinrich von Zütphen. The Bremen City Council refused to surrender them.

While he was with me, I warned the Allstädt foreman 1) that he was putting away the spirit of the prophet Thomas; whether anything has happened in the meantime, I do not know. I cannot stand this spirit, whoever he may be, at all. He praises what is mine (as Thomas himself writes), 2) and yet he despises it and seeks other, greater things. Furthermore, he speaks with such inconsistent and unusual words and ways of speaking, which are not according to Scripture, that one would think he was insane or drunk. He flees us and does not want to get into a fight, and yet he boasts extraordinarily. Therefore, I have asked the locksmith to urge the man to discuss his doctrine with us; I do not know whether he will do so. Our spirit is not one that should fear to be heard and discussed with all, even evil and good spirits. Farewell and pray for me. On the day of the invention of St. Stephen [August 3] 1523.

Martin Luther.

No. 126.

Wittenberg.

April 11, 1525.

Luther to Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Because there are many printers to be employed in Wittenberg, Luther cannot give anything to those in Magdeburg. News about Carlstadt and Münzer. The Landgrave of Hesse also tries to win Duke George for the Gospel.

According to Burkhardt, p. 82, the original was in Dessau, so it should now be in the Anhaltisches GesamtArchiv, where D. Enders did not find it. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 280d; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 644 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 155.

Grace and peace! You know, my dear Amsdorf, that I cannot do enough for our presses, and now almost everyone is looking for this kind of acquisition, and there are almost innumerable (*sexcenti*) printers here, so that I cannot give anything [to print] to that place 3) now, as much as I would like to

1) Hans Zeis, Münzer's patron and friend from the beginning.
2) In a letter to Luther of July 9, 1523, in Seidemann, "Münzer," p. 109, supplement 10.

3) namely Magdeburg. Aurifaber and after him DeWette and Walch refer it to a scripture passage that Luther could not interpret now.

also wanted. But I will make a note of it and take the greatest pains to see whether I am able to do something. I have not been able to obtain an escort for Carlstadt, so he will spew his nonsense against me. He has his being at Rothenburg an der Tauber, 4) in that he rages against the images in his own way. Münzer is king and ruler at Mühlhausen, not only teacher. The Hessian, 5) who is won for Christ, glows for the Gospel, and also bravely calls Duke Georg to it. Thus writes our younger duke, 6) who spoke with him at Kreuzburg. Would God that your Magdeburgers would take care against the violence of the siege, 7) of which the rumor says. Fare well and pray for me. Wittenberg, Tuesday after Palmarum [April 11] 1525.

Martin Luther.

No. 127.

(Wittenberg.)

June 21, 1525.

Luther to Amsdorf in Magdeburg.

Luther announces his marriage and invites Amsdorf to the wedding feast. He gives all kinds of news about the Peasants' War.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 295; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 12 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 204. German in the Wittenberg edition (1559), vol. IX, p. 228b and in Walch.

Grace and peace in the Lord! Already a messenger was snatched for me who would bring this letter to you, my dear Amsdorf, and behold, yours is brought to me. Well, the rumor is true that I have been married to Catharina quickly, before I would be forced to listen to evil mouths rushing at me, as it is wont to happen. For I hope that I will still live a short time, and I did not want to refuse this last obedience to my father, who demanded this, in the hope of offspring, and at the same time also so that I would confirm by deed what I

4) See St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 23a.

5) Landgrave Philip of Hesse.

6) Duke John Frederick of Saxony.

7) The Magdeburg canons had called on the imperial regiment to intervene against the Reformation, and the city prepared to resist.

I find so many fainthearted people in such great light of the Gospel. This is how God has willed and made it. For I do not have carnal love nor rut, but have pleasure in a wife. Therefore, on the next Tuesday I will give a banquet as a testimony to my marriage, and my parents will be present. Therefore, I have wanted you to be there in any case; therefore, as I have decided to invite you, so I invite you now and ask you not to be absent if you can somehow.

The rumor about the Elector is false, but Meiningen, Mellrichstadt, Neustadt, Münnerstadt 1) with other ten towns have surrendered to the Elector's mercy, and he now has to work there so that everything is settled peacefully. It is a foregone conclusion that in Franconia eleven thousand peasants, who were divided in three places, have been slain, 61 good guns taken, the castle of Würzburg sacked. The margrave Casimir rages very much against his own, 2) because they have twice broken loyalty. In the Duchy of Württemberg, 6000 were killed, elsewhere in Swabia 10,000 in various places. It is said that the Duke of Lorraine killed 20,000 in Alsace. Thus the poor peasants are slain everywhere. What the Bambergers now suffer is to be expected. Nevertheless, they continue to riot in Breisgau and in the county of Tyrol, so that from Innsbruck to Trento everything is in an uproar, and the bishops of Brixen and Trento are expelled. The Duke George will have a meeting with the Margrave and your Bishop of Mainz next Monday in Dessau. There is a rumor that he will have me demanded from Wittenberg, since he is puffed up by his success; he believes that I am like Muenzer in doctrine. But Christ will give grace. See to it that he does not attack Magdeburg. Farewell and pray for me. Wednesday after the Feast of Corpus Christi [June 21] 1525.

1) In the text: Marstatenses. In Spalatin N^rstaä; in the Wittenberg: "Mörstadt"; in Baumann, "Rothenburg": Alunrstat. - Spalatin in bleueren still names Hof, Haßfurt, Seßlach and Ebern.
2) Compare St. Louis Edition, Vol. XX, Introduction, p. 23 d.

No. 128.

(Wittenberg.)

March 27, 1526.

Luther to Spalatin in Altenburg.

Luther sends letters from King Christiern of Denmark and comments on Duke George and the Sacramentirans.

Handwritten in Ooä. a. k. 266. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 313; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 97 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. V, p. 328.

To his most worthy in Christ, Georg Spalatin, the most faithful servant of Christ in Altenburg.

Grace and peace in Christ! It is true, dearest Spalatin, that your letters to us and ours to you are very rare. 3) But what cause you have, you may see; we have a very well-founded one. Do we want to disturb the joys of a young husband 4) prematurely, and not rather allow the time of the wedding to pass completely, especially since what could be written there is very little cheerful? But, joking aside, the bearers of the letters are rare, otherwise I would have sent long ago this exceedingly sad letter of the king Christiern, a man who is now exceedingly miserable and lives in a miraculous way alone Christo, together with the one he sent to me, at the same time with the quite miserable message sent over by letter. Perhaps God wants to call a king and a queen to heaven, as they say, and such a king of whom human reasoning would have least expected it, so that He may be miraculous and mock our judgment. You can hardly believe how great things Satan intends to do through Duke George and the bishops; I will give you a foretaste of this worthlessness shortly through the booklet that is already under the press. 6) If the Lord

3) Luther's last letter was dated December 9, 1525. 4) Spalatin's wedding took place on Nov. 19, 1525.

5) According to the proverb: A prince is game in heaven. St. Louis Edition, Vol. V, 874, § 183.

6) This is Luther's intended rebuttal to the so-called Mainz Rathsschlag, of which only the beginning was printed, but further printing was prevented by the Elector because he feared entanglements with Duke George. A short excerpt from the first sheet of this writing is found in Walch, Vol. XVI, No. 826. New-

you will have to say that the revolt and the beating to death of the peasants was only a prelude to the destruction of Germany. Therefore I earnestly entreat you to pray with all your might to the Father of mercies that he may prevent these treacheries and break the fury, especially by accusing Duke George, a man (as I fear) for whom there is no hope and who is lost, that he may either convert him or, if he is not worthy of it, take him away; otherwise that beast will not rest, since he is almost Satan himself, not only through his own fury but also through the agitation of the bishops. But the fact that Luther is not killed torments man so much that it is to be feared that he might be consumed by this agony of his heart alone; he cannot sleep nor wake. Dear God! How much our prince has to endure, not only from him, but also from some of his exceedingly unworthy great ones through their treacheries and shameful counsel. I would have much to tell you that I am not allowed to entrust to letters. Moreover, that irritated adder, Erasmus of Rotterdam, again writes against me. 1) How will this quite vain creature of ambition strain his eloquence to put Luther down! Furthermore, I believe that you have read the writing of the exceedingly learned scientific men against Oecolampad; it is extraordinary how I like the book 2). Willibald Pirckheimer 3) has written against him with greater courage and zeal than I would have expected from such a great man, since I believed he was too busy with other things. But again, others stand up, and it has this sacramentirer

Secte now, if I am not mistaken, has produced six heads in one year: a strange spirit that is so at odds with itself. Carlstadt's Tuto was one [opinion] that has fallen; Zwingli's is the second that will fall; Oecolampad's figurative speech (*Figuratum*) will fall; also the fourth has fallen to Carlstad 4) who, namely, since he became angry, put the words thus: What is given for you is my body. The fifth now rises and stands in Silesia, brought up by Valentin Krautwald and Caspar Schwenkfeld, who turn the words this way: My body, which is given for you, is this, namely a spiritual food. These plague us extraordinarily with writings, and are very importunate (*molestissimi*) and garrulous. I wish them our stone, 5) since they think themselves strong. The sixth is at Cologne that of Peter Florus, which Philip has; I have not yet seen it, but only the letter. O woe! how he rejects Luther! I know, he says, that Luther is forsaken by the Lord. All these different spirits argue among themselves with sophistical reasons, all boast of the revelations they have obtained through prayers and tears, and yet in the main they agree. Good to us through

4) De Wette has the annotation: "60ä.3sn.: 60 (Here is a gap in the manuscript)." Aurifaber and De Wette have Carolstaäin in the text, while according to the manuscript Carolstaäio would be read. Of this, the Erlanger Briefwechsel judges: "which is certainly wrong", and justifies this judgment with the fact that Billican wrote to Oecolampad on 16 Jan. 1526 about a Ks^{ss}sius who reverses the order completely in the manner indicated. Then the Erlangen correspondence continues: "This Reyß or Reuß seems to be Mart. Cellarius, who, according to an opinion of Mel. to Philip of Hesse, June II, 1530 (6. R. II, 93), wrote about the Lord's Supper. Luther, however, could also have heard his view orally during his presence, in Wittenberg, where the Lord's Supper came up." The transformation of Ks^{ss}sius into Cellarius is probably too strong to be admitted. On the other hand, it can be assumed that Aurifaber had an un mutilated copy in which he could decipher Carlstadt's name. Based on this, we claim for Carlstadt what is attributed above to Cellarius, namely, that Luther during Carlstadt's long hidden stay in Lucher's house had several conversations with him about the Lord's Supper, in which, as the text says, Carlstadt became angry, and changed the words in the manner indicated. Compare St. Louis edition, vol. XX, introduction, p. 24, note 4.

5) Luther suffered from stone complaints until June.

However, Seidemann has published from handwritten sources what is still available of this writing. Reprinted in the Erlangen edition, vol. 65, p. 23 ff. We will make use of it in the 16th volume, No. 826.

1) His book II^{psm}spistss sto. (see St. Louis edition, vol. XVIII, introduction, p. 67). On April 7, Duke Georg sent it to the Landgrave of Hesse, and on April 10 it was in Melancthon's hands (6orp. Rsk. I, No.376ff.).

2) Meant is the Syngamma Susvisum, St. Louiser See also the introduction, pp. 31 ff.

3) Lilib. Lirktsimsri de vsra Oftristi surns st vsro sjus sunAuius aa 3. Ossolampaaium rsspensio. Xorsrud. ax". 3o. ksbrsjuru. 1526. octav.

Christ, who sets those in battle for us among ourselves, immediately from the beginning. Behold, how should I have written these more distressing things to you? He who increases his knowledge also increases his suffering [Eccl. 1, 18. Vulg.], but I wanted to make up for the long silence by rambling on. Fare well with your rib. Tuesday after Palmarum [March 27] 1526.

Your Martin Luther.

No. 129.

(Wittenberg.)

March 11, 1525.

Luther to Spalatin.

First of private affairs, then of the capture of the King of France 2c.

The original is in the Anhaltisches Gesamt-Archiv. Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 273b; in De Wette, vol. II, p. 632 and in Erlanger Briefw., vol. V, p. 136.

To Georg Spalatin, the servant of Christ at the court of Saxony, his most trusted friend in the Lord.

Mercy and peace! Regarding the marriage case, Pommer will answer as you requested, my dear Spalatin. I will finally write to the preceptor Reißbusch, 1) although I am surprised that this letter is necessary for him, since he can read and learn these things more abundantly from so many books. I am not pleased that the king of the French has been defeated and captured (may this be flesh or something else). That he is defeated, one could still suffer, but that he is captured, that is certainly something monstrous. But what is there in these works of God, if one does not pay attention to the works of God, who raises up the kingdoms to overthrow them? Perhaps the hour of the kingdom of the French has come, and as that 2) one said of Troy: There is the last day and the inevitable destiny. So that one captured the Duke of Milan 3) before, now he himself is captured. The emperor trium-

1) Compare Letter No. 120 in this appendix, especially the last note.

2) VII-A. lik. II, V. 324. Instead of tornpus, Luther has put katum.

3) Lodovico Sforza (ü Moros, who was captured at Novara in 1500. Louis XII of France kept him in captivity until his death in 1510.

The fact that kings and princes are being overthrown in this way in our time seems to me to be one of the signs that the world will fall on Judgment Day. These are greater signs than anyone may believe. And as now the princes let the common people become insolent, so it will happen that in such a way still more will fall. Perhaps this is how fate wills it. One thing pleases me that the plot of the Antichrist, who had begun to rely on the King of France, has been thwarted, so that God would show that He wants to destroy all the counsels of even this tyrant of souls and turn them to His ultimate purpose.

I feel sorry for the marshal, 4) who has suffered so much damage, and wish him luck that he is gifted with such a great spirit and faith; greet him and everyone warmly. Wittenberg, on the Saturday after Invocavit [March 11] 1525. Martin Luther.

No. 130.

(Wittenberg.) (Nov. 11, 1527 or shortly thereafter.) 5)

Luther to Justus Jonas in Nordhausen.

Luther complains about the hostility of the Sacramentarians and Erasmus and other temptations. He gives news about his wife, his son's illness, the hoped-for near end of the plague in Wittenberg, and other things.

Printed in Aurifaber, vol. II, p. 343; in De Wette, vol. III, p. 220 and in Erlanger Briefwechsel, vol. VI, p. 116.

Grace and peace in the Lord Jesus, the Savior! I thank you for both praying for us and writing to us from time to time, my dear Jonas. I believe, however, that the letter which I sent yesterday has meanwhile reached your hands. I have not yet read Erasmus and the Sacramentarians, except for almost three quatrains of Zwingli. They do right when they trample me poor man under the feet, so that they fulfill Judas' example, and also compel me to lament with Christ.

4) Johann von Dolzig.

5) Since Luther says in this letter that he had read almost three quatrains of Zwingli's writing, which he received, as he says in the great Confession of the Lord's Supper (St. Louis edition, vol. XX, 894), on November 11, this letter is to be placed on November 11 or shortly thereafter.

[Ps. 109, 16.]: "He hath persecuted the wretched and the poor, and the afflicted to slay him." For I bear the wrath of God, because I have sinned against him; the pope and the emperor, the princes, the bishops and the whole world hate me and seek after me, and even this is not enough: my brothers also have to torment me; yes, also my sins, death, Satan with his angels rage against me without end. And what could sustain and comfort me, if Christ should also leave me, for the sake of the best, those who hurry me? But he will not leave the exceedingly wretched sinner to the end, for I consider that I am the least of all men [1 Cor. 4:9]. O, would to God, and again, would to God, that Erasmus and the Sacramentans could experience my heartache even for a quarter of an hour: how surely I would pronounce that they would be quite sincerely converted and made whole! Now they, my enemies, are strong and living, yea, heaping sorrow upon sorrow, and persecuting him whom GOD hath smitten (Ps. 69:5, 27.). But this is enough, lest I be full of complaints and impatient against the rod of God, who smites and heals, kills and makes alive. Praise be to Him in His holy, pleasing and perfect will. It is impossible that he whom the world and its ruler so hate should not be pleasing to Christ; if we were of the world, the world would love ours. I am also anxious because of the birth of my wife, so the example of the wife of the Capellan 1) has made me fearful; but he who is mighty has done great things for me; great things are also required of me, which I am to bear. My Christ, whom I have purely taught and confessed, be my rock and my strength, amen.

My little Hans does not greet you now because of his illness, but he wishes your prayers for him. Today it is twelve days that he has not eaten anything; only by drinking has he been nourished to some extent; now he is beginning to eat a little. It is wonderful how the little child, after his manner, would like to be cheerful and strong; but he cannot be afraid of too-

great weakness. Margaretha von Mochau's ulcer 2) was cut yesterday and after the harmful pus was removed, she is beginning to feel better. I have locked her up in our usual winter chamber; we are staying in the large anteroom in front. Hansen is in my room; Augustin's wife 3) in his; we hope that the plague will have an end. Farewell and kiss your daughter and embrace her mother, and remember us in your prayers.

And, to write something new, I have seen the letter which that young man, the brother of the wife of Christian Goldschmidt, 4) has written, in which he confesses that he has promised himself to a firm and right marriage with Dorothea Fäkin 5) if the relatives on both sides would allow it, and he asks his sister and Christian for advice and help. What may happen, I do not know; this you can tell her sister for sure. I would not like Rome to be burned, because that would be a great monstrosity. Would God that we could dwell together again, and give up the preacher Solomon before we die. 6) I commend myself to your prayers. Christian [Döring], with his house, had wandered to Berlin, but Margrave Joachim ordered him on the same day to depart from all his territory, citing the danger of the plague. Behold the wickedness of Satan and of men! Thus we Wittenbergers are to all to hate, to disgust, to fear, as the Psalm says [Ps. 22, 7.]: "a mockery of men and contempt of the people", but a joy and crown (as we hope) of the angels and the saints, Amen.

Martin Luther, Christi *lutum* [Koth].

2) from Segrehn, probably a sister of Carlstadt's wife.

3) The wife of Professor of Medicine Augustin Schürf, Hanna, née Muschwitz.

4) Christian Döring, also called Goldschmidt or ^urikadr. Christianae Ooltsokrait is the wife of Christian Döring; her name was Barbara and she was the daughter of the late Berlin mayor Thomas Blankenfeld, a sister of Cath. Hornung.

5) a relative of Jonas' wife.

6) Luther's lectures on Ecclesiastes were completed in November 1526, but not published until 1532. See St. Louis edition, Vol. V, 1372.

1) Georg Rörer.

End of the fifteenth part.